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TRACES OF ARAB INFLUENCE IN PORTUGAL

To investigate the traces of Arab influence in Portugal is a fascinating study, for it enables one to establish contacts with the habits and customs of the Portuguese people as well as with their monuments and their art. It is to facilitate this study by forming a historical background that threads of history have been woven into the fabric of the following notes.

In the fifth century A.D. the Visigoths superseded the Romans as overlords of Iberia or Spain, of which Portugal then formed part. By the commencement of the eighth century, the Goths of Spain had lost their valour and degenerated into a corrupt and luxury-loving aristocracy and an oppressed, disheartened serfdom incapable of defence. At this period of Gothic debasement, according to tradition, Florinda, or Cava, as she is called by the Muslims, the daughter of Count Julian, governor of Ceuta, was being educated at King Roderick's court at Toledo when she was betrayed by that monarch. In revenge, her father informed Mûsa ben Noseyr, the Arab governor of North Africa, of the defenceless State of Spain. Mûsa ben Noseyr thereupon, communicated with the Khalif at Damascus, and in 710 A.D., sent his general Tarif across the Straits, the Arab *Bab-ez-Zaqaq*, to raid the coast of Andalusia. Tarif, who landed in Spain at a spot known ever since as Tarifa, plundered Algeciras and then, on his return to Africa, confirmed the report as to the great facilities for invasion with which Count Julian had charmed the ears of Mûsa ben Noseyr. The following year, therefore, Mûsa ben Noseyr dispatched his Moorish general, Târiq ben Malik, to continue operations north of the Pillars of Hercules. Târiq landed at the rock which has ever since borne his name, *Jabal-Târiq*, Gibraltar, and with a force of twelve thousand Berbers defeated Roderick and an army of Visigoths from seventy to eighty thousand strong. As a result of this colossal victory, at the Battle of the Guadalete, near Cadiz, Târiq brought practically the whole of the Iberian Peninsula under the sway of the Khalif at Damascus.

The most westerly portions of these Arab conquests were divided for administrative purposes into three provinces known collectively as the *Gharb*, (west) and comprising *Belatha*, dominated by the important cities of Lisbon (then known as *Al-Ashbûnah*), Sintra (then known as *Chintra* or *Žintiras*), Santarem (then *Chantarin* or *Chantireyn*) and Almada (then *Al-Ma'dan*). South of the Tagus was *Al-Qassr* comprising what is now the Portuguese province of Alentejo, and *Al-Faghar* or *Chenchir*, present-day Algarve, the southernmost province of Portugal. Although Portugal is not so rich as Spain in magnificent buildings of Arab origin, the imprint of the Arab occupation on the national character of the Portuguese is still remarkably noticeable. That occupation lasted over five hundred years in the south of Portugal, and nearly three hundred years in the north, and during that period Portugal hewed out her independence and wrenched herself free from Spain.

Strictly, the designation "Moor" should only be applied to the Berbers of North Africa who were converted to Islam by the Muslim Arabs, and established in Spain by their Arab masters. "Moor" is generally used, however, to signify the Arabs and other Muslims in Spain, and it is in its usual acceptation that the term is employed in this article.

One of the first traces of Arab influence in Portugal to attract the attention of the investigator is the present Portuguese name of the capital, Lisboa. This designation is evolved from *Al-Ashbûnah*, *Luxbona* or *Uxbona*, the Arab versions of *Olisipo* or *Olisipone*, the appellation supposed to have been bestowed on the city by Ulysses, its legendary founder. Unfortunately, few Arab texts and inscriptions have been discovered in that part of the Iberian Peninsula which afterwards became Portugal, but it has been established that in or about 714 A.D. 'Abdul 'Azîz ben Mûsa, a son of the governor of Africa, Mûsa ben Noseyr, captured Lisbon. About 138 A.H. 755 A.D., Abdu'r-Rahmân I. came into power at Cordova, and it is believed that a few years later he visited his western dominions, and gave orders for the construction of the Great Mosque at *Al-Ashbûnah* on the site now occupied by Lisbon Cathedral. Probably some of the foundations of this Christian building originally supported the Muslim house of prayer. A subterranean passage which may have served to connect the mosque with the castle towering behind it is still in existence, and inside the cathedral cloisters is a magnificent iron screen, a relic probably of the fine metal-work of Arab days.

Lisbon Castle, dating back to the time of the Romans, was much strengthened by the Arabs and bears considerable resemblance to fortresses in Barbary. The hill on which the castle stands was the heart of the Arab city, and then, as ever since, supported on its back a network of ancient streets. The city walls, of which numerous fragments remain, are thought by some experts to have been Arab additions. These authorities surmise that the Visigoths inherited from their Roman predecessors the bare castle of Lisbon (*Olisipo*), and that it was not until the advent of the Arabs that the increasing importance of the city necessitated the construction of encircling walls. Lisbon was one of the most strongly defended Arab cities in the Iberian Peninsula. For that reason, before attempting its conquest in 1147 A.D., Afonso Henriques, the first King of Portugal, solicited the aid of a band of crusaders who, on their way to Palestine, had been compelled to take refuge in Portugal from storms which threatened the safety of their cockle-boats. One of the crusaders, an Englishman, Osbern by name, wrote some letters which have been preserved and printed in the *Portugaliae Monumenta Historica*, under the auspices of the Academy of Lisbon. One of these interesting documents contains references to the Arab walls:—

“On the summit of the round hill there rises the fortress, whence, to right and left, two arms of the wall descend gradually to the river bank where another wall unites them.”

These walls encircled the whole Arab city of *Al-Ash-bûnah*, much as the ramparts of Sesimbra enclosed that picturesque town, south of the Tagus. Of the eight gates of Lisbon existing in Arab days one is still intact, namely the Gate of Martin Moniz, called after the warrior who forced his body into the crack of the half-open door, to enable the King of Portugal's troops to enter after a tough siege lasting from July to October 1147 A.D. The Arabs were unable to close the door which they had unbolted to reconnoitre, and the Portuguese streamed into the city over Moniz's corpse. The remaining gateways are now merely arches, and seem to stand gaping in astonishment at the changes they have witnessed. One of these is designated *Arco das Portas do Mar*, “Archway of the Sea Gates,” a reminder that in the days of the Arab domination the Tagus extended over what is now a broad strip of land, occupied by warehouses and a high-road.

Close to the Great Mosque of *Al-Ashbûnah* was the Palace of Administration of Abdu'r-Rahmân, or *Al-Jama'*,

considered by some authorities to be the origin of *Alfama*, the present-day designation of a thickly populated district in the immediate vicinity of the cathedral. Other antiquarians have assumed that the word *Alfama* meant "refuge," and implied that inside the ramparts the population was protected by the defences of the castle. Another explanation of the word *Alfama* is that it indicated the presence of baths *al-hamma* (*ḥammâm*) served by thermal springs in the heart of the city. *Idrîsî*, the twelfth-century Arab geographer who visited Lisbon before 1154 A.D., referred to these waters which are employed nowadays for medicinal purposes in bathing establishments called *alcaçarias*, situated in the *Alfama*. According to the crusader Osbern, these springs were utilized for public baths when he was in Lisbon in 1147 A.D. Incidentally, several spas in Spain are also known by the name *Alhama*. The Lisbon *Alfama*, an aristocratic residential quarter of the Goths when the Arabs captured the city, descended in the social scale after the Christians became masters of Lisbon in the twelfth century. When the Christian population increased, the Jews were segregated in the *Alfama* and it became the home of merchants, then of petty shopkeepers, and nowadays the majority of the residents are waterside folk. Although the poorest quarter of the city, the *Alfama* is a most picturesque district with a historical background second to none, and in its narrow streets, narrow as those of any eastern city, several fragments of the Arab walls are to be found. Even the twelfth-century Osbern was struck by the tiny alleys, and mentioned that the majority were not more than seven feet wide. There are to-day many lanes which do not exceed these measurements and appear even narrower, owing to the great height of the old houses, with latticed, closely-shuttered windows reminiscent of those belonging to the women's apartments in the Orient.

The *Costa do Castelo* or circular road round the castle hill was one of the main traffic arteries of Lisbon in Arab times, and is still a much-used highway. *Arrifanas* or kitchen gardens are cultivated in the same manner as by the Arabs on its slopes, which, because of their steepness, were known until the seventeenth century as *Alfungera*. This designation, according to the Arabic scholar Sousa, is the diminutive of *Hajarun*, a stone, and referred to the nature of the soil. The *Mouraria*, "Moorish Quarter" of Lisbon, is as rich in historical interest as its neighbour the *Alfama*. The *Mouraria* was conceded to the Muhammadans by King

Afonso Henriques, after his capture of Lisbon in 1147 A.D., and in its cavern-like shops, and on its flower-bedecked roofs and balconies, the strains of the *fado* are often heard to the accompaniment of string instruments of definitely eastern origin. The *fado*—the Portuguese meaning of the word is “fate”—is a song which has evolved during the past century, and has been sponsored in the *Mouraria*. Though of recent growth, the *fado* has its roots in antiquity and expresses the fatalism which was a legacy of the Arabs to the Portuguese. Ethnologically the *fado* is of supreme interest; the cadence, the rhythm, the underlying sadness of the *fado* prove that Arab influence percolating through the centuries still contributes a share to the make-up of the Portuguese, who, incidentally, are amongst the most patient and polite peoples of Europe. There is about the Portuguese a permanent, gentle melancholy which lends even to the peasants a striking dignity. Kismet, the fatalism of the East, is far more conspicuous in the Portuguese than in their neighbours the Spaniards. A homely but none the less significant instance is the usual admonition “*Tenha paciência!*,” meaning “Have patience,” to Portuguese beggars who are importunate. This remark, which causes Portuguese men and women who have been soliciting alms to proceed quietly on their way empty-handed, lets loose a flood of abuse from Spanish mendicants, as the writer has learnt from first-hand experience. The *Alfama* and *Mouraria* were not erased by the great earthquake of 1755 which shattered a very large section of Lisbon, and their Arab association imbue both these districts with unique individuality.

The markets of Lisbon with their surrounding shops and stalls recall the bazaars of Asia, even down to the *alcofas*, the bags used by the shoppers of to-day as in Arab times. Carts drawn by oxen and mules are conspicuous in the traffic. These vehicles have not changed since the morning of time, and, like the patient donkeys laden with market produce, seem to belong to the past rather than to the present, to the East rather than to the West.

The officials who administered Muslim Spain were *Emîrs*, directly responsible to the *Khalîfate*. Beneath the *Emîrs* were *Wâlis*, governors of important cities, and *Qâ'ids* in charge of smaller towns. Incidentally, the title of *Alcaide*, denoting administrators of provinces or castles, was in current use until fairly recently in Portugal and is still bestowed on certain officials in Spain. To the *Wâlis* of *Al-Ashbûnah* is

due one of the finest monuments of Arab origin in Portugal, namely the Royal Palace at Sintra, sometimes called "The Alhambra of Portugal," situated about seventeen miles from Lisbon. Sintra, with its hills and forests, its abundant water-supply and semi-tropical vegetation, captivated the *Wâlis* who quickly recognized its possibilities as a hill-station in which to escape from the heat of Lisbon. High above the palace which they founded towers the fortress, known to this day as *Castelo dos Mouros*, "Moorish Castle," which acted as watch-tower and defence for the *Wâlis'* beautiful residence situated in what is now the centre of Sintra town. The ancient "Moorish Castle," composed of five towers and stout battlemented walls communicating with each other by means of inside staircases, is reminiscent of many of the old Deccan forts, for the rocks and boulders in which the eminence abounds have been utilized to reinforce the masonry. Much labour was devoted to insuring an efficient water-supply, and inside the fortifications there is a remarkable underground tank or cistern filled permanently by a spring of pure water, and protected by a masonry roof with openings large enough to admit of the passage of pails and pitchers. The entrance to the tank is by a massive Moorish doorway, and a flight of steps leads down to the water's edge. Nearby are some ruined apartments in which are distinguishable, after this long lapse of centuries, bins intended probably for storing grain. There is a legend to the effect that a wealthy Arab monarch was buried with all his wealth in this hill-side stronghold. In the lovely grounds there is a ruined building still known as the *Mesquita* or Mosque. It is probable that the first King of Portugal, Afonso Henriques, who captured Sintra as well as Lisbon from the Arabs, utilized the Arab masonry to convert the mosque on this site into a church.

Sintra Royal Palace radiates an atmosphere of luxury and refinement, and although successively augmented from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries by the Kings of Portugal it has retained many of its Arab characteristics. The oldest walls consist of rubble bonded with brick, a method of construction which proves their Arab origin and that is familiar to all architects acquainted with the Orient. In his authoritative *Monumentos de Portugal* (1886) Sr. Vilhena Barbosa stated that the palace in its general outlines is perfectly Arab and was merely modified by the Portuguese royalties. Most of the embellishments also are in Moorish style so that the palace is a mine of information for the visitor interested in traces of Arab influence. Horse-shoe arches,

ajimeces or twin windows, ornate wooden ceilings executed by Arab artists for Christian kings, interior courtyards and gardens with fountains, superb tiles—all these figure in the palace decorations.

One of the most important legacies of the Arabs to Portugal are tiles or *azulejos*, the name of which is said to be derived from *azzalujo* or *zalleja* meaning "smooth," or *zuleija* "a varnished tile." In Sintra Palace there are examples of every variety of tile, including some that date back to the days of the *Wâlis*. There are no less than five types of these ancient polychrome tiles on the floor of the original palace-mosque, now a chapel. They belong to the period when each coloured fragment was fired separately and then placed together mosaic fashion, and in delicacy and colour they are nearly equal to the oldest Arab tiles at Cordova. The semi-circular alcove containing the chapel altar was formerly the *mihrâb* of the mosque, while the ceiling is the product of fourteenth-century Arab artificers. These gifted workers continued to beautify Portuguese structures for many generations after the country had become an independent Christian kingdom. This woodwork is known in Portugal as *alfarje*, and the chapel ceiling at Sintra is as fine a specimen as any in the Alhambra at Granada or the Alcazar at Seville. The boarded surface is covered with wooden strips which form various designs, and the colouring is the original—black, red, blue and white—producing the effect of richly woven tapestry.

Authentic Moorish tiles are found in the *Sala dos Arabes*, "Arab Room," which, as its name implies, was in existence in the days of the *Wâlis*. This apartment was the kernel of the old Arab palace, and still retains the characteristics imprinted upon it by its original designers. In the centre of the floor is a fountain, and on the walls are Moorish tiles which are blue, green and white and gleam like precious metal. This "Arab Room" may be likened to a Portuguese version of the famous *Sala de los Abencerrages*, "Hall of the Bani-Serrâ," in the Alhambra. Fountain, tiles and eastern atmosphere are common to both. The *Sala dos Arabes* at Sintra overlooks the central interior courtyard, on the walls of which there are Moorish tiles of many designs. Opening off it is the *Sala do Banho*, "Bathroom," where jets of water spring from the walls, and where, as in the *hammâm* of the East, coolness is to be found even in the hottest weather. The windows overlooking this attractive courtyard are supported by slender marble columns with Arab capitals surmounted by horse-shoe arches, and the very similar to many

that embellish Spanish-Arab buildings in Seville. Round a small door leading from the "Room of the Syrens" is a most interesting specimen of Moorish art, consisting of dark and light tiles arranged in geometrical design and intersected by white squares that form a check pattern. This rich ornamentation is lightened by some beautiful black arabesques on a white background which fill the spandrels.

The astronomical armillary sphere, or skeleton celestial globe with circles divided into degrees for angular measurement, was introduced into Portugal by the Arabs. This instrument, so valuable to navigators, was adopted in the sixteenth century as a national emblem by King Emmanuel the Fortunate (1495-1521), in recognition of the achievements of his mariners who, by their discoveries, added fresh territory to the Kingdom of Portugal. Many tiles bearing the armillary sphere decorate Sintra Palace, some executed by Arab workmen, others copied from the originals. The oldest are in the part of the mansion constructed by King John I. (1385-1433), and are supposed to have been discovered by that monarch in some apartment which had been built by the *Wâlis*.

Another fine example of *alfarje* work is the ceiling of the "Swan Room." The sides of the ceiling slope towards the central wooden strip, and the whole is divided into twenty-seven octagonal panels each of which contains a beautifully painted swan. This art-work, sprung from Arab seed and blossoming on Portuguese soil, testifies to the resourcefulness of its makers in utilizing wood for decorative purposes.

One of the most secluded of the palace enclosures is called the "Mecca Courtyard." Originally the palace mosque was situated on one side of this charming little square, and formerly the whole of this section of Sintra was described in official documents by the name of the Holy City. The most notable external features of Sintra Palace are two enormous Moorish chimneys, recalling similar ones of smaller dimensions to be found all over the province of Algarve. The Sintra chimneys belong to the ancient kitchen rebuilt by King John I. on Arab foundations. Some years back the wall of this apartment was examined by the German archaeological expert, Haupt, who expressed the opinion that it belonged to the original structure.

As at the Alhambra at Granada, in Sintra Palace there is a Garden of Linderaja. Until the seventeenth century,

this name, derived from the Arabic, was said to have indicated originally a place where visitors to the *Wâlis* waited for interviews. Then, to satisfy romance, a story was woven to the effect that the courtyard was called after a beautiful wife of one of the *Wâlis*, just as the *Mirador de Lindaraja* at Granada is said to bear the name of a Sultana. The similarity between the appellations of many of the apartments and enclosures at Sintra and at the Alhambra at Granada is very striking. Both, for instance, have a "Lion Courtyard," a "Room of the Two Sisters," a "Garden of Lindaraja" and a "Room of the Ladies."

One of the most beautiful properties in Sintra, Monserrate, now the property of the Englishman, Sir Herbert Cook, has some little-known associations with Muslim days, for the land is believed to have belonged at that time to a wealthy Mozarab noble. This term Mozarab occurs frequently in works relating to Arab influence in the Iberian Peninsula. It is employed by some authors to designate the Christians who became converts to Islam under Muslim rule, while other writers apply it to those Christians who retained their faith under Muhammadan governors.

In Arab times, Santarem, situated on the banks of the Tagus north of Lisbon, was included in the province of Belathâ, and was as important a Muslim stronghold as *Al Ashbûnah*. One of the oldest cities in Portugal, Santarem was captured by the Arabs in 715 A.D., and remained in their hands with a few breaks until 1184 A.D. Chief amongst the Arab relics are the fortifications and the remains of the *Alcaçova*, the ancient royal palace. The two valleys which the town dominates bear Arab names, *Atamarma* and *Alfange*, the first, according to the noted Arabic scholar, Dr. David Lopes, meaning "Mother of Water."

Although the Arab domination was of far shorter duration in the north of Portugal than in the south, there are many landmarks of Arab origin right up to the northern city of Oporto. Ever and anon one espies grand old castles of Arab outline, with square towers and crenellated bastions, which, in some cases, were restored by their Christian overlords. The peasants believe that the spirit of the Arabs is still present in these strongholds, and who shall gainsay them? The Almoravid Dynasty, which arose in the eleventh century, reinforced the Arab imprint upon the people and the places of Portugal by recapturing much of the territory which, with the decline of the Ummayyad Khilâfat, had

passed into Christian hands. In 1094 A.D., Seyr, the general of the Almoravids, made a push as far as the Mondego river on which the university town of Coimbra is situated. This inroad made the wheels of history spin swiftly, because, to counteract the Muhammadan advance, a powerful county of Portugal was formed by Henry of Burgundy, Count of Portugal. In the following century this country blossomed into an independent kingdom under Count Henry's son, Afonso Henriques, first King of Portugal.

The southern shores of the Tagus and their vicinity are rich in traces of Arab influence. Immediately opposite the western suburbs of Lisbon is the fortress of Almada, the name of which means a mine, a locality where some product is found in abundance. Idrîsî, whose great-grandfather, by the way, was a Prince of Malaga, and who studied at Cordova, wrote of Almada as follows:—

“Opposite Lisbon is the fort of Almada, so called because the sea throws up on the beach fragments of gold. During the winter the inhabitants approach the fort in search of this metal. This is a curious fact which I myself observed.”

It is not so long since remains of galleys were visible off Almada beach. These were believed to be the relics of the vessels used in those far-off days by the gold seekers.

Almada fortress is in an excellent state of preservation and serves as a barracks. Like the majority of Spanish-Arab strongholds it is built of rubble and has square towers with quoined angles. It stands just above the shore mentioned by Idrîsî, as though erected originally to guard the deposits of precious metal.

To the south of Almada lies Sesimbra, with an Arab castle sufficiently well preserved to enable the visitor to realize its former strength. Like Sintra Castle, the Sesimbra stronghold, square of build, and possessed of five towers, is perched on a height dominating the surrounding country. The strategic importance of Sesimbra was very great, because it commanded the mouth of the river Sado, the western entrance of the province of *Al-Qassr*, and the entire town was encircled by the castle walls.

To the east of Almada, at a height of eight hundred feet above sea level, stands Palmela Castle, the square battlements of which denote their Arab origin. Palmela was very badly damaged by the earthquake of 1755, but, in Arab days,

was immensely strong for the whole of the summit of the hill—a spur of the Arrâbida range—was occupied by the fort. The views from the summit are so extensive that it would have been totally impossible for any enemy, however cautious, to take the occupants unawares, and the great watch-tower, from which the *muezzin* used to call, is a landmark for miles around. At the foot of this great tower there is a church which, originally, may have been a mosque, and which contains some lovely Moorish tiles. Near the western tower there is also a curious Moorish kitchen. In one of the walls, which in Christian times became part of the cloisters, there are some perfect horse-shoe arches, and it is easy to distinguish the Arab masonry consisting of rubble and lime-hearing.

Palmela is close to the main road to Evora, the capital of the province of Alentejo. Evora is exceedingly rich in decoration executed by Arab workmen under Christian rule. The brick arches in the former royal palace at Evora are attributed to Azmede, an Arab master-mason whom King John II. (1481-1495) made a courtier. Evora abounds in elaborate brick-work rose-windows with florid patterns, lattices and gratings. The latter, infinitely varied in design, are reminiscent of the stucco trellis-work of Indian palaces and were employed for much the same purpose, to guard the windows of the women's rooms and enable the inmates to look out without themselves being seen. The Arabs obtained wonderful effects by arranging their sun-baked bricks in such a fashion that as the sun's rays fell on them the various decorative motives were thrown into relief. Such sun-baked bricks are still in use and are known as *adobe*.

The people of Evora, taller and less stocky than the northern Portuguese, walk with the easy, swinging gait of their Arab ancestors. In Alentejo, as in Algarve, East and West appear to be still locked in close embrace. This union is exemplified in the art-work of Evora which city in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries was one of the most important in Portugal. Gothic architecture was influenced by Islamic styles, and there developed the Manueline-Moorish scheme of embellishments. Horse-shoe arches and tiles of Arab origin appeared cheek by jowl with Alentejo marble, bricks and granite, and then Evora began her own manufacture of tiles based on Spanish-Arab models. There is scarcely any section of the city which does not in some way recall the influence exercised over it by Muslim rule, during which period Evora was known as *Yebora*.

Beja, south of Evora, is one of the principal towns of Alentejo, and was first captured by the Arabs in 715 A.D. Its ancient fortress, which commands the surrounding plateau for many miles, was frequently besieged by opponents of the Arabs and strengthened proportionately by its Muslim masters. In 760 A.D., the King of Oviedo, who had been in possession of Beja for seven years, was obliged to relinquish his hold in favour of Abdu'r-Rahmân I. The town then remained in the possession of Cordova for about a century and a half, and later was again snatched from Christian hands by the famous leader Almanzor, (*al-Manşûr*) "The Victorious," the tenth-century genius dictator of Cordova. The principal building in Beja, though a former convent, is almost as rich in decorations sprung from Arab sources as the Royal Palace at Sintra. These include most attractive "Moorish-Alentejo" *ajimeces* or twin windows of grey marble with interlaced horse-shoe arches, while the imposing cloisters and chapter-house are lined with superb tiles brilliant with metallic glaze, some of Moorish origin, others manufactured in Seville where the Arab art traditions were handed down from generation to generation.

En route to Lisbon from Beja one passes the town of Alcâcer do Sal, Alcâcer of the Salt, the capital of the former Arab province *Al-Qassar*, and a centre of the salt trade. The picturesque town on the banks of the river Sado is crowned by a fine old Moorish castle which Afonso Henriques attempted twice in vain to capture. Eventually he gained possession of the stronghold in 1158 A.D., but it was again in Arab hands from 1191 to 1217 A.D. In the small archæological museum there are some interesting Arab tiles and a few of the rare Arabic inscriptions which have been found in Portugal.

Not far from Beja, at Moura, meaning in Portuguese "The Moorish Woman," and known in Muslim times as *Ihnanijah* or *Ielmaniah*, there is an imposing Arab fort, one tower of which is called *Torre Saluquia*, after the Arab heroine who is said to have thrown herself from its heights rather than fall into Christian hands. Of Roman origin, Moura for several centuries belonged to the dominion of Cordova. The story goes that in the reign of the second King of Portugal Sancho I. (1185-1211), the town was conquered by the Christians, by the following discreditable method: Saluquia was the daughter of a wealthy *alcaide*. She was young, beautiful and betrothed to Braffna, the rich *alcaide* of

Castelo de Aroche, some ten leagues distant. On his way to his bride, Braffna was attacked by two Christian adventurers, the brothers Alvaro and Pedro Rodrigues. Having killed Braffna and his followers, these brothers and their attendants disguised themselves in the garments of their victims and proceeded to Moura. Once in sight of the castle, they sang Arab music, and Saluquia and her companions, mistaking the approaching party for the bridegroom and his escort, flung open the castle gates. As soon as the disguised Christians entered Moura they began to massacre the population and, to defend her honour, Saluquia committed suicide. The inhabitants irrigate the land with old Arab water-wheels, known as *Engenhos Mouriscos* and worked by donkeys. In their mode of thought and of life these Alentejo folk have retained many characteristics of their Arab forebears, and, like the "Tower of Saluquia," they are a reminder of the days when the crescent floated over the castle.

At Mertola, close to the Spanish frontier, and to the boundary between the two Portuguese provinces of Alentejo and Algarve, there are the remains of a curious Arab quay built with Roman stones, and a dour old castle, also constructed by the Arabs with building material originally used by the Romans. The stronghold is perched above the Guadiana river, whose name stresses the Arab memories of this charming country. The principal church at Mertola is definitely of Arab origin and its horse-shoe arches must first have been part of a mosque. Nearby is a circular building which has been classified by archaeologists as Muslim, and which was probably a tomb. In the vicinity of Moura and Mertola castles are various other strongholds which played an important role in the days when they were Muhammadan possessions.

Before considering the traces of Arab influence in Algarve, it may be of interest to give a thought to the effects of that influence on the Portuguese language. Dr. David Lopes, the expert on toponomy, made a classification of Portuguese names of Arab origin. In his *Toponymia Arabe de Portugal* (Paris 1902) Dr. Lopes pointed out that some of these names, consisting simply of Muhammadan place names, must have been bestowed by Arab settlers who called their Portuguese residences after their original home towns. For example, there is a Mecca in the province of Ribatejo and a Tunis in Algarve. Other places were given the appellation of some distinguished Arab citizen, the name of the person being used for geographical purposes. This would

account for a place known as Fatima in the province of Portuguese Extremadura. Curiously enough, that locality has become a site of pilgrimage and is developing into a Portuguese Lourdes since 1917. In that year the Virgin Mary is said to have appeared as Fatima to some children, and since then many miraculous cures, so it is believed, have been effected there—but this is by the way. Other Arab place names are derived from buildings or local conditions, such as the *Serra da Mesquita*, "Hills of the Mosque," in Lower Alentejo, and *Alcântara*, meaning in Arabic "The Bridge" (Al-Qantarah), which is the name of one of the most important docks in Lisbon, and also of a Spanish town possessing a remarkable old bridge over the Tagus. In the vicinity of Lisbon there is also a Gibraltar, a reminder of Târiq and his landing at *Jabal-Târiq*, Gibraltar.

Mesquita is also a very usual family name in Portugal—at the moment of writing there are eighteen separate entries under this name in the Lisbon telephone-directory, and twelve under Cid. The latter surname is a corruption of Seyyid, the title of which was bestowed by his Arab followers upon the tenth century Spanish hero, Rodrigo Diaz of Bivar, known in history simply as "The Cid." There are, at least, a dozen families of Cid now resident in Lisbon.

Dr. David Lopes has explained how Latin nominative terminations *a*, *i* and *u* were converted by the Arabs into *a* and *o*. For instance, the name of the town Mertola from Myrtili and of the river Tejo, the Portuguese for Tagus, from Tagu. In this last example the less common alteration of *g* into *j* has also taken place. The Arabs too frequently dropped the first letter of proper names when that letter was a vowel. For example, Alolić became Loulé, the name of a town in Algarve.

The name *Almocovar* (al-maqbarah) which denoted the Arab Cemetery in Lisbon that existed until the end of the fifteenth century, continued after the demolition of the cemetery to designate this site right up to the eighteenth century. These etymological studies, if given the treatment they merit, would occupy many pages.

In the province of Algarve traces of Arab influence are far more numerous than in other parts of Portugal, because the Spaniards who inhabited it in the days of Islamic rule assimilated the advanced civilization of their Arab conquerors. Amongst the most noticeable features of the architecture are the whitewashed houses with interior courtyards, latticed

verandahs and *açoteias* or terraces. Many of the chimneys rise like miniature minarets and, coupled with the dazzling white of the buildings, give a very eastern appearance to the towns and villages. Other chimneys are funnel-shaped, like those of the Royal Palace at Sintra, others again are embellished with all manner of trellis-work in stucco, for the people of Algarve are as ingenious in their use of this material as any Orientals. The Algarve women are possessed with a passion for whitewashing the exterior of their homes, not excluding their chimneys, of which they are immensely proud, and are constantly seen at this operation. Amongst them are types of real Arab beauty and nearly all these women show their Moorish strain. The majority, however, are rather undergrown, with dark, wizened skins, owing to the hot, dry climate and the glare. They have inherited from their Arab ancestors a dread of the sun, and wear enormous hats that shade the eyes and protect the back of the neck as effectively as an Arab head dress. Formerly the women, after the manner of their eastern sisters, concealed their faces with a *bioco*, an immense veiled hood with a narrow opening for the eyes. Since the advent of Paris fashion-books, however, this covering is no longer in favour with the younger generation.

Silves, a town close to the south coast of Portugal, was known to the Arabs as *Xelb*,* and was one of the most prosperous cities in the far western dominions of the Khalif of Cordova. Silves, which absorbed the remarkable culture and love of art of the great Spanish city, then the greatest seat of learning in Europe, was inhabited by the Arabs of the Yemen, and not by the Berbers who constituted a large proportion of the Muslim population of the Iberian Peninsula. For four centuries, Silves was the capital of the province of *Al-Faghar*, and amongst its population of thirty thousand inhabitants were many aristocrats and *literati*. Idrîsî praised the purity of the speech of the inhabitants of *Xelb* which was noted for the beauty of its buildings and its many art treasures.

The old red-hued castle of Silves is one of the finest Arab monuments in Portugal with stone and rubble walls and heavy towers. The most noticeable feature of all is the mammoth cistern, which, in 1880, when filled, contained sufficient water to supply the population of Silves for a year. It is a magnificent vaulted structure with five sets of arches supported by four rows of massive pillars. The remains of the

* ? Halb or Khalfb ?—Ed. "I.C."

Alcoçar or palace are on such a steep incline that this building, the nerve-centre of the fort, was eminently fitted to repel attack and, in the heyday of its existence, was considered impregnable. A second well or cistern, a hundred and ninety-eight feet deep, guaranteed the water supply of the fortress in the event of a siege. Further, the whole castle-area is a rabbit-warren of extensive subterranean chambers which served as fine store-houses. Similar cellars have been discovered in many parts of Algarve and are called "Moorish Granaries," *Celeiros dos Mouros*.

Towards the end of last century some interesting investigations were made at Bensafrim which is situated near Silves, and which, as its name implies, is of Moorish origin. In the *Arqueólogo Português* Sr. Santos Rocha reported upon the Arab remains, stating that he explored two underground tanks or quadrangular trenches separated by a very narrow division. Both were lined with lime and sand plaster which had been applied to the compact clay soil at the bottom and the sides, and the floors of the cistern sloped towards apertures in the centre. Commenting on Bensafrim Sr. Santos Rocha wrote:—

"It is known that according to an ancient custom of the East the Arabs used earth for the walls of their structures. The compressed mud walls so general in Algarve are probably vestiges of their fashion of construction. By their lightness, these structures, of which specimens still exist in Spain, bear a certain family resemblance to those at Bensafrim, where even the walls and floors of the trenches appear to have been tightly compressed to receive the cement which was intended to make them more watertight.

A solid jar, which was used possibly to convey the liquid from the trenches to the casks, was found in the northern trench and was declared by experts to be Arab. Its presence in the trenches is a convincing argument in favour of the above hypothesis."

The French authority Du Barail furnished the following information respecting the *celeiros* or *silos* as they are called in Portuguese:—

"The *silos* is a sort of cellar used by the Arabs for storing provisions. It is excavated as far as possible in dry, compact soil to avoid infiltration. The *silo* is very narrow at the mouth, very wide in the centre and fairly narrow at the end."

PLATE I



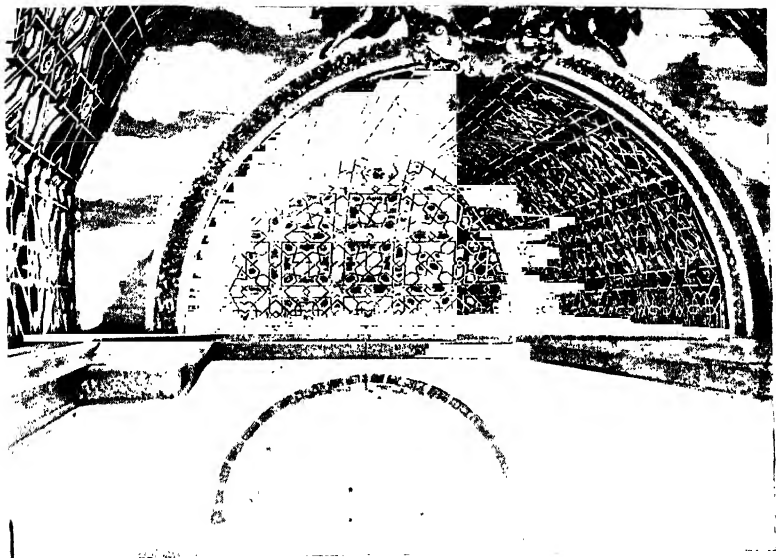
Arco das Portas do Mar,
"ARCHWAY OF THE SEA
GATES," LISBON.

PLATE II



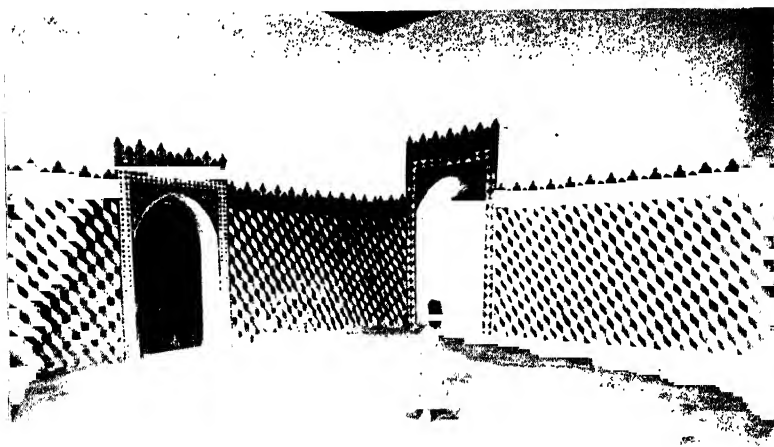
Castelo dos Mouros, "MOORISH CASTLE," SINTRA.

PLATE III



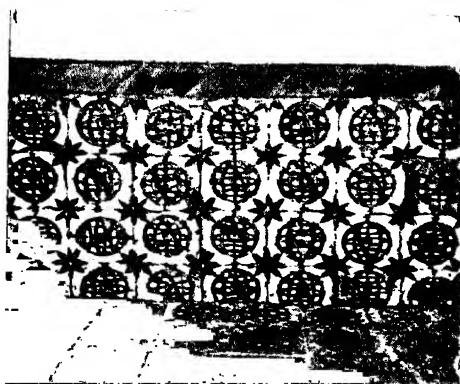
ARAB CEILING, SINTRA PALACE.

PLATE IV



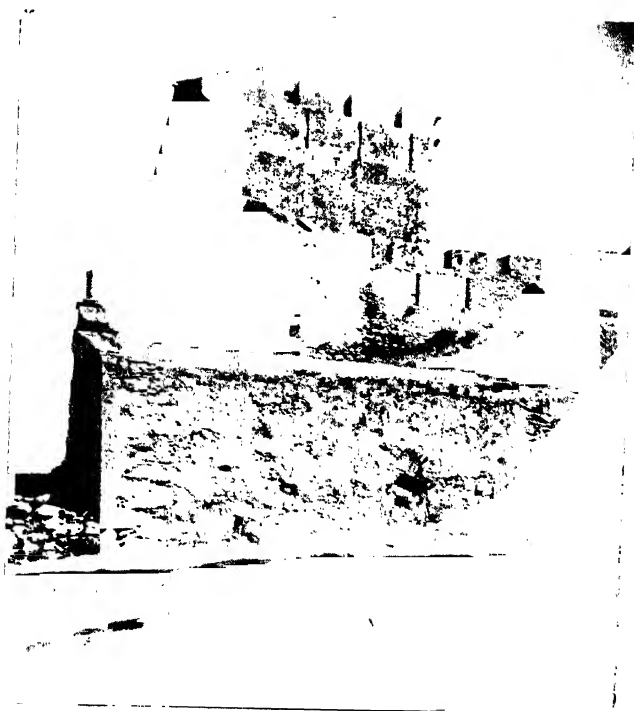
Sala Dos Arabes, "ARAB ROOM," SINTRA PALACE.

PLATE V



TILES BEARING THE DESIGN
OF ARMILLARY SPHERE,
SINTRA PALACE.

PLATE VI



PALMELA CASTLE, WATCH TOWER.

Sr. Santos Rocha remarked that this description is as applicable to the Algarve *silos* as to those of North Africa.

To-day the chief town of Algarve is Faro, a name of Arab origin derived from Hârûn. In the first years of the eleventh century, about 407 A.H., 1016 A.D., the Khalif Suleymân presented to his captain, 'Uthmân, a little principality in the south of Algarve. Up to the middle of the sixteenth century this principality was known as Fârom or Fârão, derived from the name Bani Hârûn, the designation of the original Arab overlords. The Arabs of the Peninsula pronounced the name Hârûn with the accent on the first syllable, so that it is quite easy to trace the etymology of the present name Fâro, also accented on the first syllable. Idrîsî mentioned that this town was prettily situated on the coast and was a busy port, with figs and grapes growing in the vicinity, as they do to-day. Nearby is Tavira, one more of the many towns which have lost their importance since the departure of the Arabs. Nowadays, Tavira's chief claim to interest is the fact that its principal church is built on the site of a mosque. On the Spanish frontier at Castro Marim, close to the dull little town with the pretentious name of Vila Real de Santo Antônio, the "Royal Town of St. Anthony," there is another interesting relic of Arab days, a square fortress with four towers and two doors known as the "Old Castle," situated within a more modern semicircular stronghold.

Some interesting Arab remains are preserved in the Lisbon Ethnological Museum, and include an iridescent bowl and some vases of very beautiful finish. In the eighth century, the Arabs imported into the Iberian Peninsula coloured faience and porcelain with translucent enamel. The results of this Arab influence are still apparent in modern ware, while the water-pots of porous clay, to be found in every village in Portugal, are also legacies of the Arabs and retain their Arabic designation of *alcarraza*.

Given sufficient time, each traveller in Portugal acquainted with Muslim lands is bound to be struck by the traces of Arab influence, an influence which has contributed towards making Portugal one of the most interesting of European countries, and its people uniquely attractive.

HYMN TO THE SPIRIT OF ISLAM

I

NOBLY, nobly, through the ages, rang thy glorious Word of
Peace,

Deep diffusing joy and light in souls that were for centuries
 Chained by tyrant Ignorance to deities in stones and trees.

Thousands first, and then in millions, under thy light's shelter
came.

East and West and North and South saw one tremendous
burst of flame

From thy Crescent glorying over Darkness put to flight in
shame.

‘Man, my brother,’ shout the crowd now. Who gave them
this message, pray?

Thou, e'en thou, my glorious Islâm. Lives the man dare
utter nay?

All the world now shout the slogan but they know not what
they say!

Changed have we, and fallen since, but changeless thou shalt
 ever be.

Fell the world with our defection, once more shall it rise in thee,

When the Truth that pines forgotten dawns again in majesty.

II

Look, the Western aureole now palely glimmers like a ghost
Over wilds and cities which yet reek with blood of millions
lost ;

Millions who but shadows chased, and lunatic-like, paid the
cost.

THE DEVIL'S DELUSION OF IBN AL-ḤAUẒI

(Continued)

Section VI—dealing with the way wherein the devil deludes savants in different departments of knowledge

You are to know that the devil intrudes on people with his delusion by different paths, one of them manifest, only by encouraging the man's passion he gets the better of him, so that he blinds him to what he knows: another path is obscure, and so is concealed from many of the learned. We shall point out various forms of his delusion, those which we mention serving as a guide to those which we neglect; since to exhaust the methods would take too long. God will keep us from error.

Account of the way wherein he deludes the Readers of the Qur'ân

One is a man's occupying himself with the uncanonical Readings and procuring them, wasting most of his life in collecting them, booking them, and teaching them to people. This will divert him from learning precepts and duties. You will often find the Imam of a mosque undertake to teach the reading of the Qur'ân, when he does not know what vitiates prayer; and often the desire to be first makes him out of sheer ignorance give as a reply to a legal question the first thing which occurs to him, though it be unlawful in the system of law which he follows.* Had such people reflected, they would have known that what is wanted is to know the Qur'ân by heart, to get the pronunciation of it correct, then to understand it, then to act according to it, then to proceed to what will reform the soul and purify the character, then to study some important topics of the code. It is gross stupidity to waste time in what is not of chief importance. Al-Hasan al-Basri said: The Qur'ân was revealed that men should act according to it.—Such a case is when one of them reads in his sanctuary according to an uncanonical text rejecting the traditional vulgate. Now the learned are sure that prayer is not valid with uncanonical readings, the purpose

*The text of the MSS. differs here, and the reading is uncertain.

of using them being to display out-of-the-way knowledge in order to win people's praise, so that they will flock to him; while he holds that he is studying the Qur'ân. Some of them combine Readings saying *malik, malik, mallak*¹ which is not permissible, since it takes the Qur'ân out of its order. Some combine prostrations, utterances of the creed, and repeat the formula "God is greater," to which practice also there is objection. They also have started lighting numerous fires for their completions of the reading of the Qur'ân, thus combining waste of substance with imitation of the Mazdians, and providing an occasion for the assembling of women and men at night with mischievous results. The devil persuades them that therein is the glorification of Islam. This is a serious delusion, since a code is glorified by practising what it enjoins. To this category belongs the case of those who allow themselves to claim that they have studied with persons with whom they had not studied, though they may have received a licence from them. Such a person will say falsely "I was informed by so-an-so," regarding this as a light matter, since he is recording Readings, which he supposes to be a virtuous act, forgetting that this is a falsehood to which the liars' penalty attaches. To it also belongs the case of the competent teacher of Reading who studies with two or three teachers, talks with any visitor while his mind cannot contain all these things, and then declares in writing that he has read with so-and-so according to the Reading of so-and-so.² Now some scrupulous persons used to maintain that two or three should come together and study with one. To it further belongs the case of Readers who vie with each other in the amount that they can get through. I have seen shaikhs among them who hold meetings and put forward an individual who on a long day gets through the whole Qur'ân three times. If he fails, he is censured, and praised if he succeeds. The populace gather for such an occasion, and admire the man as they would a runner. The devil persuades them that heavenly reward is earned by much reading. It is however one of his delusions, since reading ought to be for God, not to win admiration. Further it ought to be slow, since God says (xvii. 107) *That thou mayest read it unto the people slowly* and (lxxiii. 4) *And chant the Qur'ân chanting*. To this category also belongs the case of a number of Readers who have invented musical reading, which had indeed previously

(1) In the first Surah, where there are these differences of vocalization. Apparently the people referred to combined the different views.

(2) It is not clear whether the author is referring to the teacher or the student.

been used to a moderate extent. Ahmad b. Hanbal and others disapproved of it, but not al-Shafi'i. We were informed by Muhammad b. Nasir in a Tradition going back to al-Rabi' b. Sulaiman that al-Shafi'i said: There is no objection to listening to camel-drivers' music or Bedouin intonation, nor to reading the Qur'ân with chant and modulation of the voice.

My own opinion is that Shafi'i merely referred to contemporary practice, in which slight modulation was practised, whereas in the present day it is done according to the rules of vocal music; and the more closely it approaches singing, the more is it to be disapproved. If the Qur'ân is removed from its original structure, it is forbidden.

To the same category belongs the case of Readers who permit themselves certain sins, such as maligning their rivals, or even some greater offence, in the belief that their knowing the Qur'ân by heart will avert punishment from them, and alleging the saying of the Prophet: *If the Qur'ân were placed in a skin it would not burn.* This is one of the devil's delusions, since the punishment of one who knows is greater than that of one who does not know; greater knowledge strengthens the case against him. Then there is another sin in the Reader not respecting what he has committed to memory. God says *What, is one who knows like one who knows not?** And concerning the Prophet's wives He says (xxxiii. 30) *And whoever of you doeth manifest foulness, her punishment shall be doubled twice.* We were informed by Ahmad b. Ahmad al-Mutawakkili in a Tradition going back to Ma'ruf al-Karkhi that Bakr b. Khunais said: Verily in Gehenna there is a ravine against which Gehenna implores aid seven times in the day; and in that ravine there is a pit against which both Gehenna and the ravine implore aid seven times in the day, and in the pit there is a snake against which Gehenna, the ravine, and the pit, implore aid seven times in the day; its operation commences with evil-doers who know the Qur'ân by heart. They will say: O Lord, is it to commence with us before the idolators? And there will be said to them: One who knows is not like one who knows not.

Let us confine ourselves to this specimen in what concerns the Readers.

*Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the
Traditionalists*

To this category belongs the case of people who have spent their lives in hearing Tradition, travelling in pursuit of it,

*Inaccurate quotation.

collecting numerous avenues,* and looking for authoritative chains and unfamiliar texts. They are of two classes. One class aims at preserving the code by ascertaining which Traditions are sound as opposed to the accused, and they deserve gratitude for their endeavour, only the devil deludes them by distracting them through this from the duty, which is incumbent on every individual, of ascertaining what his obligations are, striving to discharge them, using Tradition as a source of law. If it be said that many of our ancestors did the like, such as Yahya b. Mu'in, Ibn al-Madini, al-Bukhari, and Muslim, the reply is that these persons combined knowledge of important matters of religion and the laws concerning them with their search for Tradition. They were helped herein by the shortness of the chains and the small quantity of Tradition, so that they had time for both these things. In our time the avenues are lengthy and the works dealing with the subject vast, wherein only the avenues are different. It is scarcely possible for any one to combine both these things; you will find a Traditionalist write, hear, and collect books for fifty years without knowing their contents; supposing that any accident occurs during prayer he will stand in need of one of the young law-students who come to him to hear Tradition. These give a handle to the assailants of the Traditionalists, who call them book-laden animals, who do not know what they are carrying. If one of them is fortunate enough to look into his Tradition, very likely he will act according to an abrogated Tradition, or will understand his Tradition in the sense wherein the vulgar understand it, and act accordingly, although that was not what the Tradition meant. Thus we have been told that a certain Traditionalist recorded that the Prophet had forbidden a man receiving the water of another man's plantation. Several of the audience said: It has been our practice if we had more water than we wanted in our gardens to send it on to our neighbours: we ask God's pardon for having done so. Neither the reader nor the hearer understood or perceived that the reference was to *coitus cum feminis captivis praegnantibus*. Al-Khattabi says: One of our shaikhs used to recite a Tradition that the Prophet had forbidden (*halaq*) cutting the hair before prayer, on Friday, and informed me that for forty years he had never cut his hair before prayer. I said to him: The word is *halaq* (circles), the objection being to people gathering for study and discussion; what the Prophet commanded was that a man should occupy his mind

*i.e., different chains of authorities for the same Tradition.

with prayer and listen to the sermon. The man said to me: You have indeed relieved me, and he was a pious man. Ibn Sa'id was of high rank among Traditionalists, only having had little intercourse with jurists he could not understand how to answer a legal question. We were told by Abu Mansur al-Bazzar in a Tradition going back to the jurist Abu Bakr al-Abhari that he said: I was with Yahya b. Muhammad b. Sa'id when a woman came to him and said: Shaikh, what say you of a well into which a chicken has fallen and died: is its water clean or unclean?—Yahya said: Tell me, how came the chicken to fall into the well?—She said: It was not covered.—He said: Why did you not cover it so that nothing could fall into it?—Al-Abhari said: I said My friend, if the water has changed, it is unclean, otherwise it is clean.

Ibn Shahin¹ composed many works on Tradition, the smallest of them one volume and the largest a commentary in 1000 volumes; yet he knew nothing about law. Some of them ventured to give legal opinions that were erroneous for fear of being thought ignorant. Some became laughing-stocks in consequence of their opinions. One of them was asked a question about the division of an inheritance, and wrote in reply let it be divided in accordance with the ordinances of God. We were informed by Muhammad b. Abi Mansur in a Tradition going back to Ibrahim al-Harbi² that he said: I was told that a woman came to 'Ali b. Dawud³ while he was repeating Traditions, having in front of him some thousand persons. She said to him: I have sworn to give my wrapper in alms.—He said: How much did you pay for it?—She replied: Twenty-two dirhems.—He said: Then go and fast twenty-two days.—When she had left, he began to lament saying: Alas, we made a mistake. We ordered her to perform the atonement for a repudiation.

Now, I would observe, consider these two disgraces, that of ignorance and that of venturing to give a legal opinion with such a muddle. And know that the majority of the Traditionalists take what concerns the attributes of the Creator in its literal and material sense, thus adopting anthropomorphist doctrine;⁴ because they have not associated with jurists so as to learn how to interpret the ambiguous texts

(1) 297-385. His name was 'Umar?Ahmad. His ink cost him 700 dirhems. List of his works in Dhahabi, *Huffâz* iii, 196.

(2) 198-285.

(3) Died 262. He was one of Tabari's teachers.

(4) This is attacked by the author in his *Daf' Shubhat al-tashbih*.

in accordance with the ascertained law. In our time we have seen such a person amass books and hear much, without understanding what he has procured. Some of them do not know the Qur'ân by heart, or know the rules of prayer. These people suppose that they are occupying themselves with what is enjoined on the community as a whole, instead of what is enjoined on the individuals. Now to prefer the unimportant to the important is a delusion of the devil.

The second section consists of persons who have heard much Tradition, only their purpose was not sound. By collecting the "avenues" they did not want to ascertain what was genuine and what not, what they wanted were Traditions of high antiquity, and such as were little known, and they would go round the countries in order that one of them might say I met so-and-so, and I have chains of authorities which no one else has, and I have Traditions which are known to no one but me. A student of Tradition came to us in Baghdad, and he would take a teacher and set him down in al-Raqqah*—a garden on the bank of the Tigris—and read with him; he would then say in his collections "I was informed by so-and-so son of so-and-so in al-Raqqah," leading men to suppose that it was the Raqqah in the direction of Syria, and to think that he had undertaken arduous journeys in search of Tradition. Or he would set him down between the Nahr 'Isa and the Euphrates and say "I was informed by so-and-so Beyond the River," to make people suppose that he had crossed the Oxus in search of Tradition. Or he would say "I was informed by so-and-so on my second or my third journey," that people might know the amount of trouble which he had taken in pursuit of Tradition. He won no blessing, as he died while still a student.

All this, I may observe, is far removed from sincerity; their object is leadership and vainglory. And this is why they follow after the rare and strange Traditions. It often happens that one of them gets hold of a note-book containing the Traditions which some fellow-Muslim has heard, and conceals the fact in order to monopolize the transmission; and he may die without ever having transmitted the contents, so that both these persons will lose their reward. Often too it happens that one of them travels to a teacher whose name can begin with either a Q or a K, in order to write that fact in his copy and nothing more.

* See Le Strange, *Baghdad*, p. 261.

To the delusion which the devil practises on the Traditionalists belongs their fault-finding with one another, to satisfy private grudges, which they carry out in the style of the "discrediting and crediting"¹ which was practised by the earlier representatives of this discipline, whose object was the protection of the code. God indeed knows best what people's intentions are; but the proof that the intentions of these people are base lies in the fact that they say nothing about the persons from whom they themselves have received. The ancients did not act thus; 'Ali b. al-Madini² used to report from his father, who was untrustworthy, but he would add "and the reports of this shaikh are such as they are." We were informed by Abu Bakr b. Habib al-'Amiri in a Tradition going back to Yusuf b. al-Hussain³ that he said: I asked Harith al-Muhasibi about backbiting, and he said: Beware of it, for it is the worst of acquisitions. What think you of a thing which will rob you of your merits in order to give satisfaction to your opponents? How will you be able to satisfy one whom you hate in this world when he is your opponent on the Day of Judgment? Either he will take some of your merits or you will take some of his demerits, since there will be no dinars nor dirhems there. Beware of it therefore and learn its source. Backbiting by the vulgar and the ignorant springs from the desire to gratify anger, ill-will, envy, and suspicion, qualities that are manifest, not concealed. Backbiting by the learned springs from self-deception, the man thinking that he is displaying sincere care for others, and from interpretation of a report which is untrustworthy, and which, were it trustworthy, would not assist backbiting. The report is the saying attributed to him (the Prophet?) *Do you dislike recording it? Record it stating the objections to it, that people may be on their guard against it.* If this report were preserved and correct, it would not involve the open defamation of a brother Muslim except when you are asked about him. If, e.g., a man comes and asks your advice saying I want to marry my daughter to so-and-so, and you know the man to be an innovator or not to be trusted with a Muslim woman, you should dissuade the parent as courteously as possible. Or if another comes and says to you I want to deposit a sum of money with so-and-so, and the man is not fit to be trusted with a deposit, you should dissuade the

(1) Technical terms for attacking and defending the credibility of persons who transmitted Traditions.

(2) His name was 'Ali b. 'Abdallah, 161-234.

(3) Al-Razi. A notice of him in Nicholson's *Kashf al-Mahjub*, 536.

proposing depositor as courteously as possible. Or if a man says to you I want to pray behind so-and-so or make him my authority for some branch of knowledge, you should also dissuade as courteously as possible but not gratify resentment by backbiting.

In the case of Qur'ân-readers and devotees it springs from self-conceit. A man reveals his brother's defect, and then plumes himself on praying for him secretly. He makes free with his Muslim brother's flesh, and then glorifies himself by praying for him.

In the case of high officials such as are called *Ustadh** it springs from the desire to make a show of kindness. The man will say: Poor fellow, he is afflicted with such and such a failing, how trying! God protect us from such abandonment! The man plumes himself on his display of kindness towards his brother, and then on praying for him in the presence of his fellows, he will say: I have only revealed that to you in order that you may offer many prayers for him.—We ask God's protection from backbiting whether indirect or direct. Beware of it, for the Qur'ân has declared it to be odious. God says (xliv. 12) *Would one of you like to devour the flesh of his dead brother? Nay, ye abhor it.* Many a saying of the Prophet to the same purport is reported.

Among the ways wherein the devil deludes the Traditionalists is the reporting of spurious Traditions without stating that they are spurious. This is a crime against the code, and their purpose is to advertise their Traditions and the quantity of their information. The Prophet said: Whosoever reports a Tradition as from me, while holding it to be false, is a liar.—To this category belongs their falsification of authorities, when one of them says "X from Y" or "Said X on the authority of Y" suggesting that he had heard from him a Tradition, in whose chain of authorities a link is missing, whereas he did not hear it; and this is reprehensible, because it is giving the broken chain the authority of the complete chain. Some of them report on the authority of a "weak" transmitter or a liar, either not naming him or giving him a name that is not his, or calling him by his *kunyah* or after some ancestor in order that he may not be recognized. This is a crime against the code, because it bases a rule on what is no proper basis for it. As for the case in which the transmitter cited is a trustworthy person, and his relation to

*For this title see index to the *Eclipse*.

an ancestor or merely his *kunyah* is given so that it may not seem that the same person is cited too frequently, or the case in which the transmitter is on a level with the reporter of the Tradition and the latter is ashamed to mention the former, though such procedure is to be disapproved and far removed from correctness, still it is venial on condition that the transmitter is trustworthy—may God guide us!

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the jurists

In old times the jurists were the students of the Qur'ân and the Tradition, but the practice constantly declined till the later generation said It suffices us to know the legal texts of the Qur'ân and to rely on the celebrated works on Tradition such as the *Sunan* of Abu Dawud, etc. Presently they neglected this also, and a jurist would allege a verse of which he did not know the meaning, or a Tradition which for all he knew might be genuine or spurious. Many a time too he would rely on an analogy which was opposed to a genuine Tradition, being unaware of this, owing to his having paid little attention to the subject of transmission. Now jurisprudence is extracting from the Book and the Sunnah: and how can a man extract from a thing with which he is not acquainted? It is reprehensible to make a rule depend on a Tradition of which the soundness or unsoundness is not ascertained. Such knowledge was at one time hard to procure and a man needed to travel far and undergo much fatigue in order to obtain it; then books were composed, *Sunan* established, and the sound distinguished from the unsound. Only the later generations have been too completely overcome by idleness to read the literature of Tradition; so much so that I have seen a great jurist say in a work of his concerning words occurring in the collections of sound Tradition "the Prophet cannot have said this," and I have seen him say when arguing about a certain question "our proof is the report of certain persons that the Prophet said" something, his reply to the citation of a sound Tradition by his opponent being "that Tradition is unknown." All this is crime against Islam.

To the delusions which the devil inflicts on the jurists belongs their reliance on their acquisition of eristic (the science of disputation), claiming that they are searching for the correct ascertainment of the evidence for a rule, and the elicitation of minute points of law, and the grounds for doctrines. If their claim were just, they would occupy themselves with all the questions, whereas they confine themselves to great questions, whereon they can dilate, so that

the disputant may gain repute with the public in the process of discussion. One of them concerns himself with arranging his disputation and inquiring into contradictions, with the object of gaining glory and defeating rivals. Often he is unacquainted with the rule dealing with a small question, which however involves general disaster.

Account of the way in which he deludes them into introducing into their disputation the talk of the philosophers, and into relying on their inventions

To this category belongs their preferring analogy to the Tradition which furnishes evidence on the question at issue in order to get greater scope for their discussion. If any one of them adduces a Tradition as evidence, he falls into disrepute, although propriety would demand that the adduction of Tradition should have the preference. To this category also belongs their making discussion their chief occupation, unmingled with what is calculated to soften the heart, such as reciting the Qur'ân, listening to Tradition and the biography of the Prophet and his Companions. It is well known that the heart is not rendered humble by repeated removal of impurity and dirty water; what it needs is reminding and exhortation that it may set itself to earn the next world. Disputed questions may indeed belong to jurisprudence, but they do not furnish every requisite. Those who have not penetrated the mysteries of the ancients and the character of those systems they have adopted cannot tread their path. It should be understood that human nature is predatory and if left alone with its contemporaries it steals from their characteristics and becomes like them; whereas if it study the lives of the ancients it emulates them, and models itself on their character. One of the ancients said: A narrative which softens my heart is more agreeable to me than a hundred judgments of Shuraih.*—He only said this because the softening of the heart is what is wanted, and there are causes which produce it.

To the same category belongs their confining themselves to disputation while neglecting to memorize the system and the other studies connected with the code. You will see a consulting jurist asked about a text of the Qur'ân or a Tradition and ignorant of it. This is imposture: pride has no place for deficiency! Further, discussion was introduced for the purpose of bringing the truth to light; and the aim

*Famous judge, died about 96.

of our ancestors was to help people by showing what was right. They would proceed from argument to argument and if some matter escaped one of them, the other would call his attention to it, their purpose being to make clear what was right. Hence if one of these old jurists based a judgment by analogy on an established rule for a reason which he surmised, and he was asked What is the evidence that the judgment in the case of the established rule is based on the reason assigned, he would say: This is what appears to me; if something preferable appears to you, then state it, for the opponent cannot compel me to state it.—He is right in saying that he is not bound to do so, only where it is a case of giving sincere advice and bringing the truth to light, he is so bound.*

To the same category belongs the case wherein it is made clear to one of them that the truth lies with his opponent, but for all that he does not recant, being oppressed by the thought that his opponent is shown to be in the right. Indeed oftentimes he will try hard to confute that opponent while aware that the right is on his side. This is indeed outrageous, since the whole object of disputation is to arrive at the truth. Shafi'i said: Whenever a person with whom I have disputed has declined to accept a sound argument, I have despised him, whereas if he has accepted it, I have respected him; nor have I ever, when disputing with any one, cared which was the winning side: if it were my opponent's, I would go over to him.

Further their desire to achieve supremacy by discussion arouses the ambition which is latent in their souls, and if any one sees in his discourse some weakness which will enable the opponent to vanquish him, he proceeds to commit himself to preposterous propositions, and if he finds the opponent openly claim the advantage over him, and give way to the passion of pride, he will counter that with abuse, so that the disputation turns into a brawl.

To the same category belongs the licence which they allow themselves when the opponent is not present, on the pretence of reporting a discussion: one of them will say "I talked with so-and-so, and he said nothing." With this plea he uses language which will enable him to gratify himself at the expense of the opponent's honour.

Further the devil has deluded them into thinking that Jurisprudence by itself is the science of the code, with no

*This passage is likely to be corrupt.

other, so that if a Traditionalist is mentioned to them, they say: Oh, that man does not understand, forgetting that Tradition is the source. If some saying is cited to them calculated to soften the heart, they say Oh, that is what preachers say.

To the same category belongs their venturing to give legal opinions without having reached the rank which would justify their doing so; frequently improvising they give opinions which contradict the texts; it would be better if they were to take their time over difficult questions. I was told by Isma'il b. Ahmad al-Samarqandi in a Tradition going back to 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Laila' that the latter said: I have been contemporary with a hundred and twenty of the Prophet's Companions, and when one of them was asked concerning a question he would refer it to another and he to another and this other to a third till it came back to the first. 'Ata b. al-Sa'ib² is reported to have said: I also heard 'Abd al-Rahman b. Abi Laila say: In this mosque I have come across a hundred and twenty Helpers who are Companions of the Prophet, not one of whom would repeat a Tradition but wished that his brother had repeated it instead of him, or would be asked about a question but would wish that his brother would deliver an opinion in his stead.

We have been told that Ibrahim al-Nakha'i³ being asked about a question said: Could you find not any one to ask except me?—It is related that Malik b. Anas said: I have never given a legal opinion without having first asked seventy shaikhs whether they approved of my giving it and their assenting. He was asked: And suppose they had forbidden you?—Had they done so, he replied, I would have refrained. A man said to Ahmad b. Hanbal: I have sworn and I do not know how I have sworn.—He said: Would that when you knew how you had sworn I knew how to give you an opinion.

This (I observed) was the style of our ancestors owing to their fear of God and their reverence for Him. One who studies their careers will be enlightened.

One of the ways wherein the devil deludes the jurists is their association with princes and Sultans, their flattering them, and declining to find fault with them though they are

(1) Died about 82.

(2) Died about 137.

(3) Died 96. His is the first biography in Ibn Khallikan.

able to do so. Often they give them permission to do what they have no right to permit, in order to acquire some temporal advantage; thereby mischief comes in three directions: first, the prince says "were I not in the right, the jurist would have found fault with me; Surely I must be in the right, since he is maintained by my property."* Secondly, the ordinary man says "There is nothing the matter with this prince or his wealth or his acts, since this particular jurist remains with him." Thirdly, the jurist, who ruins his religion thereby.

The devil has deluded them concerning their appearing before the Sultan, so that one of them says: We only appear before him in order to intercede for a Muslim. This delusion is cleared away by the observation that had any one else gone to the Sultan to intercede, this would not have pleased the jurist, who might very well have attacked such an individual for monopolizing the Sultan's attention. The devil further deludes him on the matter of taking the Sultan's money, saying "You have a right to it." Now it is well known that if that money comes from an illegal source, the man has no right to take any of it, and if it is from a doubtful source, the better course is to abstain from it; if however it comes from a lawful source, it is permissible for the jurist to take such amount as religion allows, not such as can be expended in the maintenance of a luxurious establishment. Now often the populace imitate what they see the jurist do, and regard as lawful what is not so.

The devil also deludes men of learning, who keep away from the Sultan in order to practise devotion; he persuades them to malign those scholars who do present themselves to the Sultan, thereby rendering them victims of two vices, maligning others, and self-praise. In general it may be said that appearance at the courts is a serious danger, for whereas the intention at the commencement may be good, it changes with the bestowal of honours and gifts, or through covetousness; so the man cannot keep himself from flattering the Sultan, and abstaining from finding fault with him. Sufyan al-Thauri said: I am not afraid of their humiliating me; I am only afraid of their doing me honour, so that my heart will incline to them.

The learned men of antiquity used to keep away from princes, owing to their manifest wrongdoing: so the princes used to send for them, needing them to give legal opinions and

*The text has been emended.

to undertake governments; so there sprang up a class of men who were very desirous of worldly prosperity, studied the sciences which are of use to princes, and brought their knowledge to them in order to gain worldly advantage. The proof that they had the princes in view in their studies lies in the fact that at one time the princes liked to hear the arguments about the principles of religion, and people produced the science of metaphysical theology; then some of the former showed a taste for legal discussion, and the people took up with eristic; then some of the former showed a liking for homilies, and many a student took up with this pursuit. And when the mass of the populace had a liking for anecdotes, the anecdote-mongers became numerous, and the number of jurists declined.

Among the ways wherein the devil deludes the jurists is this: one of them may live upon a trust fund belonging to a school built for students, and stay there for years without studying, being satisfied with what he already knows, or indeed he may have come to the end of his study, so as to have no share in the endowment, which was meant for persons still learning, unless indeed such an individual may be a reciter or teacher, and so continually employed.

To this category there belongs what is reported of some among the younger law-students, viz., that they allow themselves licence in forbidden things, some of them wearing silk and ornaments of gold, at the cost of the school in which they protract their stay, and whose endowment they employ for other iniquities as well; the reasons for their licentiousness vary, some of them having no sound belief in the basis of religion, and studying law to acquire respectability or to get a share in the endowment, or to gain eminence or to dispute; whereas others are sound in belief, but are overcome by passion and concupiscence, having nothing to divert them therefrom, since the mere practice of arguing and disputing encourages conceit and pride, inasmuch as a man can only keep himself straight by ascetic exercise and perusal of the lives of the ancients—practices from which most of them are far removed, all that they do being calculated to encourage natural pride, so that passion is unrestrained. Some of them are deluded by the devil with the thought that they are savants, jurists, and muftis, and that learning exempts its possessors from ill consequences: it does nothing of the kind, for the man's knowledge in such a case convicts him, and doubles his punishment, as we have stated in the case of the Readers.

Al-Hasan al-Basri said: He only is a jurist who fears God Almighty. Ibn Aqil said: I saw a jurist of Khorasan wearing silk and gold rings, and said to him: What is this?—He said: Gifts of the Sultan and vexation of the enemies.—I said: On the contrary, the triumph of the enemies over you, if you are a Muslim, since the devil is your enemy, and if he has got you to wear what angers the code, you have let him triumph over you. Is the prohibition of the Merciful satisfied with the Sultan's gifts, wretched man? The Sultan has robbed you, but you have been stripped of your faith. Better would it have been that the Sultan should make you strip people of the robe of wickedness and clothe you with the robe of piety. May God cast disgrace upon you inasmuch as you have made light of His commandment! Would that you had said: These are natural vanities! As it is, your condemnation is complete, since your contumacy proves that you are inwardly rotten.

One of his ways of deluding them is that he persuades them to despise preachers and forbid their visits, saying: Who are these people—story-tellers! The devil's purpose is to prevent the jurists from being present where the heart will be humbled and softened. The story-tellers are not to be censured because of this name, since God says (xii. 3) *We shall tell thee the best of stories* and (vii. 175) *And tell thou the stories*. The story-tellers are only to be censured because they are given to dilate without introducing any useful knowledge, and most of them mix things up in their narrations, or insist on absurdities. But when the stories are true, and edifying, the story-teller is worthy of praise. Ahmad b. Hanbal used to say: How much men need a truthful story-teller!

Account of the way wherein he deludes preachers and story-tellers

In old times the preachers were scholars and jurists; 'Abdallah b. 'Umar used to attend the meetings of 'Ubaid b. 'Umair, and 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Aziz used to attend the meetings of a story-teller. Later on the profession became degraded, and was taken up by ignorant men, so that discreet persons kept away from their company, which was sought by the vulgar and women. These persons spent no time in acquiring knowledge, but concentrated on anecdotes and what suited the taste of the ignorant. Various innovations were introduced into this profession.

We have mentioned their failings in the *Book of Story-tellers and Narrators*, but will also give some account of them here. One is that some of them invent Traditions calculated to encourage or to warn, being deluded by the devil and supposing that their purpose is to urge men to virtue and deter them from vice. This, however, is an insult to the Code, since such conduct on their part implies that it is defective, needing a supplement. Further they forget the saying of the Prophet *Whoso intentionally lies about me had better secure his place in Hell*. To this category also belongs their looking out for what will tickle people's minds and gratify their hearts, so that they vary their style accordingly, and you will find them reciting delightful erotic songs; the devil deludes them into thinking that the purpose of such is to point to the love of God, whereas the majority of their audience are common people, whose interior is filled with the love of passion; so the story-teller is misled, and by his procedure there is also misled the man who displays more emotion and humility than he actually feels. A larger audience necessitates additional simulation, and the soul will concede more tears and more humility: if one of them is feigning, he has forfeited the next world: and the man who is genuine cannot keep his sincerity free from an admixture of hypocrisy. Some of them make the motions with which the intonation of tunes is accompanied, and the intonations which they produce in our time resemble singing, and so come closer to what is forbidden than to what is merely disapproved. The Reader chants and the story-teller recites erotic verses, clapping his hands and beating with his feet, so that the performance resembles a drunken bout, and it causes mental agitation and exhilaration, with shouting by men and women, and rending of garments by reason of the passions hidden in the mind. Then they go away saying, It was an agreeable meeting, "agreeable" referring to something illicit. Some of those who practise the conduct that has been explained recite dirges over the dead, describing the afflictions which they endure, and telling of travelling and those who have met death in a strange land: causing the women to weep so that the place comes to be like a wailing room: but it would have been more fitting to speak of resignation to the loss of the departed, not what makes people despair. Some of them talk of the subtleties of asceticism and the love of God: and the devil deludes them with the suggestion "you are of those to whom this epithet applies, since you would not have been able to describe it all had you not known what you describe and walked the path." The

removal of this delusion is the fact that a description is a case of knowledge, whereas walking is not knowledge. Some of them talk of catastrophes and illegal "intoxication," quoting amatory verses, with the object of increasing the applause of the company though the subject be improper. Many a one of them utters flowers of speech with no underlying meaning; most of their talk in the present day is of Moses and the mountain, and Zulaikha and Joseph; they scarcely ever mention the divine ordinances, or forbid sin. When, then, is the adulterer or usurer likely to repent, or a woman to recognize her husband's rights and those of her relations? Alas, these people have abandoned the code, and that is why their wares find so good a market; for truth is heavy, and falsehood light. Some of them urge people to asceticism and vigils, without explaining to the populace the purpose of these proceedings; in consequence one of them may repent and retire to a hermitage, or to the mountain, leaving his family without provision. Some of them talk of hope and desire, with no admixture of what will induce fear and caution, only emboldening people thereby to commit sin, and enforcing this by their own taste for worldly things such as fine horses, and splendid attire; so their words and actions corrupt men's hearts.

The preacher indeed may be sincere and well-meaning, only some of them get imbued with ambition as time goes on, and want to be revered; the sign of this is that if another preacher comes to take such a man's place or assist him with the congregation, the former preacher dislikes it; whereas, were he in earnest, he would have no objection to being helped with the morals of the congregation.

Some story-tellers mix the men and the women at their meetings, and you may see the women uttering many cries, out of emotion, as the story-tellers suppose, who find no fault with these cries, hoping to win all their hearts. In our time the story-tellers act in a way which has no connection with delusion, since it is an evident way of making the stories a source of livelihood, and of getting gifts from tyrannical princes, or obtaining the like from the gatherers of unlawful imposts, and earning money by them in the provinces. Some of them go to the cemeteries where they dilate on affliction and parting with friends, drawing tears from the women, but not exhorting them to take warning.

The devil even deludes the conscientious preacher, saying to him; You are not the person to preach, *that* should be done

by one who is wide awake: urging the man to silence and retirement. This is one of the devil's suggestions, who thereby prevents good being done, as he goes on to say: You take delight in what you recount, and find solace therein; hypocrisy may well enter into your discourse, so that the path of isolation is safer. Satan's object thereby is to block the way of good. There is a Tradition on the authority of Thabit that al-Hasan was at a meeting, and said to al-'Ala: Speak.—Al-'Ala said: We shall be weakening your authority; he proceeded to recount the troubles connected with speaking and its consequences.—I, said Thabit, was pleased; then al-Hasan spoke, while we were in this state of mind, and said: Satan would like you to accept his doctrine, so that no one would enjoin right or forbid wrong.

Account of the way wherein he deludes philologists and scholars

He has deluded the majority of them, distracting them by the study of grammar and the dictionary from those important matters which are obligatory on the individual, such as knowledge of their religious duties, and from more appropriate studies such as moral science and the reformation of the heart, and more excellent studies, such as the interpretation of the Qur'ân, Tradition, and Law. They give up all their time to studies which are not wanted on their own account but for something else; for when a man understands the word, he ought to proceed to act accordingly, since that is the purpose of the former. You will find one of these people scarcely knowing more than a little of the lore of the code or of jurisprudence, and paying no attention to the purification of his mind and the reformation of his heart. And withal they are exceedingly proud and have been persuaded by the devil that they are the savants of Islam, because grammar and lexicography are Islamic sciences, and by them the meaning of the glorious Qur'ân is ascertained. This indeed cannot be denied; only the knowledge of the amount of grammar necessary for the correction of the tongue, and of lexicography for the interpretation of the Qur'ân and the Tradition, is easily acquired and indeed incumbent; anything more is superfluous and unnecessary, and it is a mistake to expend time in acquiring this unimportant superfluity while neglecting what is important; and preferring it to what is more profitable and more excellent, such as Jurisprudence and Tradition, is wasteful. If life were long enough for the acquisition of all knowledge, it would be all right; but since life is short, it is

proper to give the preference to the more important and the more excellent.

The author proceeds to give examples of fetwas given where the ruling should distinguish two senses of the same word, which would call for different rulings. They are not fit for translation.

Being chiefly occupied with pagan poetry, nature finding no restraint to its instincts from the perusal of Traditions and the biographies of the saints of old, it carries them away to the abyss of passion, and the floodgates of frivolity are opened. Rarely will you see one of them troubling himself about piety, or scrupulous about food: the grammarian is a courtier, and will eat the rulers' forbidden food, as indeed Abu 'Ali al-Farisi enjoyed the protection of 'Adud al-daulah, and others; through want of understanding they fancy that to be lawful which is not so, as happened to Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. al-Sari al-Zajjaj.* I was, he said, tutor to al-Qasim son of 'Ubaidallah, and I said to him: If you attain to your father's rank and are invested with the vizierate, what will you do for me?—What *would* you like? he asked.—I said: I should like you to give me twenty thousand dinars.—This was the summit of my ambition, and only a few years elapsed before he was invested with the vizierate while I was still in his employ. I had become his messmate and felt tempted to remind him of his promise, but I was afraid of him; on the third day of his vizierate he said to me: Abu Ishaq, I have not seen you reminding me of the vow.—I said: I relied on the good faith of the vizier, who needs no reminding of a vow which he made with regard to a meritorious servant.—He said: It is Mu'tadid; were it not for him it would not be difficult for me to pay you this sum straight off; only I am afraid that he would talk to me about it, so kindly take it in instalments.—I said Certainly.—Then he said: You are to sit and receive people's petitions on important matters, and be quick with them, never failing to ask me for something about which you are addressed, whether it be right or wrong, until the sum of the vow has come into your hands.—I did this, and used every day to present papers to him, which he would sign, sometimes asking me how much had been promised me for getting it through, when I would tell him, and he would say You have been cheated; this is worth so much, so make the man pay more.—I would then go back to the people, and haggle with them till they had raised their offers to the amount which

*See *Irshad al-Azib*, i. 48.

he had fixed. So in a short time I had amassed the 20,000 dinars and more.—After a month he asked me whether I had amassed the amount which he had vowed; I said No, and I went on presenting the papers, and once a month or so he would ask me the same question, and I would say No for fear of the income coming to an end. This went on till I had amassed the double of the amount, and one day when he asked me I was ashamed of continuing to lie, and replied: By the good luck of the vizier that sum has been amassed.—He said: You have relieved me, by Allah, for I have been in anxiety till you got it.—He then took his inkhorn and wrote an order on his treasurer for three thousand dinars as a bonus. I took this and then ceased presenting documents to him, not knowing what view he would take of my conduct. The next day I went to him and sat in my usual place, when he signed to me to bring what I had got, meaning to demand the petitions as usual. I said: I have taken no paper from any one, since the vow has been fulfilled, and I did not know what view the vizier would take.—He said: Good heavens, do you suppose I would deprive you of a business that has become your practice, about which people know and which has won for you their respect and made them come to your door morning and evening? The cause of the stoppage will not be known and people will suppose that it is due to a weakening of your influence with me, or a change in your position. So present the petitions as usual, and take your fees without reckoning.—I kissed his hand, and next morning brought him the petitions, and kept on bringing him something every day till he died, having an established position with him.

I would observe that here we may see the effort of ignorance of the law. Had this great grammarian and philologist known that this procedure of his was illegal, he would not have narrated it with such pride. The presentation of complaints is obligatory, and it is unlawful to take bribes for doing this, or any other of the public business which the vizier committed to him. And this shows the superiority of jurisprudence to other studies.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued)

THE DECCAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

ANCIENT HISTORY

THE Vindhya range of mountains, the Ganges and the Nerbada rivers physically divide the surface of India into two main northern and southern parts. This barrier caused ignorance of the south to prevail in the north for centuries, and the south remained safe from any outside attack till Ala-ud-Dîn Khiljî broke this barrier and the Muslims settled there. The historians have named only the northern half the *Aryavarta* and the whole of India *Bharatavarsha*. The southern part which is mainly a tableland was called the Deccan, a name now proper to the Nizam's Dominions. Experts in anthropology have called this part of India the real India, because the rudiments of real Indian civilization exist there to this day, which have been long extinct in the north. Gonds, Bhils, Banjaras, etc., the aborigines of India, clad as old, can still be seen here moving in the jungles as well as carrying on their old nomadic trades of stone-breaking or hunting wild animals for their livelihood in the old way. They can be heard speaking their own primitive languages for which Southern India is famed, while at the same time, the townspeople of the Deccan are quite modern and civilized. It is surprising that these aborigines should have remained uninfluenced by the modern people living around them. Historians and serious students of ancient Indian culture must come for authoritative data to the plains of the ancient rivers Krishna and Godavari, i.e., the Dominions of the Nizam of Hyderabad. If the centre of the war-field of the Mahabharata was Northern India, the stage of the epic Ramayana was the Deccan and Ceylon where the principal events in the story of the exile of Rama took place. Here can be studied and observed the real sources of History, viz., ancient stupas, temples, forts, inscriptions which are still intact and safe from vandalism of the various

conquerors, largely owing to the toleration of the Muslim rulers of the Deccan.

The great aim of Asoka the Great (272-231 B.C.) was to bring the whole world under one great religion—Buddhism then prevailing in India, and to extinguish all the differences of the masses. Accordingly he sent Buddhist monks and missionaries with edicts to all parts of India including the Deccan, as has been lately established by the discovery of an important inscription at Maski in the Raichur District of the Nizam's Dominions, a great achievement of the Nizam's Archæological Department. Southern India is full of Hindu inscriptions and ancient monuments, and is in fact a great library of illustrated books in stone.

“One of the oldest legacies from the past is a slab in Jain temple No. 1 at Deogarh, containing specimens of eighteen dialects (Bhasha) and eighteen scripts, Maurya, Dravidian, etc.,” which is a strange specimen of the literature of the ancients. It is still undecided by the experts whether the Deccan formed part of the realm of the Emperor Bindusara or not; but it is quite obvious from the Maski inscription that the Deccan was under the sway of Asoka. Other such inscriptions at Govi Math and Palki Gandu in the Kuppal District on the estate of Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur have recently been brought to life by the Archæological Department. These discoveries fill gaps in ancient history. They have been recently published, edited by great authorities on epigraphy.

“In the days of Chandragupta Maurya and Megasthenes, the Andhra nation, a Dravidian people, mentioned in *Aitareya Brahmana* of very early date, and now represented by the large population speaking the Telugu language, occupied the deltas of the Godavari and Krishna rivers on the eastern side of India and was reputed to possess a military force second only to that at the command of the king of Prasii, Chandragupta Maurya. The Andhra territory included thirty walled towns, besides numerous villages, and its army consisted of 100,000 infantry, 2,000 cavalry, and 1,000 elephants. The capital of the State is believed to have been then Srikakulam, on the lower course of the Krishna.” The Andhra Empire covered the period from 230 B.C. to 225 A.D.

For at least three centuries after the extinction of the Andhra Empire dark clouds lay on the Deccan till the Chalukya Empire rose under a chieftain named Pulakesin I.

(550 A.D.) who made himself master of the town of Vatapi, the modern Badami in the Bijapur District. Raja Kirtivarman's son, Pulakesin II ascended the throne of Vatapi in 608 A.D. He won a victory at Vengi which is situated between the Godavari and the Krishna, when he repelled the attack on his territory led in person by Raja Harsha. This Pulakesin had friendly dealings with the ancient Persian kings, to which the frescoes of Ajanta in the first cave testify, for the court of Pulakesin is there depicted with a Persian envoy being presented to the king. This proves the existence of political dealings between India and Persia. The Chinese traveller Hiuen Tsang also came to the court of this Raja in 641 A.D. and visited Ajanta.

The inscription at Nagai near Chittapore shows that it was an important town in the days of the Chalukya Empire, and leads us to believe that those people had a very sound system of education. When the Raja of the Pallava Empire defeated the Chalukyans, Krishna Raja I (760 A.D.) held the reins of power. His period, owing to his splendid achievements, is counted especially glorious. He has caused the building of the Ellora Kailasa Temple, of which the people of the Nizam's Dominions are proud today, one of the wonders of the ancient world. Raja Amoghavarsha is mentioned in the travels of the famous Arabian writer, Suleyman the Merchant (851 A.D.), who ranks him the fourth of the great monarchs of the world, the other three being the Caliph of Baghdad, the King of China and the Emperor of Constantinople. At that time Jainism was at its zenith in the Deccan, Buddhism was declining and the Chalukyan kingdom with its capital at Kalyani (Bidar) was almost finished. During the reign of Raja Vikramaditya IV of Kalyani, one great law-book *Mitakshara* was compiled by Pandit Vijnanesvar. It is still practically followed by the people, and is of great importance for understanding the culture of the Hindus of the Deccan in those days. An inscription recently discovered at Munirabad concerns this same Vikramaditya IV.

Innumerable inscriptions and other remains have helped to solve some problems of the ancient history of India, which were obscure for centuries. The Archæological Department of the Nizam's Government has published monographs on all these finds with a full account of them, and also the inscriptions with translations by the greatest authorities on the subject, involving the expenditure of large sums simply in the service of the science of history.

CASTES AND TRIBES

The castes and tribes of India are a wonderful conglomeration. But from the earliest days the Deccan represents a more strange phenomenon than any other State or province as regards its people. Moreover, it is a fact that the settled life and the increase or decrease in population of a country generally depend upon the production of the quantity and quality of food available and the geographical situation. The majority of the Hindus in Hyderabad reside in the provinces: the Andhras in Telingana, and the Marathas in Maratwara; while the majority of the Muhammadans reside at the centre: these are in a great minority as compared with other communities. The aborigines such as Bhils, Gonds, Lambadas, Yarkallas are also found scattered all over the Deccan. Jains, Buddhists, Parsis, Sikhs and Muslims, all are found among the chief inhabitants of the Nizam's Dominions, where everyone irrespective of creed, caste and colour, enjoys freedom and equal rights, and all are eligible for employment in the Nizam's service. Any one who today would care to study the aborigines of India in their old surroundings should go to the Nizam's Dominions.

A brief account of the Marathas and the Sikhs, whose historical importance and political development are connected with the Deccan, will not be out of place.

The Marathas are originally of Dravidian stock, and are mostly confined to a definite portion of the Deccan which for that reason is called Maratwara. Until the Muhammadans conquered the Deccan and Sivaji rose to prominence, the Marathas had no importance. Their rise as a nation is due to Malik Ambar, who found that the number of his Muslim warriors as compared with the forces of the Mughals was quite small, and so gave these people special military training. Thus they began to acquire importance. Within a short period they, with Ambar's special attention, became good swordsmen and from association with the Muslim warriors acquired a fighting spirit. Had Malik Ambar paid no heed to them they would have remained nomadic like their brethren of the same origin. Malik Ambar infused in them the real military spirit and high aspirations with the object of using them against the huge armies of the Mughals, consisting of Rajputs and Pathans, then besieging the Deccan. He taught them a special mode of swordsmanship *Barge Giri* which today is termed in Maharashtra *Aini Kava*. This mode of swordsmanship is peculiar to the Deccan.

When the Nizam-Shâhî Kingdom of Ahmadnagar came to a close, its courtiers, warriors and nobles fled from the Mughals, but one person, a Maratha, Shahji Bhonsla stood firm for the Nizam-Shâhî dynasty, and he, when finally worn out and vanquished, took service with the 'Adil-Shâhîs of Bijapur. He was then granted the territory of Konkan as an estate. Sivaji one of his sons, who is today regarded as the great hero of the Marathas, captured some districts of the Bijapur Kingdom, weakening it very much. His treacherous murder of Afzal Khan stands against him in history. Mountstuart Elphinstone wrote of the Maratha people after his personal experience of them when Wellesley was busy against Sultan Tipu of Mysore (1799): "A Marhatha thinks of nothing but the results, he cares little for the means, if he can attain his object. For this purpose he will strain his wits, renounce his pleasures, and hazard his person; but he has not a conception of sacrificing his life, or even his persons, or his interest, for a point of honour. This difference of sentiment affects the outward appearance of the two nations: there is something noble in the carriage even of an ordinary Rajput, and something vulgar in that of the most distinguished Marhatha." The Marathas, always at the expense of the Musalmans, later developed an important kingdom. The moral weakness of the Muslim Deccan rulers, in whose pay they lived and who actually trained them, is responsible. They in the long run became a great block in the way of their own masters. Many Maratha Chiefs, owing to the financial position of the Nizam's Government and the atrocities of the later Mughals, made themselves Rajas in the districts. The right of collecting *Chauth*, conferred upon them by the Deccan Rulers, confirmed their footing which more or less enabled them to checkmate their former masters.

They assimilated the main points of culture direct from the Muslims under whom they were brought up. Moulvi Abdul Haq, Professor of Urdu at the Osmania University has written a treatise entitled "The Influence of the Persian Language on the Marathi Language," which will supply ample material for the reader to understand the background of the development not only of their language but also of their culture of which language is the faithful mirror. Even today the majority of the Marathas are subjects of His Exalted Highness the Nizam under whom they enjoy full freedom and equal rights.

The Sikhs, too, have a special interest in the Deccan. The term *Gurdwara* now applied to every Sikh temple

which formerly was *Dharamsala*, was first given to the Nander Shrine in the Nizam's Dominions. Nander is the burial place of Guru Govind Sahib, the last of the great series of Sikh religious leaders. After Guru Govind Sahib the sacred book Granth Sahib became the Guru, i.e., *Guru Granth Sahib*. Guru Govind Sahib is also known as Hazur Sahib. He came to the Deccan in the retinue of Bahadur Shah to help the latter to get the throne after the death of Aurangzeb, and it is known among the Sikhs that Bahadur Shah seized the reins of power through the assistance of their Guru. When he reached Nander, he stopped there and refused to go further. The words he uttered were that that spot was the cause of his salvation, therefore he wished to stop there to pray. He was killed at Nander in 1708 A.D. Before breathing his last, he ordered his adherents to pile fuel round him for his cremation, and reciting hymns, he disappeared from this visible world. His ashes were deposited on the same place underground and the first storey of this shrine was built over it, another storey being added on it later on. This mausoleum is called *Hazur Sahib* or *Dera Sahib* or *Mal Titri Sahib*, having three stages, which the Sikhs have also recorded as *Abchal Nagar* (*Ochal Nagar*).

His adherents remained in Nander. They captured five villages surrounding their Guru's Tomb, and these are still in their possession. When Sir Salar Jang Bahadur, Minister of the Nizam's Government first began to establish the Settlement Department in the State with a view to record the ownership of land and other grants, the Sikhs were asked to present any authority for their possession of those villages. They replied that they belonged to them, but did not present any documents. To the repeated demands of the Government to show the authority the Sikhs replied that the authority had existed in the office of the Minister Chandu Lal and the records of the land had been burnt along with other things when their Gurdwara had caught fire. A reference to Chandu Lal's office proved that no such grant had been actually made to the Sikhs. Then the good-natured Salar Jang decided that when all the castes and creeds were enjoying full freedom and equal rights under the Nizam's Government the Sikhs should be favoured with the grant of those villages. He considered that a large number of people came to pay their homage to the Sikh Shrine and that, therefore, for the pleasure of the Sikh and Hindu subjects, it should be exempted from the presentation of any authority. The five villages were properly registered in the name of the Gurdwara at Nander,

and their income of thousand of rupees, reserved for the temple under the supervision of a Government representative. The Sikhs resident in the State enjoy full freedom. The Gurdwara of Nander (Deccan) is accounted one of the indispensable places of pilgrimage for the Sikhs.

About four years ago when the communal strife took place at Nander between the Sikhs and Muslims in connection with the shrine of Shah Huseyn Lakkar, known as *Shah Huseyn Lakkar ki Tekri*, and became a serious problem for the State, the benevolent Government borrowed the services of a High Court Justice from the Government of India, having at heart the interests of both Muslims and Sikhs and considering the importance of the Gurdwara in the State. Thus this case was most amicably settled in a way to secure peace in the country and pacify the feelings of the people.

A small number of Sikhs came to the Deccan with their Guru and later on settled here. In the Census of 1881 they were about thirty thousand in all and today they are almost twice that number.

ANCIENT HINDU ARCHITECTURE AND SCULPTURE

The ancient architecture of India, the mirror of the early Indian peoples, is the product of Buddhism, Jainism, and the Vishnu Cult; which means that the ancient art of the Indian peoples is based on their religious motifs, and from it we must deduce their cultural condition. Some critics have concluded that India has no art of her own and that the works of art which exist are of foreign workmanship or are a mere expression of the religious life of the people.

From the third century before Christ, the Hindu relics are traceable. In the far north the Gandhara School of Sculpture exists between the lower Kabul and the Indus. Someone has called it Greco-Indian Sculpture. Taxila is its chief centre. It cannot be denied that Gandhara was part of Central Asia in the early days.

In the Deccan where architecture and sculpture are not so much influenced by foreign genius as in the north, we find the solution of this problem in the frescoes of the Ajanta Caves. Here are paintings showing an Iranian envoy at the court of Pulakesin II along with some other fragments of decoration in the ceilings which represent the persons of Khusru and Parvez. These are exact representations of the Iranian life of those days. We are forced to conclude either

that the artist had acquired full knowledge of the different cultures of those days which he has here so minutely depicted, or that some of the artists were especially imported from Persia for this particular purpose.

Almost all Buddhist monasteries which have been hewn out of solid rock seem to have been created at one and the same time, because very little difference is found as far as the design is concerned. There is another proof of the uniformity of religious art. The monasteries at Nasik, Gaya, Ajanta, etc., are much alike, especially their Chaitya halls. Keeping in view these characteristics, we find that Buddhist temples fall into two groups—Gandhara (Northern) and Dravidian (Southern) which show a vast difference. The latter contains some distinguishing features; vaulted roofs, hewn arches and vast rectangular halls, supported on hewn massive pillars with scanty allowance of light. The best specimens of this type are in the Kailas Temple at Ellora which was built by Raja Rashtrakote in the eighth century after Christ. This particular style is confined to the Deccan.

The Chalukya dynasty introduced or rather contributed much in the architectural domain, which became a standard all over the South, even the great temples of Madura and Bellary bear its evidence. Particularly the temples of Warangal are worth mention because the ruins found there represent a great variety of points for the scholar to study. Some of them are dwellings of the ancient kings not found elsewhere. They are made of black hewn rocks and the stone is polished to shine like a mirror. The images of goddesses are kept in latticed niches for protection from damage or destruction. In those days, Hanamkonda was the capital, where still exists a temple of a thousand pillars, the like of which is not found on earth. One of its pillars bears an inscription telling us that it was built by Raja Rudra Deo in the eleventh century; but it remained incomplete. It has spacious chambers quite unlike other Hindu architectural specimens which have dark and narrow cells. Many inscriptions are also found upon the pillars in the Telugu language throwing light on the old days when the temple was erected.

The Lingam Temple at Aundah or Jeotir Lingam Temple of Naganath is well known. This hill-girt place in the Nizam's Dominions is a walled town full of hard stone. One portion of the temple is existing to witness its ancient structure. The plinth of the temple is just like that of the temple of

Jainism. The visitor will at once think of the Jain temples of Lakshmi Narain at Pedgaon, or still more the Dilwara temples at Mount Abu in Gujarat. The structure of the Aundah temple helps us much to understand the rudiments of the ancient architecture of the Hindus.

Asoka the Great was a great disciple of Buddhism and he devoted himself to propagating that religion. Of this there are innumerable evidences in the form of edicts upon stones and pillars. Many such edicts have now been discovered and they have thrown much light on the ancient history of India. These edicts were decoratively carved in relief, which was an innovation in stone-work. There are caves in the hills to the north of the Mausoleum of Rabia Dourani at Aurangabad which contain the fourteen phases of the Jataka stories in decorative relief-work. One of them is a war scene in a vast jungle, the carven figures therein having a curious style of head-dress which is just like that of the Egyptian mummies, fringed at the back in gorgeous fashion. They are somewhat similar to the wigs worn today by High Court Judges in the British Empire. Such specimens are rare in Indian Sculpture.

The ancient history period covers Krishna I (760 A.D.), an era really memorable as regards architecture. The chief masterpiece of this period is the Kailas Temple of Ellora near Aurangabad, Deccan. It is a landmark in the history of Hindu architecture, and has been discussed by every writer on the subject. Though many have already objected to the caves of Ellora being masterpieces of ancient art, yet it is an admitted fact that the Kailas Temple is one of the wonders of religious art. The temples at Ellora are visited by thousands annually from every corner of the world, not only by believers in the deity but also by those who come here to pay their homage to a great shrine of Fine Arts. These temples so impressed the Emperor Aurangzeb that he praised them in a letter to his son wherein he desired him to pay a visit to these caves—‘a place of real specimen of art of men created by the Almighty God.’

The thirty-five caves at Ellora represent all Hindu schools of thought in Sculpture such as Buddhism, Jainism, the Vishnu cult and Brahmanism. Fergusson thus describes the sculptures: “Beginning on the north side with the Saiva sculpture—the first from the door is Bhairava or Mahadeva in his terrible form; and a more vivid picture of the terrific a very diseased imagination only could embody. The gigantic

figure lounges forward holding up his elephant hide, with necklace of skulls (*Mundmala*) depending below his loins; round him a cobra is knotted, his open mouth showing large teeth, while with his *trisula* (trident) he has transfixed one victim, who, writhing on its prongs seems to supplicate pity from the pitiless; while he holds another by the heels with one of his left hands, raising the *damru* (small drum) as if to rattle it in joy, while he catches the blood with which to quench his demon thirst. To add to the elements of horror, Kali, gaunt and grim, stretches her skeleton length below, with huge mouth, bushy, and sunken eyeballs, having a crooked knife in her right hand, and reaching out the other with a bowl as if eager to share in the gore of its (sic) victim; behind her head is the owl (one species is called *Bhairava*) as a symbol of destruction, or a vampire, as fit witness of the scene. On the right, in front of the skeleton, is *Parvati*; and higher up near the feet of the victim *Ratnasura*, is a grinning face drawing out its tongue. Altogether the group is a picture of the devilish, the very armless *Bhairava* wears an ogre face."

The temples of Alampore, Nalgonda, Pangal, Pillal Mari, etc., are splendid specimens of Hindu architecture, from which one can see how the ancients had advanced in this section of fine art although all was done for the sake of religion, because all these monuments represent the beliefs of the Hindus as well as their customs in those days. Temples of all Hindu cults are found thickly clustered in the Deccan which thus holds an illustrated history of Hindu mythology in architecture and sculpture. The Nizam has spent huge sums of money on the upkeep of these monuments for the sake of the Indian people and the pilgrims who come to pay their homage at these shrines.

FRESCOE PAINTING

Even the great Hindu epics *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* bear the testimony that the ancients were quite familiar with wall-paintings but their actual existence in a definite part of India and at a definite period is not traceable from the epics. Only the Nizam's Dominions can boast of having the frescoes in the Ajanta caves. Their date is ascertained as from the first to the eighth century of the Christian era. They are in the Khandesh Province in rock hewn cells on the bank of a stream in the Tapti Valley, near the battlefield of Assaye, where a natural waterfall plays just before the caves, which increases the enjoyment of the visitor to these caves.

History is absolutely silent on the subject of these caves except that the account of his travels by the famous Chinese Buddhist monk, Hieun Tsang shows that he paid a visit to them in the seventh century, and that the mention of the village Fardapur (meaning 'the place of tomorrow') occurs in books after the Muslims came to this country. They used this place as an inn, the last stage on the road to the Deccan.

These frescoes are exact expressions of the life of the aborigines of India, who still even to this day can be seen moving round the caves in the same attire and with the same gestures. The caves are twenty-nine in number and they include five Chaitya halls, the rest being Viharas made out of the rock. Some of them remained incomplete. The Chaityas or temples are spacious rectangular halls and the Viharas served as lodgings for the Buddhist disciples and monks. As regards their period in the domain of art, they seem to be contemporary with the relics of Sanchi. Someone has remarked that these caves were made under the auspicious care of the Andhra Rajas of the Deccan; but the only point against this assumption is that the Buddhist expression which is omnipresent here is against the belief of the Andhra Rajas, who were followers of Vishnu, though it is a fact that some of the caves belonged to the Chalukya dynasty. The existence of an inscription in Cave XVI of Vakataka leads us to believe that some of them may have been made under the patronage of the earlier Vakataka kings of Berar.

These caves were for long a mystery. Their mention is not traceable from history until 1819, when Europeans discovered them. In 1843 Mr. Fergusson published a brief description of them showing their great importance in the annals of Art; whereupon Major Gill was deputed to survey them and try if possible to conserve them. In 1872 Mr. Griffith, a Principal of the Bombay School of Art began to prepare copies of the frescoes with the help of his students. Those copies were published and many of the originals are still preserved in the South Kensington Museum.

These frescoes, from the point of view of technique, are quite extraordinary and in a class by themselves. They are vastly different from those frescoes already found in Europe and India.

As regards the subject-matter, it is sufficient to say that they are scenes from the life of Lord Buddha, most remarkably depicted. The visitor feels spell-bound by their most perfect workmanship. The birth of Buddha is depicted here. His

father, the Raja Suddhodhana was the head of the Sakyas, then ruling in Magadha, and his mother the Queen Maya is warned of the birth of her illustrious son in a dream. The queen is on her way to Lumbini Garden where the child is born. The Gods Brahma and Indra receive him. The newborn child takes seven steps on the lotuses, Indra protecting him with an umbrella. The Raja Suddhodhana holds his court while all the important courtiers are shown round his throne. The subjects both from the city and districts are congratulating the Raja on the birth of his son. The artists have been throughout successful in catching the sentiments and emotions, sad and gay of the rustic folk as well as the sophisticated. The marriage of Buddha is shown soon after which forsaking his home, he sets out for the jungles. Then he is seen seated beneath the Bodhi Tree at the supreme moment of attaining full enlightenment and perfect Buddhahood; here innumerable disciples are shown just like bees round the beehive. Similarly all other phases of his life are depicted such as the Horoscope of Rishi Asita, the scene in the school, the first Meditation, the four drivers, the first visit to Rajgarh, the offering of Sujata, the Temptation of Buddha, the offering of Trapusa and Bhalika, the question of Sariputra, the great miracle at Sarasvati, the conversion of Nanda, the subjugation of the Furious Elephant, Purna Avandana and Simhala Avadana. These caves hold a series of brilliant illustrations of the Jataka stories; a Pali collection of short stories recounting 550 previous "births" of the Buddha, the earliest collection of popular tales, and the ultimate source of some of Æsop's fables and of many folk-lore legends both of East and West. The Jataka scenes depicted at Ajanta are Sibi Jataka, Samkhapala Jataka, Compeys Jataka, Kshantivadi Jataka, Hamsa Jataka, Ruru Jataka, Vidhurpandita Jataka, Sutasoma Jataka, Shaddanta Jataka, Mahakapai Jataka, Visvantara Jataka, Sarabha Jataka, Matrishaka Jataka, Maysa Jataka, Syama Jataka and Mahisha Jataka. It is disappointing to find here hardly any information as to the period in which these frescoes were executed; there is only Pulakesin II (669 A.D.) of the Deccan on his throne conversing with an envoy from Iran very important as a proof of Iranian and Indian political dealings in old days.

European experts have compared these frescoes with the best specimens of the art of Europeans which is a sufficient proof of their having international value in the history of Art. Mr. Griffiths writes:—"It is not surprising that paintings on stucco all over the world bear a certain resemblance

to each other. Egyptian tombs, Etruscan frescoes, and the painted stuccoes of Herculaneum and Pompeii, furnish examples almost identical with those of Ajanta in technical details. But as a readily available example, I venture to point to a fragment of fresco-painting by Ambrogio Lorenzetti (Fourteenth Century) in the National Gallery, as singularly like the Ajanta work in colour, execution and treatment; the form being drawn with a delicate brown outline, and the flesh tints and drapery flatly put in with very little modelling. The Ajanta workmanship is admirable; long subtle curves are drawn with great precision in a line of unvarying thickness with one sweep of brush, both on the vertical surface of the walls and on the more difficult plane of the ceiling, showing consummate skill and manual dexterity. The touch is often bold and vigorous, the handling broad, and, in some cases, the impasto is as solid as in the best Pompeian work."

Dr. Laurence Binyon says:—"The frescoes of Ajanta have for Asia and the history of Asian Art the same outstanding significance that the frescoes of Assi, Siena and Florence have for Europe and the history of European Art. The whole course of art in Eastern Asia is bound up with the history of Buddhism in its successive phases; and the student of that art finds himself continually referring back to Ajanta as one great surviving monument of the painting created by Buddhist faith and fervour in the land which gave birth to that religion. These are, after all, the production of a race originally one with the races of Europe. And, though they are so penetrated with Indian character, with its gentleness of movement and suppleness of form, it is from painting like this, showing the same curiosity of interest, the same ardour in grappling with the visible world, the same underlying fervour of faith, that the painting of Europe has been developed since the days of Giotto and the Lorenzetti."

Monsieur Axel Jael writes:—"The water paintings in the rock caves at Ajanta exhibit the classical art of India. That is to say, they represent the climax to which genuine Indian art has attained and they show the way to be followed by Indian artists. The colours are deeper and often purer and the whole scale of colours is far richer than in stucco paintings of similar dimensions (Egyptian tombs, Pompeian houses, Italian Churches from the Middle Ages, etc.). This technique, which reaches its climax in a Bodhisattava figure (of more than life size, in Cave No. 1), bears a striking resemblance to that of Michael Angelo. If one placed a good

photograph of this Buddha-head by the side of a photograph of a figure from the Capella Sistina one might be inclined to think, if no attention were paid to the different types of the figures, they were painted by the same master. Figures like those of 'Primavera' by Botticelli may be called the sisters of some of the female figures in Ajanta (in the cells on the right in Cave No. 2). Europe got its renaissance through learning from the Greek antique. India will get hers if she returns to Ajanta and goes to school there."

Professor Lorenzo Cecconi writes:—"Several Italian painters of the Renaissance followed this system; in fact in the *Galleria degli Uffizi* at Florence there is still to be seen a canvas by the great Leonardo da Vinci prepared in this way. In cave I, the colossal figure of Buddha which is nearly immune from varnish evinces a surprising portrayal of art on account of its pictorial qualities: this painting in its grand outline recalls to memory the figure of Michael Angelo in the Sistine Chapel; while the clearness of the colour of the flesh, so true to nature, and the transparency of the shadow, are very like those of Correggio. The design and expression of the face are exceptionally surprising, the breadth of the technique, the interpretation of the shape of the hand made to realistic perfection permit of a comparison with the two great artists of the Italian Renaissance; the female figure which is on the right of the figure of Buddha presents the same simplicity and skill. The worship of Buddha in its outline can stand comparison with the Italian painter of the *Quattrocento*. The division of the painting into two compositions, one above the other, was followed also by Ghirlandaio, by Angelico, Tiziano and Sanzio in "The Transfiguration," the Italian 'Scientisti' and 'Settecentisti' (17th to 18th Centuries) frequently followed this system of composition. I make bold to compare the caves of Ajanta with the Sistine Chapel. Signorelli, Botticelli, Ghirlandaio, Perugino, Rosselli combined their art to render themselves worthy of one another in creating the great Roman work that Sixtus IV, Della Rovere, had been minded to begin and Michael Angelo afterwards completed with the greatest manifestation of his art. In Ajanta the ablest artists of the Indian School spared themselves no effort to render this marvellous group of Caves the *Monument Princeps* of India."

The character of the Ajanta paintings is generally decorative and in this respect they have no parallel on the surface of the earth. The artist has been quite accurate even

in minute details according to Buddhist mythology. And sometimes he is quite humorous in his treatment, as is obvious in the animals, of different details. The Ram-fight, an ancient sport among the aborigines of India, is a wonderful scene among those depicted at Ajanta. Here is a feature of the daily life of the people, which is quite extinct today, like the elephant with six tusks playing in the water in the illustration of the Jataka stories.

In former days many visitors to these caves blamed the authorities of Hyderabad State and drew attention to their bad condition; though at that time the internal affairs of the State did not allow attention to be paid to such things. But the State has since given much attention to them and has cared for them from the beginning; and it is altogether wrong to hold the State responsible for the deterioration which has been the work of centuries. Of late years His Exalted Highness the Nizam has spent huge sums from the State treasury on preserving them. They have been secured today from any sort of destructive element with the assistance of the European experts. With a view to preserve this treasure of art, experts have been called in, who have prepared colour plates by direct process. The portfolios of these superb coloured plates of huge size are being published. Many volumes have appeared by this time and many are still to come. The frescoes have been authentically described by Mr. G. Yazdani, Director of Archaeological Department, H.E.H. the Nizam's Government, in collaboration with the European connoisseurs. I suppose that till this day no other Government has ever spent so much for the sake of Art and Literature, and these relics do not belong to the hereditary beliefs or culture of His Exalted Highness the Nizam.

There are other caves in the Nizam's Dominions which contain fine frescoes: the Ellora caves which have been blurred; the Pallal Mâri Temple in the Nalgonda District; Anagondi in the Raichur District. These all belong to the Vishnu and Shiva cults.

These Hindu frescoes are a most important chapter in the history of ancient civilization. Though there are specimens of frescoes in other parts of India yet they can by no means be compared with Ajanta and other newly-found paintings in the Nizam's Dominions as a mirror in which ancient Indian culture is reflected.

ISLAMIC ARCHITECTURE

Fergusson, the great authority on Indian Architecture has divided the Indian Saracenic Architecture into thirteen styles, which have been adopted either from the names of the different dynasties which ruled these parts or from the names of localities. Most of those styles exist in the Deccan, e.g., Bahmani, Bijapur, Golconda, Barîdî, Nizâm Shâhî, Mughal Aurangâbâdî, etc. These are definite schools of architecture on which volumes could be written, by way of comparative study. Undoubtedly architecture is an expression of the inmost culture of a nation. Someone has well said that if any one desires to study the civilization of the Muslims in India, he should observe their monuments which are in the form of mausoleums, palaces, fortifications, mosques, etc., and are still *in situ*.

It is a fact that the Bahmani dynasty was first established in the Deccan at Gulburga under Ala-ud-Dîn Hasan Gangu (d. 759 A.H.) whose early history is still questionable, just after the inroads of the Khiljis and the Tughlaqs. There are many monuments in his days which deserve attention. Gulburga was named Ahsanabad by Hasan Gangu who first began his rule here, but the name never became popular. The mosque of Malik Seyf-ud-Dîn Ghôrî, which is near the tomb of Sultan Ala-ud-Dîn Hasan, is wholly built of black stone with fifteen arches on the facade. Its roof is of Selu stone slabs for which reason it is known as the mosque of Selu Stone. It is not very spacious. The inscription on this mosque shows that it was built in 754 A.H. during the reign of Hasan Ala-ud-Dîn Bahman Shah. Its architecture is extremely interesting. The grand congregational mosque of Gulburga is a superb specimen of early Muslim Deccan architecture. There is an idea current among the masses that this mosque was a converted Hindu temple, but the idea is baseless because it is built wholly of original material with pure Muslim architectural features. The plan of the building has nothing in common with the star-shaped plans of the contemporary Hindu temples. Also it has no affinity with the grand mosque of Cordova because this mosque of Gulburga is without any courtyard while that of Cordova has a spacious courtyard. It derives not only from the Delhi mosques but also from Central Asiatic origins; for this mosque bears a most important inscription showing that its architect was Rafî, the son of Shams, the son of Mansûr of Qazwîn who built it in 769 A.H.=1367 A.D. This mosque has very

considerable dimensions, measuring 216 ft. east to west and 176 ft. north to south thus covering an area of 38,016 square feet and affording accommodation for 5000 worshippers. The prayer-hall is covered with a majestic dome while the ceiling of the avenues is divided into seventy-five compartments each surmounted by a small dome. The Muslim architecture of the Deccan introduced for the first time two distinct forms of arches, one with a very wide span and extremely low piers which so frequently appear in the subsequent buildings of Gulburga, Bidar, Golconda and Bijapur, that authorities have begun to regard them as the distinguishing feature of the Muslim architecture of the Deccan. In the Gulburga mosque the walls rise perpendicularly while those of the Tughlaqs at Delhi are sloped. The third old mosque located at Gulburga in the Shah Bazar is also ascribed to Muhammad Shah I. The plan of the building is simple enough, comprising a gateway, an enclosed court and a prayer-hall which is divided into ninety square bays by the insertion of masonry columns supporting the domes of the roof.

These are the earliest nucleus of Islamic architecture in the Deccan, which take their origin direct from Central Asia. They are of independent Islamic origin without any Hindu influence, in spite of popular rumours to the contrary. In my view this is the only real Islamic architecture, because these mosques were erected by those Muslims who came fresh to this country with quite fresh memories of their own Central Asian cities and could not possibly be influenced by local colour or tradition.

When the Bahmani dynasty transferred its capital from Gulburga to Muhammadabad (Bidar) the Bahmani kings did much for architecture, by building sumptuous edifices. Bidar had a great attraction for globe-trotters for its political importance at that time. About two miles from the walls of the city are a series of lofty domes, the tombs of the Bahmani kings who ruled in Bidar, but the first dome of these, the tomb of Ahmad Shâh Valî Bahmanî is a chief centre of attraction for visitors to Bidar for several reasons. He had built his mausoleum in his life-time as is evident from an inscription. Its marvellous interior decoration is of purely Saracenic character, and its prototypes can easily be seen in Egypt and Spain. The artist of this Saracenic decoration has inscribed his own name in the dome as Shukurullah of Qazwîn. The decoration also bears calligraphy of the finest specimens of *Kufic* and *Naskh* types which are very rare today. Only

the Mausoleum of Timur at Samarqand bears exactly such styles and we can safely name the specimens in Central Asia as the prototypes of the styles found at Bidar or any other place in India. The construction of these lofty domes also is in a style quite individual to the Deccan. It is very difficult to support so great a dome without any other interior dome such as was later adopted all over India by the Mughals. It is simply due to the stability of the material available in the Deccan.

What remains of the University College (Madrasah) of Khwâjâ Mahmûd Gawan in the city of Bidar, is quite identical in plan and masonry with the Madrasah at Samarqand founded by the Timurid Sultans. Every detail leads one to the belief that the builders were actually called from Central Asia, and that they imitated here the buildings of their own country with only a few variations where the material was obstinate. Otherwise these remnants are perfectly copied from Persia or Central Asia or Mesopotamia. The tile-work on the walls of this Madrasah and on the minaret, which have been fortunately spared to witness to the splendour of those bygone days, shows that in the history of coloured tile-work in India these specimens are the best and earliest examples, which are found nowhere else.

The most conspicuous Barid Shâhî building at Bidar is 'Ali Barîd's massive cubical mausoleum with hemispherical dome and gorgeous pinnacle projecting in the sky. It is altogether unlike all other Muhammadan monuments of India. It has a strange style of tile-work in place of ordinary mural interior decoration including Persian inscriptions found over spandrels of the four high arches of the tomb, from which the dome begins. This form of tile-work is unique in character. The inscriptions are Persian quatrains illustrating the transience of all things earthly, and advice to worldly men. Their mode of calligraphy is between the *Naskh* and the *Taliq* styles which may be taken as the beginnings of the *Nastaliq* style of calligraphy in India. The date of this dome is 984 A.H.

Bijapur, today, is not in the Nizam's Dominions yet it has many antiquities worth mention and is in the Deccan. Especially one building called *Gol Gumbad*—round dome—the Mausoleum of Muhammad 'Adil Shâh which is popularly reputed the greatest dome of the world as regards altitude and diameter. It is still standing quite sound for so many

centuries and has faced so many vicissitudes since it was constructed. People generally compare it with the Pantheon at Rome, but the *Gol Gumbad* is incomparable for size and for the simple mode of its construction. Experts from the West who have visited it are amazed at its simplicity. This dome finds prominent mention in the history of architecture. There are other buildings of the 'Adil Shâhîs at Bijapur which are unique in the annals of architecture. The dome of Muhammad 'Adil Shâh is matchless in every respect. The mosque and mousoleum of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh are also splendid edifices of the Deccan.

Golconda became the capital of the Qutub Shâhî dynasty after having been a province of the Bahmanî kingdom. It was founded by Sultân Quli Qutub Shâh (d. 940) and there was evolved the architecture later known as Qutub Shâhî. A visit to the Qutub Shâhî tombs beside Golconda Fort has an effect of monotony for the domes are of a stereotyped style without any variety. But there are two edifices which deserve to be mentioned here as fine examples of the style created by those people. One of them is the famous *Charminar*—four minarets—which today serves as a symbol of Hyderabad State and figures now on the cover of "Islamic Culture," the same as has long figured on the postal stamps and coins of Hyderabad State. It is like the Sphinx for the Egyptians. Whenever any one observes a photograph or print of the Charminar he at once thinks of the Nizam's Dominions. It was founded by Sultan Muhammad Quli Qutub Shâh in 999 A.H. and its building was completed in 1000 A.H. Nawab Salar Jung Bahadur replastered it in 1302 A.H. The real purpose of this building is to some extent a mystery. The Qutub Shâhî Sultans had built a *Char-Suq*—bazaars in four directions—with lofty arches to keep up the harmony and symmetry of this unique building. The second monument of Qutub Shâhî period, which has really an international reputation is the *Ashur Khana*. It was built by Sultan Quli Qutub Shâh in 1003 A.H. and Abdullah Qutub Shâh enriched it with blue lusted tiles having numerous inscriptions in *Tughra* and *Naskh* styles, which may be called another class of tile-work in the Deccan. The Qutub Shâhî dynasty belonged to the Shia sect, therefore they built this *Ashur Khana* for holding meetings in Muharram to commemorate the martyrdom of Huseyn, the grandson of the Prophet. Today, whenever any one needs to study the procedure of the celebrations of Muharram, only this *Ashur Khana* will be consulted; no monument in India or elsewhere can

give us the full picture of how these celebrations were conducted. After this one many other *Ashur Khanas* came into being, but for all, the *Ashur Khana* of the Qutub Shâhî dynasty served as a prototype. At present a complaint has arisen against the controllers of this *Ashur Khana* that they have blindly mutilated the unique tile-work by putting a coat of oil paint on its walls, which has really marred the whole charm of the building. The original tile-work was in place and not a single scratch or damage could be seen on it; therefore it is most necessary that the authorities should kindly restore the original tile-work by washing off the recent coat of paint.

Almost all the mosques of the Qutub Shâhî period present a peculiar symbolical representation of the Shia sect which, though very insignificant, requires attention. The pedestal of the minarets of the facade of each mosque bears the shape of an *Alam*—a flag in stucco which even today can easily be seen in many mosques. Perhaps its aim was that the *Alams* would always be considered present even in the mosques as an emblem of the war of *Karbala*. I think that this characteristic is not found even in the mosques of Persia.

The Mughal period in the Deccan begins from Aurangzêb for he it was who completed the reduction of the Deccan powers. This period produced nothing worth mentioning in the realm of architecture except one monument which calls for explanation: the Mausoleum of Rabia Dourani Dilras Banu Begum the wife of Aurangzêb at Aurangabad, which is a replica of the Taj Mahal at Agra. If any writer on the Taj wishes to make his researches on that building quite exhaustive and to give the finishing touches to his writings, he must study this Mausoleum of Rabia Dourani, because it has been built as an exact replica of the Taj although of inferior materials. If, as is believed, Ahmad the great architect was the architect of the Taj, then it is a fact that this mausoleum was the work of Ataullah the eldest son of the same Ahmad, whose name has been inscribed on a metal plate on the door of the entrance of the tomb. The description of the Taj Mahal, one of the seven wonders of the world, remains incomplete if the work of the son of the Taj's architect is ignored. The Hyderabad Government could easily create great interest among the masses by making posters of this mausoleum under the heading "Another Taj in the Deccan," a method by which public attention could be called to other antiquities of the Deccan. In later days on its western side a mosque has been added, which has really marred the symmetry of the tomb

and many other points of beauty have been spoiled. If it is possible, it should be removed so that the original admirable harmony be restored.

After the extinction of the Mughal Empire in the Deccan the Asaf Jahi dynasty came into power during which period many buildings have been erected but they are of very little importance in the architectural domain with the exception of Nawab Fakhr-ul-Mulk's palace which is an exact specimen of the real Hyderabad type of the architecture of the later period. The present regime of the Nizam Mîr Osmân 'Ali Khân has the sole credit of paying attention to the most important department of Archæology. Although the magnificent buildings of the High Court, the Hospital, the Public Library, the Museum, etc., will play an important part in the history of the architecture of this glorious reign, the most important of all these from our point of view is the construction of the *Pathar Ghatti Bazar*—a main street leading to the Char Minar, with lofty splendid arches supported on one-piece-stone-pillars, which have no equal anywhere, particularly as regards the fine workmanship adopted at this time in the Deccan. It will really create another grand epoch in architecture for the coming generations. Similarly the building of the Osmania University when completed will open a new chapter in the architecture of India. Just as the Osmania University is in a class by itself in the domain of Education, similarly its buildings will also be unique in the field of architecture. Expert architects of the State have already travelled the whole world and inspected the buildings of the leading universities simply in order that the building of their university at Hyderabad should surpass all such buildings in existence.

It is worthy of notice that the Spanish and Egyptian styles of Islamic architecture are also found here, simply it may be, with a view to break the monotony and create a variety of styles. His Exalted Highness Mîr Osmân 'Ali Khân ordered the erection of a mosque in the Public Gardens particularly for himself from his own private purse which was actually built after the Egyptian style with the same domes, arches and all other details. It is really a fine specimen of the Tulunid style of Cairo and that charming style of Islamic architecture can easily be understood by studying this mosque at Hyderabad. Another edifice having Saracenic Spanish style is in the same Public Gardens near the Town Hall with the authentic Spanish horse-shoe arches and decoration in stucco relief. These two buildings, though of small size, are living images of their prototypes in Cairo and Spain.

There are many interesting developments here in modern architecture as is only to be expected where so many new inventions and contrivances are being adopted in all the new private and government buildings and such excellent building material is available in abundance. We must confess here that other parts of India are not so lucky; even the most modern cities, like Calcutta, Bombay and Delhi are behind the Deccan in these things. The people of Hyderabad know how to live.

PAINTING IN THE MUSLIM PERIOD

I am really surprised to find, that no one has ever paid heed to the art of painting in the Deccan in the Muslim period. One reason probably is that the Hindu frescoes at Ajanta overshadowed it, and another that the experts have devoted themselves exclusively to the art of painting at the court of Delhi. Nevertheless, the works produced in the Deccan in this period are of outstanding merit and deserve a place in the annals of the Art of India. I personally consider the work done here in the Muslim period most important for understanding the real traditions of the country because these people still observe the traditions of their forefathers. If a film of Hyderabad today were put on the screen, the people of Europe would take it for the life of former days.

The painters of Persia have illustrated the works of poets of their country which generally embody legends and romances of the early days, but in so doing they have portrayed their own contemporary monarchs in passages where mention of the ancient kings occurs; which means that they give us vivid pictures of their own time and their own environment. The Persian influence is strongly evident in Indian painting as in Indian architecture. The 'Adil Shâhî and Qutub Shâhî kings in the Deccan had their Persian cultural backgrounds. In their reigns many books were written or copied and illustrated by the court artists, who in reality portrayed their own environment. In particular the *Kullyat*—the poetical works of Abdullah Quli Qutub Shâh—deserve mention which have among their illustrations a full length portrait of the Sultan himself showing us the form and detail of the royal costume and something of the court ceremonial. The *Nouras Namah* of Ibrahim 'Adil Shâh II is a masterpiece of Art and Literature of the time. It is an original work by that monarch on Indian Music in which he had made himself a great expert; the illustrations and the calligraphy were entirely the work of

the court artists. This *Nouras Namah* is a pure work of the Deccan. I have seen two marvellous MSS. of it, one in the Hyderabad Museum and the other in the Daftar-i-Divani of which I have said something elsewhere. Mullâ Zahûrî, the great Persian writer of Ibrâhîm's court, mentions in his book *Seh Nathar* that Mûlla Farrûkh Huseyn Shîrâzî was the great painter of his period. To him I attribute the whole credit for producing all these masterpieces. An authentic illustrated MS. of *Najmu'l-'Ulûm* dated 978 A.H. (1520 A.D.) found in the Beatty Collection, London, came from the court of the 'Adil Shâhî kings of Bijapur. It has Persian paintings blended with Indian figures to some extent, in which Dr. Laurence Binyon has written a note. The same tradition in painting was upheld even on stronger lines by the master-painter Mullâ Farrûkh Huseyn of Shîrâz at the court of Ibrâhîm, better known for his versatility in every branch of Art and Literature as *Jagat Guru*—world leader. Another book of similar merit is the *Leylah Majnûn* in Urdu verse by a Deccani poet Ahmad of the days of Muhammad Quli Qutub Shâh (989-1020 A.H.) which is also illustrated, and about which Prof. Shîrânî of the Punjab University has written an authoritative note to the effect that this work surpasses even the Indo-Persian illustrated MSS. of those days in many respects. Therefore, if the people of Hyderabad would pay a little heed to the matter, I think they could easily create a new Golconda or Deccani School of Indian paintings on sounder lines than any other. The Deccani School of painting would lead all the existing Indian schools both in age and quality as the Hyderabad Dominions lead in the case of fresco painting. There are other important specimens of Deccani miniature paintings in various collections. One of them, the Procession of Tana Shah's retinue on a huge scroll in the Prince of Wales' Museum, Bombay, shows the Deccani style in full splendour. And of a later period there was a Hindu artist, Ustad Prem Singh Pir whose work is in one of the German collections.

The collections of Sir Akbar Hydari and Prof. Agha Hyder Hasan both contain fine specimens of the Deccani style some of them by known artists:—Shyamdas, Chander Chaltar, Shisham Chalya and Shankria.

ABDULLA CHUQHTAI.

(To be continued)

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued from our last issue)

ص

صادرات (šādirāt; pl.): "Exportations. (1924 ترقی) No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

صادرات غله امریکا درشش ماهه اخیر فوق العاده پائین آمده است.

The exportations of wheat from America have decreased in the last six months to an extraordinary extent.

صادر شدن (šādir shudan): "To be exported." (1924 ترقی) No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 3).

قیمت کل غله که در عرض سنه معاملات ماضیه از امریکا صادر شده است فقط ۲۵۰ میلیون بود.

The price of all the wheat that in the course of the year of past transactions has been exported from America amounted to only 250 million (ķirāns).

صاف (šāf): "Smooth and clear," (e.g., two things of each other. (1924 مین) No. 27, p. 4, cols. 2-3).

لوحه مدوری به بزرگی میز از تخته بریده وسطش را سوراخ می کنند وسط میز میخی نصب کرده و لوحه مذکور را بطرزی قرار میدهند که میخ داخل سوراخ وسطی میشود بدین ترتیب لوحه بالائی میتواند مثل سنگ آسیا حرکت کند (لازم است که سطح هر دو لوحه صاف باشد).

A round plate the size of the table-top is cut from a plank, and a hole is pierced in the middle of it. In the middle of the table-top a peg is fixed and the above plate is put on the table with the peg through its central hole. By this arrangement this upper plate can move round like a mill-stone. (The surfaces of the plate and the table-top must both be smooth and clear of each other).

صح (ṣiḥḥat): "Correctness, truth." (۱۹۲۷ محشر No. 55, p. 4, col. 2).

يك دفعه آن را مصرف کرده و صحت این ادعا بخود شما ثابت خواهد شد

When once you have used it, the truth of our claim will be proved to you.

تو بخانه (ṣaḥrā'ī): Field—, in "field-artillery," صحرائی (۱۹۲۴، No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. ۱). See under آکیدا.

— "Of the open country." (۱۹۲۷ ایران جوان No. 24, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

و نیز دولت مجاز است تدارك چادر و اثاثیه جهت منازل صحرائی مهندسین
مزبور بنماید -

The Government is also empowered to provide furnished tents for the country-abodes of the above-mentioned engineers.

صحی (ṣiḥḥī): "Sanitary." (Newspapers, *passim*).
صحیه

(اداره امور صحیه (ṣiḥḥīya-ye kull; for صحیه کل
"The Board of Health." (۱۹۲۷، No. ۱۹۱, p. 2, col. ۱). See under اعتبار.

صحیه نظمیه (ṣiḥḥīya-ye nazmīya): "The Gendarmerie Board of Health." (۱۹۲۴، No. ۱۲۹, p. ۱, col. 2).

و نیز اظهار قدر دانی از حسن معالجات و مراقبتهای آقای دکتر علیم الدوله
رئیس صحیه نظمیه نموده است -

He has also shown his appreciation of the good treatment and care of Dr. 'Alīmu'd-Daulah the head of the Gendarmerie Board of Health.

صدر

از صدر تا ذیل (az ṣadr tā zail): "Out and out, altogether." (۱۹۲۷ محشر No. 55, p. ۱, col. 3).

آنچه را از دست رنج آن رعایای بیچاره بخزانة دولت وارد شده از صدر تا
ذیل ارتزاق نموده -

That which from the labour of those hapless peasants accrues to the Treasury they devote altogether to their own subsistence.

صرف

“To expend” (upon). (صرف *šarf namūdan*; with gen. after): (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col 1).

زحمتی را که اصلاح یک مؤسسه موجود ایجاد میکند صرف ایجاد مؤسسه تازه می نمایم.

The trouble necessitated by the improvement of an existent institute we expend upon the creation of a new one.

صرف

For (از *šarf-e nazar shudan*; with): “the idea to be abandoned.” [Lit., For “the eye to be turned” (from).] (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

چون در ماه محرم و عزا انعقاد مجلس جشن ممکن نبود از جشن مزبور صرف نظر شده.

Since in the month of Muḥarram and the mourning, the banquet was impossible, the idea of it was abandoned.

To (صرف *šarf shudan*; with genitive after): “To be expended” (upon). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col 1).

یک عشر و نیم این بود که صرف میز و سندی نشین شده.

A tenth and a half of this income was expended upon the members. (Lit., the sitters on chairs at the table).

“Economy, the profitable use” (*šarfa-jū'ī*): صرفه جوئی (of a thing). See اعتبار.

“Decreased expenditure.” (اتحاد *šarfa-jū'ī*): صرفه جوئی (1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 2).

علاوه بر ارزانی نفت و رفع احتیاجات داخلی ایران از حیث صرفه جوئی در روشنائی وسیله سهولت تاسیس کارخانه جات و توسعه و ترقی صنایع خواهد بود.

Besides making naphtha cheaper and relieving the needs of the country through decreased expenditure on lighting, it will be a means of facilitating the founding of manufactories and of extending and advancing industries.

صلاحیت (ṣalāḥiyat; with gen.): "Fitness, authority." (Redhouse; and تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

این خانم * * * بیشتر از همه صلاحیت اظهار عقیده در این خصوص دارد -

This lady has more authority than all others to declare her belief respecting this (subject).

صلح جویانه (ṣulḥ-jūyāna): "Pacific, conciliatory." (رقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

در محافل سیاسی طهران وصول چنین تعلیقاتی را از طرف امریکا بمنزله یک طریق صلح جویانه تلقی میکنند -

In political circles in Teheran the arrival of such instructions from America is taken as indicating pacific tendencies.

ستاره ایران (ṣulḥ-khoāh): "Pacificator." (صلح خواه 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 1).

در ضمن آن به صلح خواهان سرزنش و توبیخ نموده -

In that (letter to the League) he takes occasion to blame and reproach the pacificators.

A "chair." صندلی

صندلی نشین (ṣandalī nishin): A "member of a department, board, or council." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1). See, under صرف شدن (sarf)

ایران جوان (ṣan'atī): "Industrial, relating to crafts." (صنعتی 1927, No. 24, p. 11, sub-col. 3).

کیسرهائی تجارت مقرراتی راجع به تخفیف مالیات صنعتی و مالیات بر عائدات نسبت به تجار ایران در خاک شوروی اشاعه داده است -

The commercial Commissioners have published some decisions regarding the lightening of the industrial and income taxes imposed on Persian merchants in Russia.

صورت

صورت مجلس (ṣūrat-e majlis): "The minutes of a meeting." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 3).

مجلس دو ساعت و نیم قبل از ظهر تشکیل صورت مجلس يوم قبل قرات
و تصویب گردید.

The National Assembly met at 9-30 a.m. The minutes of the meeting of the day before were read and approved.

صورت

در صورت (dar šūrat; with gen. and a noun): “In case” (of some incident). See under نویس.

صورت

در صورتی که (dar šūratī ki): “Provided that, in case of.” See, under صیغه کردن (ṣīgha), صیغه.

—“Whereas.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

در مالکی که تحت رزیم کا پیتولا سیون نیستند قنسوها فقط مامور حفظ
منافع تجارتی * * می باشند در صورتی که در مالک مشرق زمین قنسوها
برای خود سمت نمایندگی سیاسی قائل -

In countries not under the Capitulation regime the Consuls are charged only with the care of commercial interests; whereas in Eastern countries they assume the office of political representatives.

محشر) “subscription-list.” (A: صورت نویس (šūrat-nuvīs) 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

از حاضرین صورت نویس شد * * هر کس بفرآخور حال خودش وجه
نوشت که در صورت تشکیل يك شرکت سرمایه بدهند -

A subscription-list was opened by those present, (and) every one, according to his circumstances, wrote down a sum, the whole to serve as capital in case of a Company's being formed.

صیغه

صیغه کردن (ṣīgha kardan; with برای): “To give in temporary marriage” (to). (يك 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3).

در صورتی که دخترت را برای من صیغه کنی حاضر به همراهی خواهم شد.

Provided that you give your daughter to me in temporary marriage I am ready to give you assistance.

ض

ضابط (zābit): "The chief of a public office, or district, appointed by a Governor. (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4)

میرزای ضابط بمیل خود یا با اشاره قائم مقام تولیت حالیه از آوردن اسناد آستانه بکسیون اصلاح خود داری میگرد -

The (former) chief either by his own inclination, or at the suggestion of the present occupier of the office of trustee of pious bequests, has always refrained from bringing the documents of the Āstāna before the Commission of improvement of the same.

ضبط (zabt).

ضبط شدن (zabt shudan; with gen.): "To be confiscated" to or by). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 3).

هرگاه سلاحی در دست کسی غیر از مامورین دولت دیده شود اسلحه ضبط دولت * * * میشود -

Whenever any one except Government officials is seen with arms, the arms shall be confiscated by the Government.

ضد (zidd; with gen.): "Opposed" (to). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 5).

یا آنکه بمناسبت انتخاب عمال و کارکنان نالایق و اشخاص ضد اصلاح فریاد از اعضای ادارات و وزارت خانه ها و بالآخره مردم برخاسته از دولت آغاز شکایت می کردند -

Or when unsuitable officials and persons opposed to reform are elected, an outcry arisen against the Members of departments and ministers, till at last the people rise and begin to complain of the Government.

ضرورت

ضرورت داشتن (zarūrat dāshtan): "To be required." (طوفان 1924, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1).

برای حفظ جان و مال اتباع خارجه تینتین و پکن اقل ۱۶ هزار نفر قشون ضرورت دارد -

For the protection of the lines and property of foreign subjects in Tientsin and Peking at least 16,000 troops are required.

[برای من لزومی ندارد has the same sense; e.g., "I have no need of it"].

ضعیف

ضعیف النفس (za'ifu 'n-nafs): "Infirm of soul or spirit." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 3).

جوانان امروزی ایران مخصوصاً دیپله های مدارس نوعاً ترسو و ضعیف

النفس هستند.

The present-day young Persians, especially the certificated students of the colleges, are, in a way, timorous and weak of spirit.

ضمن

در ضمن (dar zimn-e): "In the course of," (e.g., a speech). (فرهنگ 1888, No. 571, et passim).

ضمن

در این ضمن (dar īn zimn): "In what this implies." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 4).

به بیند در این ضمن خرافات پرست چه توهینی بزرگی بعالم روحانیت میکند.

In what this implies, see what great insult is offered to the world of intellect by the believer in idle superstitions.

ضمناً (zimnan): "By the way, it may be added, incidentally." (حیات ایران 1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2).

ضمناً دکتر مزبور رسیدی از صحت و رفع نقاهت مشارالیه داده.

It may be added that Dr. X. has given a certificate testifying to the health and complete recovery of the above-named patient.

ضمنی (zimnī; adj.): "Incidental." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 5, and p. 2, col. 1).

از مذلت های اخلاقی و مفاسد اجتماعی که در نتیجه اغتشاش و بیکاری تولید

میشدند ممانعت ضمنی بعمل آمده

An incidental check has been presented to the moral degradations and social corruptions which came as a result of disturbances and want of occupation.

———“Implied, implicative”; but conveniently rendered as adv. (١٩٢٤، No. 18, p. 1, col. 4, and p. 2, col. 1).

در صورتی که معتقد باشیم که غرش رعد نتیجه گردش الیاس است آن وقت العیاذ بالله اقرار ضمنی کرده ایم که الیاس واگون کثافات را حمل میکند.

Should we believe that the thunder (and lightning) effects are the result of the walking of Elias on the heavens, we acknowledge, God forbid! by implication that Elias transports refuse carts.

ضمنی (zimnī; adv.): “Accompanying incidentally, also.” See under مذات (mazallat).

ضمیمه. An “accompaniment” (of).

ضمیمه بودن (zamīma būdan; with gen.): “To accompany.” (١٩٢٧، No. 55, p. 4, col. 2).

نمونه چای باند ضمیمه پیشنهاد باشد.

A sample of the tea must accompany the tender.

ترقی (tāqat-farsā): “Insupportable.” (١٩٢٤، No. 7, p. 2, col. 4).

معلوم میشود تعدیات و بحرین نسبت به مستاجرین بدبخت طاقت فرسا است.

It is a fact that the oppression of the fortunate tenant-farmers by the land-owners is insupportable.

ط

طبق

طبق (bar ṭibḳ-e): “According to.” (١٩٢٢، اتحاد، No. 216, p. 4; et passim).

طبیعت (ṭabī‘at): “Nature, natural causes and effects.” (Redhouse; and ١٩٢٤، No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

هرگاه دست طبیعت اگر چه يك سال از حیث آب كك و امدادی ننماید

تمام اراضی منزع * * * مبدل به کویرها شده.

When the hand of nature (though only one year) does not help with water, all the arable lands are changed to deserts.

طبیعت

بحکم طبیعت (ba-ḥukm-e ṭabī'at): "Naturally, in nature."
فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 1).

وقتی که حس قضاوت و حکمت امتیاز خوب از بد در ملی نبود آیا آن
ملت بحکم طبیعت نباید فانی شود -

When a nation has not the sense of judging and distinguishing between good and bad, must not that nation naturally decay?

طبیعی (ṭabī'ī): "Natural"; (i.e., to be expected).
(1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

طبیعی است که میسترس ماک کورمیک داشتن حق انتخاب زنهای
تمام ممالک دنیا را لازم میدانند -

It is natural that Mrs. X. holds it essential that the women of all countries should have the right to vote.

طبیعیات (ṭabī'iyāt): "Subjects of natural philosophy."
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

مقصود از متوسطه علمی و ادبی آنست که محصلین خود را برای تحصیلات
عالیه شعبه علمی (طب مهندسی طبیعیات و غیره) یا شعبه ادبی (حقوق
فلسفه تاریخ و جغرافیه و غیره) آماده سازند -

The object of the Science and Arts branches of the Middle School is that students should prepare for higher studies in the faculties of Science, (Medicine, Engineering, Natural Philosophy, etc.), or that of Arts, (Law, Philosophy, History, Geography, etc.).

طرح (ṭarḥ): A "plan." (Redhouse; and ایران جوان
1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

طرح متحد الشکلی مبنی بر رؤس مسائلی که باید در عهد نامه هائے مودت
و تجارت گنجانده شود ترتیب داده -

A uniform plan should be prepared based upon the chief questions that should be included in the treaties of friendship and commerce.

طرح (ṭarḥ).

طرح کردن “To bring in” (a bill, لایحه or any question, قضیه). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1).

————— “To treat a subject or question.”

طرح قطعی این قضیه “The decisive treatment of this subject.”

طرح ریزی (ṭarḥ-rīzī): “Founding.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2). طرح ریزی شدن (ṭarḥ-rīzī shudan): “To be founded.” (ibid.).

تازمانی که تشکیلات و تاسیسات مزبور از روی تشکیلات و تاسیسات دیگران طرح ریزی شده و پروگرام متوسطه و عالی ما از روی پروگرام آنها تسوید گردیده ما حق نداریم (الخ)

As long as the above-mentioned forms and institutions are founded upon those of others, and the programmes of our Middle and High Schools are copied from theirs we have not the right, (etc.).

طرف (ṭaraf; with gen.): often used in the sense of “object,” as, فاعتنا (ṭaraf-e i’tinā): “an object of attention.” (نوبهار 1917, No. 56, p. 3).

طرفداری (ṭaraf-dārī; with از): “Partisanship” (for), “taking the part” (of). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

مقاله گذشته ما اگر طرفداری از ایشان نبوده حمله بمعظم الیه نشده بود

Our previous article, though showing no partisanship for the above-named, was not an attack on him.

طریق (ṭarīq): A “line of action.” (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4). See, under تلقی (talakḳī), تلقی کردن.

طفره: A “skip.”

طفره رفتن (ṭafra raftan; with از): For “evasion to be practised, evading.” بطفره گذاراندن (ba-ṭafra guzarānīdan): “To continue using evasion.” (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2, for both expressions).

طفره رفتن از حضور در کسیون

نظر باین که محقق الدوله تاکنون از حضور در کسیون محاکمه اداری استنکاف نموده و طفره میگزیراند وزارت پست و تلگراف مشارالیه را ملزم نموده است که برای روز دوشنبه فردا * * حضور پیدا نماید.

Evading coming before the Commission.

Seeing that Muḥakkiḳu 'd-Daula has up to now avoided coming before the Commission of the Departmental Court and continues using evasion, the Post and Telegraph Ministry require him to put in an appearance on Monday, to-morrow.

طلاق

طلاق گفتن (ṭalāk guftan): "To pronounce a divorce."

بیگ 1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 4).

حاجی باو پیشنهاد کرد بهر وسیله که باشد دختر را طلاق بگوید.

The Hājji proposed that he (the Ākhūnd) should, by any means possible, pronounce a divorce between him and the girl.

طماع (ṭamā'): "Covetousness." (Redhouse; and Arabic dictionaries).

طنین انداز

طنین انداز شدن (ṭanīn-andāz shudan): "To resound."

(Redhouse; and ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 3).

وقتی که این خبر در افغانستان طنین انداز شد محافل سیاسی افغانستان * * مراتب و داد * * سردار سپه و ملت ایران را تقدیر نموده.

When the news of this resounded in Afghanistan the political circles of that country were able to appreciate all the friendliness of the General Commanding-in-Chief and the Persian nation.

طور

بطور جریمه (ba-ṭaur; with gen.): "As"; e.g.,

(ba-ṭaur-e jarīma), "as a fine." See under دریافت شدن.

طور

بطور خصوصی (ba-ṭaur-e khuṣūṣī): Lit., "in a special way," but conveniently rendered, "exclusive," (as news or information). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

اینک بطور خصوصی خبر یافته ایم که وزارت فواید عامه برای این گونه موسسه ها وضع و تدوین قانونی را در نظر گرفته -

We have received exclusive information that the Ministry of Public Works has it in view to establish and register regulations for such institutes.

1927, ایران جوان ("As." : (ba-ṭaurī ki) بطوری که
No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

بطوری که اطلاع داریم مجلس شورای ملی از تاریخ ۲ مرداد ۱۳۰۶** تعطیل -

As we learn, the National Assembly has adjourned from the 12th of Mordad, 1306.

طول

”Three mètres long.” : (ba-ṭūl-e sih metr) بطول سه متر
(1888, No. 571) فرهنگ

(ba-ṭūl anjāmīdan) : “To be prolonged,
to last.” (انحداد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2).

بیش بینی می شود که گفتگو و مذاکرات بین اللوید جارج و پوانکاره روز
اول ماه اوت شروع خواهد گشت و متجاوز از دو روز بطول خواهد
انجامید -

It is anticipated that the conferences between Lloyd George and Poincaré will begin on August 1, and will last more than two days.

طی (ṭaiy, ṭai).

ملاقاتی “In the course of”; e.g., an interview, در طی
(اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 2).

رئیس الوزرا در طی ملاقاتی چنین اظهار داشت که دولت یونان نمیتواند
بیش ازین تأمل نماید -

The (Greek) Premier in the course of an interview stated that the Government could not further deliberate.

1927, طوفان ("aeroplane." : (ṭaiyāra) طیاره
No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

طیره (tīra).

زبان آزاد (tīra shudan): "To be angry." (1917, No. 28, p. 4).

ظ

مبین (zarfiyat): "That which is included." (1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1).

با همه این ظرفیت دائره نون سه نقطه بود نه کمتر و نه بیشتر.

With all that is included in this, the circumference of the "nūn" was of three "dots," neither less nor more.

ع

مبین (āmil). See pl. عوامل "Agents." (1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

عامه (āmma): "The public." (1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

ما نیز وجود این قبیل دکترهای ماهر و حاذق را مغتنم دانسته عامه را
برجوع بایشان تشویق می نمائیم.

We also taking the existence (among us) of such skilful and keen Doctors as a boon strongly urge the public to have recourse to them.

عامیون (āmiyūn): "The people, the public, the democracy."

وکیل حزب سوسیالیست و * * وکیل حزب عامیون فعلا در لندن
توقف دارند.

The Deputy of the socialistic party and that of the democratic are at present staying in London.

کاوه (ā'id; with gen.): "Reverting" (to). (1921, Apr. 10, p. 6).

Reverting to the treasury of the Rulers).

مبین (ā'idāt; pl. of عائد): "Revenue." (1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

امروز بلدیۀ طهران ماهی هفتادالی تود هزار تومان * * عائدات
مستقل * * دارد.

At the present time the municipality of Teheran has an independent revenue of 70 to 90 thousand tūmāns a month.

عائدی (ā'idī; adj as noun): "Income." (ایران جوان) 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

عائدی و مداخل مودیان از نظر مالیاتی تعریف هائے بسیار دارد.

The incomes of taxpayers and its separate items from a taxation point of view have many definitions.

عبا (ʿabā): A "woollen cloak."

آل عبا (āl-e ʿabā): "The Family of the Woollen Cloak"; i.e., Muḥammad and his family, namely, ʿAlī, Fāṭima, Ḥasan, and Ḥusain. (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

Ḥusain is خامس آل عبا the Fifth of this Family.

بمناسبت ایام محرم و تعزیه داری خامس آل عبا * * * ایاب و ذهاب در لیالی برای عموم آزاد.

On the occasion of the days of Muḥarram and the mourning for the Fifth of the Family of the Cloak the public are free to pass to and fro during the nights.

عجالة

عجالة (ʿijālatan): "For the present, at the present time or moment, so far." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1; and تجدید 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 4).

و بحالة برای این طبقه رنجبر جز گرفتاری و فقر و فلاکت و تحصیل قوت لایموت حواسی و فکری موجود نیست.

And at the present time this class of labourers has nothing but slavery, poverty, destitution, and the power to gain the barest necessities, material and mental.

بحالة خالی از فائده نیست که جریانات راجع با این قضیه را * * ذکر کنیم.

For the present, it will not be without profit to mention the current events concerning this matter.

عجله

از مخلص شما (bar sabīl-e ʿajala); followed by (از mukhlis-e shumā), "Yours in haste."

عدلیه (ʿadliya): "The Law, the Law-Courts." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 3).

شخص مظنون در توقیف باقی و بعد از اختتام حکومت نظامی بعدلیه تسلیم خواهد شد -

The suspected person shall remain in custody, and after the conclusion of Martial Law shall be handed over to the Law-Courts.

عده ('idda): "The staff, personnel." (Lit., "the number"). (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1). See, under عکس برداشتن ('aks), عکس .

عربه (for T. ارابه): A "car."

عربه جنگی ('arāba-ye jangī): A "war-tank." (1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 1).

عربه جنگی بصورت فعلی برای استمداد پیاده نظام در موقع حمله و تعرضی نکارمی رود -

The war-tank in its actual form is used to assist the infantry when it attacks.

عرشه ('arsha): "The poop" (of a vessel). (The Shāh's Diary).

عرض

در يك عرض (dar yak 'arz): "On a level, on a par." (1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 5). (فکر آزاد)

در مملکتی که اصول مجازات وجود ندارد خادم و خائن در يك عرض * * آیا میشود در آن مملکت زندگانی نمود -

In a country where the principle of retribution does not exist, (where faithful) servant and traitor are on a par, is it possible to live?

عرض ('irz). See بی عرضی .

عرقی ('irķī): "Temperamental." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

دادن حق انتخاب بر آنها يك مسئله سیاسی نبوده بلکه يك قضیه عرقی و احساساتی است -

Giving women the right to vote is not a question of politics, but rather a matter of temperament and feeling.

عشریه (ushrīya): "Tithing, tithes." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3).

در مقابله پنجاه تومان نقد و در حدود هشتاد خر و ار جنسی * * *
عشریه مذکور * * * مبلغ ۵۰۶۰۰ قرآن در سال * * * بعنوان
مستمری بر قرار گردد -

See under جنسی for translation.

عصبانی (aṣabānī): "Nervous." (اتحاد 1927, No. 217, p. 1).

عصبانی (aṣabānī): "Giving way to nerves, excited, irritable." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 1).

همیشه میل قوی داریم که در مقابل نا ملائیمات طاقت آورده عصبانی
نشده اساس زندگی * * * خود مان را ضعیف نسازیم (الخ)

We may always have a strong inclination to bear patiently and not give way to nerves in face of disagreeables, thereby escaping the undermining of our lives (etc.).

عصبانیت (aṣabānīyat): "Nervous susceptibility." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

یکی از حاضرین که نسبت به دیگران عصبانیتش بیشتر است بحکم روحیت
تحتانی بدون این که روحیت فوقانی از آن خبر داشته باشد تکانی به میز میدهد.

Then one of the participants, whose nervous susceptibility is greater than that of the others, swayed by the subconscious mentation, without the cognizance of the conscious mentation, gives the table a shore.

عضو (uzv): A "member" (of the body, or of an assembly). (Passim).

عضوی (uzvī): "Pertaining to a member of the body." (Redhouse). Or more generally, "Bodily." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 5).

اگر از این مراکز * * * متالم گردد وظیفه عضوی آن مراکز نیز اختلال
پیدا میکند -

If one of these brain centres be injured the bodily functions of the centres are also disordered.

1927, ایران جوان) : "Membership." (uzvīyat) عضویت
(No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

دوات هنوز مشغول مطالعه پیشنهاد عراق دایره تقاضای عضویت جمع
اتفاق ملل میباشد.

The Government is still engaged in considering the proposal of 'Irāk relative to its claim to membership of the Assembly of the League of Nations.

عظمت (azamat) : "Gravity, seriousness" (of an affair).
(1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 2). See, under خاطر نشان (ترقی)
khāṭir-nishān, خاطر نشان نمودن.

عفون (ufūn, pl. of عفن 'afan) : "Putridities."

عفونی (ufūnī) : "Infected, septic."

ضد عفونی (zidd-e 'ufūnī) : "Disinfected; antiseptic."
(1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 4). ستاره ایران)

هر يك از درشكه هاى كرايه ئى بوسائل صحى ضد عفونى شود.

Every hired carriage should by sanitary means be disinfected (once a-month).

عقب (aḡab; with gen.) : "After, looking for." (Cf.
پس pai, and فكر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 5).
اشخاص مخالف همیشه عقب مستمسك هستند كه بطرف خود حمله نمایند.

Those in opposition are always looking for a hold to draw one to their own side.

عقب

عقب افتادن (aḡab uftādan) : "To fall into arrears."
(1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1). مین)

آن روز بلديه پنج شش هزار تومان در ماه بود چه داشت و سه ماه
بسه ماه عقب مى افتاد.

At that time the municipality (of Teheran) had five or six thousand tūmāns' revenue a month, and quarter by quarter it fell into arrears.

عکس

“To take a photograph” (of). (از عکس برداشتن) (‘aks bar dāshtan; with (of)). (مهرن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

روز گذشته از عده مزبور عکس برداشته شده.

Yesterday photographs were taken of the above-mentioned staff (the officers of excise).

علاقه

“Personal interest.” (‘alāka-ye shakhṣī): (نسبت به) (zī ‘alāka; with (of)). (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 2).

“Interested” (in). (zī ‘alāka; with (of)). (نسبت به) (zī ‘alāka; with (of)). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1). As علاقه مند q. v.

“Interest- ed” (in). (‘alāka-mand): (در or به) (with (of)). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 1; and the same, No. 216, p. 1, col. 1).

with به

ما و تمام علاقه مندان به سعادت و استقلال این ملت قدیم تاریخی
ذمه دار هستیم که مجاهدات خود را برای رهائی از طوق عبودیت و بیرون
آمدن از گرداب هولناک اسارت بعمل بیاوریم.

We, and all who are interested in the happiness and independence of this ancient historical people, have as a duty to do our best for its deliverance from the yoke of subservience and its escape from the terrible whirlpool of slavery.

در with

بنا بر این قطعاً اعمال پلٹیکی انگلیس در این کار علاقه مند و دولت را بحال
خود نمی گذارند و بر له استاندارد میخوانند مسئله امتیاز حل کنند.

Hence the English political agents are decidedly interested in this business, and will not leave the (Persian) Government alone, but wish to solve the problem of the (oil) concession in favour of the Standard Oil Company.

— (with (to)). “Devoted” (to). (کوکب ایران) (1917, No. 10).

“Devotion” (to), “interest” (in). (‘alāka-mandī; with (to)). (علاقه مندی) (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 1).

علاقه مندی سردار سپه با عتلاى ايران موجب جلب استفاده از دول
مزبور گردید -

The devotion of the General Commanding-in-Chief to the elevation of Persia has brought advantages (on that country) from the above-named States.

علاوه

“To be in addition (to). (بر) (‘alāva shudan; with) علاوه شدن

علمی (‘ilmī): “Relating to Science,” (as opposed to “Arts”). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

بصورت سابق خود که تقسیمات علمی و ادبی در آن ملحوظ نمی باشد
برگردانند.

They should restore it to its former condition, in which the division into a Science and Arts branch was not observed.

“Scientific.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

اما امروز دیگر با داشتن همسایه هائی که مالیه خود را مطابق اصول جدید
علمی اداره میکنند ما نمی توانیم رویه خرافاتی سابق را تعقیب نمایم -

See under خرافاتی for translation.

علنی (‘alanī; adj. as adv.): “Openly, publicly.” (حیات ایران 1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2).

آقای رئیس الوزرا در مجلس علنی حضور بهم رسانیده و حاضر بودن
هیئت دولت را برای جواب استیضاح * * اظهار فرموده -

The Prime Minister appeared openly in the Assembly and declared the readiness of the Government to answer the Enquiry (of the Representatives).

تعیین See علی التعیین

علیه

اتحاد () “Against.” (with ‘izāfat); (bar ‘alaiḥ) بر علیه
1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 2).

از اتن اطلاع می دهند که شارژی دافر بریطانی بر علیه حمله که یونانیها
خیال دارند بطرف اسلامبول بکار برند بدولت یونان اعتراض کرده است -

Information is given from Athens that the British Chargé d'Affairs has lodged an objection with the Greek Government against an attack which the Greeks are designing to make against Constantinople.

عمده (umda): "Wholesale." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 3).

برای خرید عمده بتجارت خانه قیصریه در تیمچه جلاءالدوله * *
مراجعه فرمائید -

For wholesale, apply to the Kaişariya House of Commerce in the Jalā 'u 'd-Daula Tīmcha.

عمل

عمل آوردن (amal āvardan): "To produce," (e.g., silk, by sericulture). (گنج شائگان p. 83).

تشویق و ترغیب مردم به عمل آوردن ابریشم در جاهائی که صنعت عمل
آوردن ابریشم متروک گردیده است -

Encouraging and inciting people to produce silk in places where the art has been abandoned.

—————"To cultivate," (e.g., trees). (گنج شائگان p. 83).

در خصوص عمل آوردن درخت توت * * * اطلاعات علمی مفیده
میدهد -

(Who) shall give useful, scientific information regarding the cultivation of the mulberry tree.

عمل

عمل کردن (amal kardan; with به): "To carry out, fulfil." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 2).

دوایر شوروی به تعهدات خود عمل خواهند کرد -

The Soviet Departments of State will fulfil their engagements.

عمل

به عمل آمدن (ba-amal āmadan): "To occur, to be entered into, to be put into practice, to be effected, carried out, to be used, to be made." (After a word like اقدام or pl.

اقدامات “measures, steps, initiative,” it may have the sense of “to be taken”). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

درباب قضایای سرحدی دولتی * * * فعلا جلوگیری بعمل آمده

است -

With regard to the frontier matter of the two States, some hindrance at present has occurred.

بعمل آوردن (ba-‘amal āvardan) : “To put into practice, to effect, to use, to make; to take,” (as measures). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

وزارت پست و تلگراف اقدامات لازم برای کشف قضیه بعمل

آورد.

The Post and Telegraph Ministry have taken the necessary measures for the elucidation of the matter.

عمل

بعمل آوردن (ba-‘amal āvardan) : For something “to have effect.” (زبان آزاد 1917, No. 28, p. 2).

(عامل pl. of عمله ‘amala-jāt; a double pl. عملجات : “Functionaries.” (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

برای خشنودی * * عملجات درباری از هیچ قسم حق شکنی خود داری

نداشته -

(Who) for the satisfaction of Court functionaries refrain from no species of injustice.

عملی

(بعمل آوردن or عمل کردن ‘amali kardan; as عملی کردن : “To carry out.” (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 1).

دولت سردار سپه تاکنون اغلب مواد پرگرام خود را عملی کرده -

The Government of the General Commanding-in-Chief up to the present has carried out most of the articles of his programme.

عملی (‘amālī). See غیر عملی.

عملیات (‘amaliyāt; pl. of fem. adj. from عمل):
“Proceedings, action.” (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).
See under شرح.

—————“Practical performances.” (Redhouse; and میهن
1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 1). See, under تجدید.

عملیات خانه (‘amaliyāt-khāna): A “laboratory.” (میهن
1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2). See under همقطار.

عموم (‘umūm): “The public.” (میهن 1924, No. 27,
p. 1, sub-col. 2). See, under خاطر نشان (khāṭir-nishān),
خاطر نشان کردن.

مجلس عموم (majlis-e ‘umūm): The (English) House of
Commons.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 2).

عناوین (‘anāvīn). Pl. of عنوان

عنوان (‘unvān; pl. عناوین ‘anāvīn): A “heading.”
(Redhouse; and ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4).

هر روز درجراید خود در تحت عناوین مختلفه بوزیر امور خارجه حمله
نموده بسوء سیاست خارجی تعبیر میکردند.

Every day in their journals under various headings they
have attacked the Foreign Minister and ascribed (every mis-
hap) to his bad foreign policy.

ایران جوان (ba-‘unvān-e īnki): “As being.” (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

حالا این موسسه را بعنوان اینکه ناقص است آیا باید از بین برد یا اینکه
باید اصلاح کرد.

Now, should we do away with this institution as being
defective, or should we reform and improve it?

عنوان

بعنوان (ba-‘unvān; with gen.): “As, for.” [(Lit., “to
the address” (of), “directed” (to).] (طوفان 1927, No. 191,
p. 2, col. 1). See, under اعتبار.

———“In the way” (of). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2, line 35).

ما حق نداریم حتی بعنوان اصلاح در این تشکیلات و تأسیسات تصرفاتی کرده -

We have no right, even in the way of reform, to dispose (at our will) of these forms and institutions.

———“Concerning.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1). See, under تلگراف شدن (telgerāf), تلگراف شدن.

———“In.” (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4). البته روزنامه‌های شهاب و قانون بعنوان مبادله برای آن اداره محترم می‌رسد -

عنوان

عنوان داشتن (‘*unvān dāshtan*; with gen.): “To have the force of, to be as.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3). یادداشت مزبور بهیچوجه عنوان اولتیماتوم ندارد -

The above-named Memorandum has in no way the force of an ultimatum.

عوامل (‘*avālim*; pl. of عالم ‘*ālam*): “Phenomena,” (e.g., spiritualistic). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3). شاید بر این مدعا استاد مذکور از رابطه‌هایی که در موقع تقلب‌گیر افتاده اند مثل زده از صحت این عوالم اظهار شک -

As testimony to this assertion the above-named Professor speaking of the mediums who have been detected in imposture, shows doubt as to the authenticity of these (spiritualistic) phenomena.

عوامل (‘*avāmil*; pl. from عامل): “Controlling influences.” (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2).

دوای که امروز عملاً بر علیه عوامل بدبختی ملت * * * همت گماشته است -

A State that has now in actuality set its mind against the unfortunate controlling influences of the nation,

———“Agents.” (1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

یکی از عوامل مهم فتح در جنگ سرعت حرکت قشون است -

One of the (most) important agents of victory in battle is rapidity of movement of the troops.

عودت “Returning.”

دادن (‘audat dādan; with به): “To refer” (to),
v. a. (1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1). See under حکمت
(ḥukmīyat).

———“To bring back.” (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9,
p. 4, col. 2).

سیرو نوری توای از دست رفته شمارا عودت میدهد -

The Syrop Nourry will bring both your lost strength.

عوض

در عوض (dar ‘ivaz): “Whilst on the other hand.”
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

در شعبه ادبی از فلسفه و تاریخ و جغرافیا و ادبیات عالی اثری نیست در

عوض فیزیک و شیمی ریاضیات هم در آن تدریس نمی شود -

In the Arts branch there is not a trace of philosophy, history, geography, or higher language and literature studies; whilst on the other hand, physics, chemistry, and mathematics are (of course) not taught in it.

عهده (‘uhda): “Engagement, charge.”

از عهده خارج بودن (az ‘uhda khārij būdan), “To be beyond one’s power.” (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 2).

یا می خواستند آنها را قلع و قمع نمایند ولی از عهده شان خارج بود -

Or they wished to exterminate them, but it was beyond their power.

عهده دار

عهده دار بودن (‘uhda-dār būdan; with را or gen.):
“To have in charge, to be responsible” (for). (1924,
No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

تشنون اروپا * * * عرابه های مختلف الشکلی تهیه نموده است که هر قسم از آنها وظایف مخصوصی را عهده دار میباشند -

The armies of Europe have provided tanks of various forms, every kind of which is responsible for special functions.

عهده دار

عهده دار شدن (‘uhda-dār shudan): “To take in charge, to take on oneself, to undertake.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 1).

See, under رویه (رویة), the second entry.

ستاره ایران (‘uhda-dārī): “Having in charge.” (اتحاد 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 1).

این امنیت و آسایش * * * نه فقط بمناسبت وزارت جنگی ایشان است بلکه در نتیجه عهده داری زمام امور مملکت امنیت ایران کامل شده است -

This safety and tranquillity are not only through his having been War Minister; this perfect security of Persia is rather in consequence of his having in charge the reins of the affairs of State.

عیاذ

عیاذ بالله (عیاذ): “God forbend!” (al-‘iyāza billāh) (یمک)
1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 1). See, under ضمی “Implied.”

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

THE GARDEN OF THE WATER MILL: AURANGABAD

*I sometimes think that never blows so red
The rose as where some buried Caesar bled ;
That every hyacinth the garden wears
Dropt in its lap from some once lovely head.*

OMAR KHAYYAM.

A TURN of the hot dusty road brought our car through the old embattled archway which marked the dividing line between an environment of dull mediocrity and the threshold of a world of enchantment! To our right rose the tawny pile of a three-domed mosque, the ruination of which at the hands of Time, which has so often seemed to work judiciously, had stopped just at the proper point of dilapidation, and had counterbalanced the ravages with such attractive embellishments as shrubs and waving grasses, self-planted in the gaps and fissures, so as to make the broken building extremely interesting from the artist's point of view. To our left we caught a glimpse across a wide-sprading tank of a splash of dazzling white; it was part of a dome with a glittering gold finial showing behind an immense banyan tree, and thrown into relief by the intense blue of the sky.

The next instant the car had stopped at the gate of what seemed a garden—and such a garden! Of course, all the world knows that there are no gardens more delightful than those of the East, where their cool fragrance contrasts gratefully with the heat or aridity of their environment.

I began to study my unknown surroundings, peering beyond the little white minarets which flanked the green gate at the entrance; but was delayed in entering the garden by the sight of a herd of iron-grey buffaloes, which came dawdling happily along the road. The buffaloes—there were a great many of them—in spite of their stout sinews and those mighty curving horns which are shaped like the blade of an

Indian *tulwar*, were under the sole care and management of a little bright-eyed maid who could not have been more than eight or nine years old, and who made up by surprising agility for the fact that she had no subordinate—not even a dog—to share the onerous duties of her responsible position.

This vigorous little person, shepherding her slow-moving and slow-thinking charges, distracted my attention, even on the very threshold of discovery; for curiosity and the faculty of wonder are difficult to eradicate in man; and—who knows?—even at the gateway of Paradise the departed may pause to take special note of something or other about them!

So I waited there until I had seen the buffaloes all successfully herded from the bleached high-road on to the hill-side; until their diminutive guardian, still brandishing her stick, and still running, had disappeared at their tails, among the trees.

I have seen a good many of the Moghul gardens in my time,—the Shalimar and Nishat Bagh, in the Paradise of the Indies (as François Bernier called Kashmîr when he visited that Happy Valley in the company of no less a traveller than Aurangzebe himself), the garden of the Taj Mahal, which is a reconstruction; that in the Delhi Fort; and several other “modern” gardens on the Moghul plan, of which that at Shivpuri near Gwalior is an example. But the secluded Moghul garden at Aurangabad has a charm of its own which, though not celebrated, sets it apart. It does not rely for much of its attraction on the magnificence of its natural setting, like the Nishat Bagh; or upon its romance, like the Shalimar; nor is it, so to speak, the floriated margin of some celebrated monument of the Past, like the gardens of the Taj at Agra and of the Fort at Delhi.

The glamour of the graceful garden at Aurangabad is self-contained. I could only guess at its history; it was connected in my mind with no great man’s romance or ambition; indeed, I had not known that it was there, for no one had informed me of its existence. Hence I was without any of those preconceived ideas (that is to say, ideas provided for us by others) which help to construct, and at times to obstruct our own point of view. There was no guide-book to make up for this deficiency, no cicerone to instruct my ignorance by appending some well-known, convincing name to Mosque, fountain and pavilion; I had read no tale that could invest this garden with an extra touch of fantasy; and no one had yet appeared of whom I could ask a question. In short I was reduced to that most stimulating but unpopular of exercises for

sluggish minds, to reading the cipher which was written in Nature's symbols, in which task the adult is generally so much less proficient than the child! In the profusion of its rich and varied beauty; in the deep jade of its tanks shot with reflections of blue sky and ivory arches; in the fragrant shade of its jasmine creepers, mysterious doorways, and deeply embowered domes; in the sun-patched causeways and overhanging canopy of foliage, I sought vainly to unravel the story of the unknown garden.

The superabundance of the water was perhaps the most agreeable feature which struck me first of all. For the day was becoming warm, and some at least of the dust of the road must have entered the garden with me; and it was pleasant to sit near the causeway of the great tank and to watch its waters overlapping the edge, plashing into the side canals, but always replenished by the cascade which poured from the tall many-arched aqueduct that bordered the road. This channel conducts the stream so as to turn an old mill-wheel (hidden in the wall) which is placed horizontally instead of vertically. But the mill is rarely used nowadays. It might have cost an effort to make up my mind to leave the vicinity of the dimpled tank and the quaint old mill, the former enlivened by troops of large fish which occasionally scattered the glittering surface like diamonds. Indeed, had my seat on the platform, beneath the green roof of the banyan with its pendant streamers, not been made untenable by the persistent attentions of a peculiarly aggressive type of flying insect, I believe I might have loitered there indefinitely, in which case I might never have really seen the garden. So the plague of flies turned out to be another of those unsought blessings in disguise, which we are generally slow to appreciate at their true value.

Driven from that refreshing spot I found myself facing a high white wall and an arched doorway, painted green and yellow, invitingly open for the benefit of vagrants like myself. Accordingly I entered the long cool shadow thrown by the columned hall of a Mosque, and passed a small "rest house" for pilgrims on the opposite side of the path. The stone-flagged way between these two structures was flanked by another and a narrower tank which appeared to border the whole remaining length of the garden. A fine mango tree with its dull pinkish blossoms in full bloom, and wreathed with the sweet-smelling mogra—the flower whereof the Indian women make the wreaths for their hair—dangled its

dark green, glossy leaves far over the surface of the tank, as though attitudinising before its own reflection in the pellucid mirror. Further on was a tall bush of the *hushanahana*, a plant which blooms frequently, and for its magnificent nocturnal perfume, has been rewarded with the title "Queen of the Night." I have one near my bungalow in Bombay, the perfume of which fills the house when the tree is in flower.

At the corner of the Mosque the flagstones merged into gravel walks between small banana trees. There were rose-bushes in plenty at this point, mingled with the long delicate tendrils of the jasmine. Cypress trees, cocoanut, papaya palms, and mangoes threw their shadows across the long verandah of the stone-arched *caravanserai* which enclosed the garden. The arcade of white arches seen across the enclosure from the tank, was fronted by a garden of its own, and the fragrant breath of orange blossom was wafted like incense about the long benches of whitewashed stone whereon the pious sojourners in this quiet retreat may rest. Near at hand was a beautiful little pavilion, lavishly curtained on three sides by a creeper hung with purple bells; but open on the fourth side facing the Mosque, from which it is only separated by the smallest, but the most attractive tank in the garden.

A more charming peep than that obtained through the trellised creeper, of the pointed arches opposite (which are of grey stone with extensions in brilliant white and red stone on either side) would not be easy to imagine. The white, grey and red of the Mosque; its inverted image in the water; the orange-coloured flower-pots ranged along the white coping stone of the tank; the rose-garden beyond; the gigantic banyan; and the rich mango-tree in the background behind the building, were the details which composed as restful a picture as any artist seeking the quieter Oriental backwaters, could hope to find. And to enhance the value of the discovery,—the light upon this little landscape is wonderfully steady; the march of the shadows is slow, and does not, as so often happens in India, throw the whole composition into confusion before the deftest of painters has had time to transfer to canvas or paper the main points of his picture.

Having rested for a long time in that benign little harbour after my rambles down the sun-burnt walks, I moved towards the other side of the garden which is free from edifices, and margined off by the tank; and while engaged in selecting the best view of the Moghul architecture, which

from this side is delightful, I noticed a staircase half concealed by the plants, descending into the bowels of the earth from the terrace! A *Mali* (gardener) informed me in reply to my enquiry that this was the way in olden times that the wise people (who no doubt understood their climate a great deal better than do our modern builders!) went in search of coolness; for they had constructed a hall *underneath* the tank; but the passage, he added, was no longer practicable nowadays.

However, I managed to obtain a sight of that remarkable saloon, thanks to another of the genii of the garden, who carried at his girdle the keys or talismans of the place, and now invited me to follow him. We proceeded through several humble gateways into a back lane which ran where one would certainly not have suspected a lane to be. Indeed, from its dilapidation, it rather looked as though this hidden path knew that it had no real business to be there, and it was a relief to escape from the unattractive alley into a field which sloped gently down to the edge of the river. Turning back in the direction of the garden we had left, we reached a patch of soft ground, beyond which lay our objective.

I had to pick my steps at this point, but in a few more minutes we were in the underground summer house! It was a very long stone chamber, the length synchronising with the lake above our heads. Its numerous arches were supported on plain columns; and there was a door in the wall that had once given admittance from the staircase leading from the garden above, but this passage had been closed for very many years. Close to us on our right, sparkling between the arches, flowed the open river. The delicious freshness of this place must have been a mighty relief during the hot season for the devout men who resorted to it in days of yore. And in this now rarely visited spot I at last gleaned from my guide a little of the true story of the garden.

I was given to understand that the body of a holy man lay interred in the Mosque above our heads,—one who had been the guide, philosopher and friend of the Emperor himself.* And because of this, and because his followers revered his piety, they buried him in the sweet-scented *Panchaki*,—the Garden of the Water Mill. They built their Mosque over the tomb, and they went on making the place

*Aurangzebe. The name of the saint was Baba Musaffir, who died in A.D. 1708.

more and more beautiful in honour of the dead* who sleep within its peaceful shadows. So the secret of the Moghul Garden was revealed; the mystery was a mystery no longer; and *my* discovery was no new discovery—which cost me a pang of disappointment.

On the other hand the garden had nobly justified my enthusiasm, which had now become a conventional, correct,—perhaps even a fashionable sentiment. For had not my preference received the sanction of Authority, which is of course, the essential guarantee for any work of art and beauty, before we may safely sound its praises to others, or even feel quite sure ourselves, that it deserves our respect?

Yes—the Great Moghuls were at their greatest as gardeners. They brought that secret with them from Persia; and when they made Hindustan the spoil of their resistless swords, they tempered the aftermath of conquest by planting the rose, the orange-blossom and the jasmine; whose fragrance, wafted over the blood-drenched earth, has outlived the fleeting renown of their forgotten victories.

W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON.

*Several of the saint's successors or followers are also buried in the Mosque.

THE ARABIAN LARIN

As is well known, the peculiar *larin* currency has held sway for several centuries until modern times along the coasts of Persia, Arabia, India and Ceylon. Even a Javanese *larin* is known, though it is a rarity. Deriving its name presumably from Lâr, the capital of the province of Lâristân in the north of the Persian Gulf—the earliest record of its occurrence there being in the 16th century—the *larin* (Persice, لاری) appears in a variety of types and legends that can be distinctively ascribed to the different regions where this curious type of coinage circulated. The variety that is most readily recognized is, of course, the bent “fish-hook” *larins* of Ceylon. The usual shape of the *larin*, however,—long and narrow with little more surface than that of a nail—offers but slight space for legendary inscriptions, and has, therefore, rendered the decipherment of such exceedingly difficult. Nevertheless the legends on the *larins* of (a) the Shahs of Persia (b) of the kings of Hormuz, (c) of the ‘Âdil Shâhî Dynasty of Bijâpûr in S.W. India, (d) of the Sultans of the Maldivé Islands and (e) of the merchants of Ceylon have all been more or less satisfactorily elucidated. The inscriptions on the *larins* that emanate from Arabia, from the district around Hofûf, however, have so far proved indecipherable.¹ Mr. Howland Wood, in his recent brochure “*The Gampola Larin Hoard*,”² which interestingly surveys the whole *larin* currency with particular reference to Ceylon, writes as follows about the Hofûf *larin*: “The inscription, so far as I know, has not been read, nor have I ever seen a coin struck from these dies.” The present article is written in an attempt to demonstrate the solution.

The Arabian province of Al-Ḥaṣâ or (al-Aḥṣâ) with its capital Hofûf (or al-Hofhûf) extends along the low-lying coastal strip on the west of the Persian Gulf opposite Baḥrain. It was for long an important trade-centre for merchants from

(1) *Numismatic Chronicle* 1912, p. 12.

(2) *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 61, (American Numismatic Society, New York, 1934), p. 16.

‘Irâq, Persia, ‘Omân and the Indian littoral. Naturally it developed a *larin* currency of its own. Travellers in those parts have long been familiar with such coins; the *locus classicus* is in Palgrave’s *Narrative of a Year’s Journey through Central and Eastern Arabia* (London and Cambridge 1865) vol. II, pp. 178-9:—

“In Ḥaṣa only, throughout the whole course of my long journey, did I meet with the genuine produce of an Arab mint..... in Ḥaṣa we find an entirely original and a perfectly local coinage, namely, the ‘Ṭoweelah’ or ‘long bit,’ as it is very suitably called, from its form. It consists of a small copper bar, much like a stout tack, about an inch in length, and split at one end, with the fissure slightly opened; so that it looks altogether like a compressed Y. *Along one of its flattened sides run a few Cufic characters, indicating the name of the Carmathian Prince under whose auspices this choice production of Arab numismatics was achieved;* nothing else is to be read on the Ṭoweelah, neither date nor motto. Three of these are worth a ‘gorsh’ and accordingly every copper nail separately may equal about three farthings. This currency is available in Ḥaṣa, its native place, alone, and hence the proverb, ‘Zey Ṭoweelat-il-Ḥaṣa,’ ‘like a Ḥaṣa long bit,’ is often applied to a person who can only make himself valuable at home. Silver and gold Ṭoweelahs were issued in the days of Carmathian glory; but they have been long since melted down.”

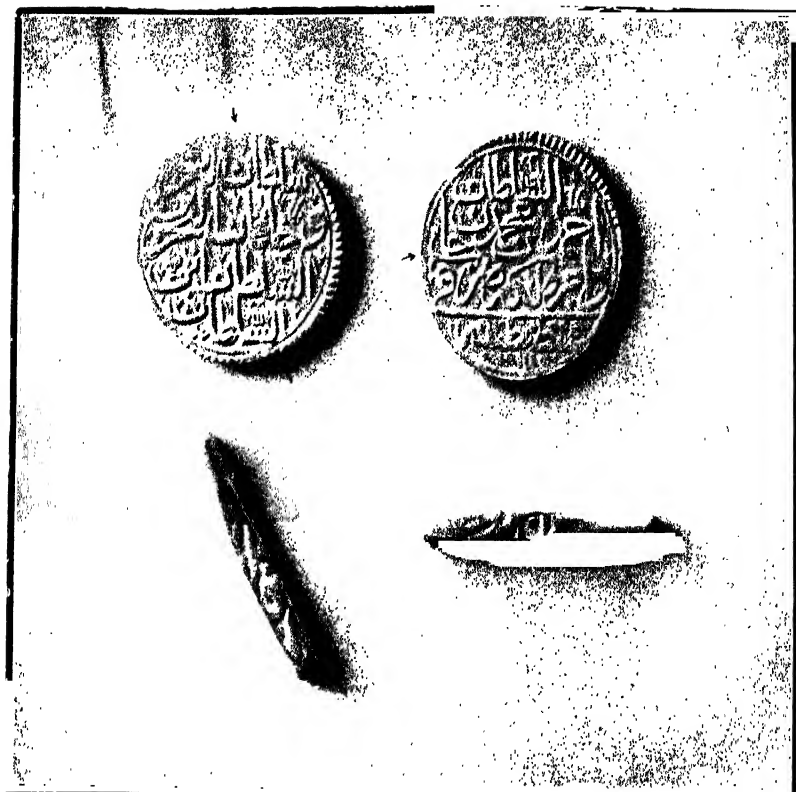
Palgrave, in the part which I have italicised, has been responsible for the laying of a false trail. In the first place, the script on these Ḥofûf (or al-Ḥaṣa) *larins* is not Cufic, but one that is definitely modern in character. Secondly, the late date of this writing precludes all possibility of a “Carmathian” origin. Lastly, as I propose to demonstrate, the name of the ruler “*under whose auspices this choice production of Arab numismatics was achieved*” was none other than that of the Sultan of Turkey, Aḥmad III ibn Muḥammad (A.D. 1703-1730) the then overlord of Arabia. In consequence the true date is more than 700 years after Ḥofûf was the centre of Qarmaṭian revolt.

I am not aware of any authority for Palgrave’s further statement, quoted above, that gold and silver *larins* were issued by the Qarmaṭian princes. He may have been guided by an actual local tradition, which was either true or false, or else he was deliberately misinformed. If he based his opinion of the date of these present *larins* on his own

observations and examination of specimens, his acquaintance with oriental numismatics must have been slight. It is not at all likely that the examples he encountered were other than the ones we are now considering, and which are to be found in most large collections of oriental coins.

Of these Arabian *larins* the British Museum possesses thirteen, all of which were procured in Hofûf, and presented by Otto Blas in 1887. Most of them are considerably worn so that only fragments of the legend are discernible. Two or three specimens however, of which an example is given in the accompanying plate quite clearly show traces of a name which I propose to read as that of the Sultan Aḥmad ibn Muḥammad Khân (احمد بن محمد خان). An important piece of evidence which corroborates this theory is found by taking a cross section of the reverse of one of this Sultan's silver coins (the *zelota half piastre*), when it will be seen that the corresponding section of the legend on the obverse resembles that on the obverse of the *larin*. In the plate the position of the cross section is indicated by means of small arrows. It will be seen that the axes of the coin are almost at right angles.

In the case of the Ceylon *larins* it has been demonstrated by Mr. John Still that the legends were often impressed on the *larins* from coins which were thus employed as dies. In such cases, of course, the legends were sunk and reversed. In other cases dies cut after the manner of coin dies were employed, and in some instances—e.g., among the Persian *larins*—specially shaped long *larin* dies were the rule. The inscriptions on the Arabian *larins* however, which we are here considering, seem to have been struck by means of dies copied from those of the official coinage. The nearest parallel seems to be the very rare *larins* said to have been struck at the mint of Basra under Turkish rule in the seventeenth century. According to H. W. Codrington (*Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p. 163) examples have been found in Ceylon bearing the name of the following Sultans Aḥmad I (1603-18) [of doubtful attribution] Ibrāhīm (1640-48) and Sulaimān III (1687-91). But I have not had an opportunity of examining any specimens of this particular class, and therefore, cannot say how near they approximate to the Arabian *larins* of Hofûf.



HALF PIASTRE OF THE TURKISH SULTAN AHMAD III WITH A
LARIN OF HOFUF SHOWING CROSS-SECTION ON WHICH
THE LARIN DIE WAS BAKED.

Obverse

سلطان البرين
وخاقان البحرين
السلطان ابن
السلطان .

Reverse

السلطان
احمد بن محمد خان
دام ملكه ضرب في
قسطنطينيه

CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIAEVAL PERSIA

(Continued)

THE last ruler of the Tâhirid dynasty was Muhammad b. Tâhir (248-259/862-872) who ruled Khurâsân and also Sijistân as one of its appendages. He was a prince of tender years and was more devoted to his own pleasure than the administration of the country.¹ The central government at Baghdâd was also paralysed by the tyranny and dissensions of the Turks. The political condition of the Caliphate being thus weakened at the centre as well as in the Persian provinces, the Khârijites resumed their activities and robbed the people of the peace and security to which they had been accustomed during the rule of the Tâhirids before Muhammad b. Tâhir. Although the details of the situation in Sijistân are not clear, it would seem that a band of volunteers, called Mutawwis was formed to protect the people from the depredations of the Khârijites. At the head of these volunteers stood one Dirham b. Naşr b. Şâlih, who seized Zarang, drove out the Tâhirid prefect Ibrâhîm b. Husayn from Sijistân and ultimately made himself the master of the province.² These volunteers had set up a sort of democracy and the most able and deserving person from among themselves was elected as their chief. Thus this organisation gave an opportunity to any person possessed of real talent to come to the fore. Ya'qûb, the son of a coppersmith and the founder of the Şaffârid dynasty, belonging to the town of Qarnîn in Sijistân near Zarang, was one of the volunteers of the Mutawwia; and through his intrepidity, boldness and organising capacity, found his way to the leadership.³ When once Ya'qûb became the leader he

(1) Gardizî, p. 10.

(2) Nöldeke, p. 177.

(3) According to the usual account, Ya'qûb, by killing in a single combat the most dreaded captain of the Khârijites named Ammân, gave the first practical proof of his bravery, which led him to such eminence among his fellows that Dirham thought it expedient to leave the leadership to Ya'qûb by setting out for Mecca for the pilgrimage and finally settling down in Baghdâd. Cf. Nöldeke p. 178. According to Ibn Athir, VII, p. 124, Dirham was captured by the Tâhirid governor and sent to Baghdâd where he served the Caliph.

soon showed his organising capacity and administrative ability. His energetic suppression of the robber bands and the security he obtained for traffic won for him the admiration of all, and his exercise of the principles of equality amongst his followers enabled him to win the support of the poor Sijistânîs, whose national pride was, no doubt, gratified by the emergence of a leader from among themselves.

Though the 'Abbâsid Caliphs stood in theory for the principle of impartiality, they did not treat the Muslims on the whole on terms of equality. As the Umayyads had favoured the Arabs, so the 'Abbâsids favoured the Khurâsânîs and neglected the interests both of the Arabs and of the other peoples of Persia.¹ This partiality was hardly to be tolerated; and thus we see this new movement, originally started to suppress the Khârijites, eventually turned against the weak administration of the Tâhirids themselves, and ultimately against the Caliphate which supported them in all their doings.

Ya'qûb and his brother Amr had no religious compunction in opposing the 'Abbâsid Caliphate when it could not establish justice and equity in Sijistân. Their attitude towards the institution of the Caliphate can be well explained by the reply of Ya'qûb when he was asked by Muhammad b. Tâhir for a deed of investiture from the Caliph at the time of his conquest of Khurâsân. Ya'qûb drew his sword from under his prayer-mat and told the messenger of Muhammad that that was his deed and authority.² The same attitude was shown by Amr at the time of his receiving the deed of investiture for the province of Mâwarâ al-Nahr. When the deed was presented to Amr, the latter asked the messenger what it meant. On receiving the envoy's explanation that it was the thing he had asked for from the Caliph, Amr replied, 'Of what use will it be to me? The province cannot be taken from the hands of Ismâ'il the Sâmanid except with the aid of a hundred thousand naked swords.'³ No doubt Ya'qûb and his brother Amr caused prayer to be offered for the Caliph as the general Commander of all the Faithful, and inserted the latter's name on the coins current in their dominions; but this signified only a sort of religious recognition of the institution. Even this much was perhaps not due to their

(1) The 'Abbâsids, owing to the support given to them by the Khurâsânîs were bound to give them all high positions in Persia and the government of other provinces.

(2) Gardizî, p. 12-13.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 18; Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. IV. p. 326.

belief in the religious significance of the Caliphate, but was the outcome of political motives. At this time, when the Caliph's authority was considered infallible, and he was, in fact as well as in theory, the head of the Islamic empire, it was very difficult for any governor to hold his own against the Caliphate; and still more for a usurper who had nothing but the sword upon which to base his right. Hence, for the success of their policy, the Ṣaffārīds required to have some sort of nominal relationship with the Caliphate, otherwise there was every danger of alienating the sympathies of their own subjects, which were their main support in their struggle against the Caliphate. The importance of a deed of investiture from the Caliph cannot better be gauged than by the fact that Amr, who succeeded his brother Ya'qûb, was only given recognition as lawful ruler by the 'Ulamâ and the volunteers for the faith, when he had secured his patent of sovereignty from the Caliph;¹ and to gain public opinion Amr, on another occasion, exhibited the standard despatched from Baghdâd in the court of his dwelling-house for three days at Nîshâpur.² For these reasons, the Ṣaffārīds were obliged to come to terms with the Caliphate and ask for the confirmation of their claims over those territories which they had conquered even against the wishes of the Baghdâd government; and to continue the name of the Caliph in the khutbah and coinage even after they had come to a final breach with the central government, and were declared heretics and usurpers against the lawful government.³

How ambitious were the brothers to curtail even this nominal authority of the Caliph is evident from the fact that Ya'qûb was the first to introduce his name in the khutbah along with that of the Caliph,⁴ and Amr was the first ruler

(1) Gardîzî, p. 14-15.

(2) Tabarî, III. p. 2133.

(3) There is no historical evidence to show that the Ṣaffārīds ever discontinued the name of the Caliph in the Khutbah and there is no coin which does not bear the Caliph's name during their régime. Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*.

Upon Ya'qûb's conquest of Khurâsân against the wishes of the Caliphate, the former was declared a heretic and a rebel against the legitimate authority before the caravan of pilgrims which was at that time in Baghdâd on its return journey in 261/875. (Tabarî, III. p. 1887)

Amr was also declared a heretic before the pilgrims and orders were issued throughout the Islamic empire that he should be cursed from all the pulpits. (Tabarî, III. p. 2106).

(4) Narshakhî, p. 77. It is related that in 261/875, the Caliph ordered the exclusion of the name of Yâ'qûb from the khutbah and the inclusion of that of Nasr, the Sâmanid at Bukhâra.

to have his name inscribed on gold coins.¹ The latter innovation on the part of a governor in the East almost signified his independence. There is no evidence to show that the Šaffârids ever paid any regular tribute to the Baghdâd government, although Ya'qûb, if Khallikân² is to be trusted, agreed to pay in two-thirds of the taxes furnished by all the provinces which he governed. Their insatiable nature and want of moderation would not allow them to be content with what they had already gained, but they were bent upon excluding the temporal power of the Caliphate from Persia, and, if possible, from Baghdâd itself.³ In fact they were trying to anticipate the Buwayhids by taking over all the political power into their hands and allowing the Caliphate to remain as a nominal religious head.

Whatever their actual intentions, the Šaffârids did certain things which made them appear as the champions of the

(1) Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, Add. IX, p. 177. On a gold coin minted in the year 275 A.H. Amr's name appears along with his father's. It should be noted that the Tâhirids were not allowed to put their names on gold coins in Persia, while their names do appear on such coins in the western provinces. Cf. Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*.

(2) Ibn Khallikân, De Slane, trans. IV, p. 320.

(3) In 261/875 the Caliphate tried to reconcile Ya'qûb by granting him the government of Khurâsân, Tabaristân, Jurjan, Rayy, and Fârs as well as the military governorship of Baghdâd. (Tabarî, III. p. 1892). But Ya'qûb insisted on coming to Baghdâd to settle the terms of the treaty. The Caliph was well aware of his intention of capturing Baghdâd itself and consequently made preparations to oppose him and ultimately by giving the colour of holy war to his movements against the Šaffârid, succeeded in repelling the attack. Ya'qûb was defeated near Dayâr al 'Āqûl in 262/876 and after this never condescended to come to terms with the Baghdâd government which made one more effort to come to a good understanding with Ya'qûb; but the latter's reply to the Caliph's messenger again shows his attitude towards the Caliphate. He said, "Take back the answer that I am ill; if I die then we will have peace from one another, but should I recover, nothing shall settle matters between us except the sword. If I lose all my territory, I shall return to the coarse bread and onions which was the food of my youth." Cf. Ibn Athîr, VII, p. 226. Khallikân, De Slane, trans. IV, p. 321.

Amr was not only confirmed in all his brother's possessions, but was also given the honour of getting his name inscribed on the standards, lances and shields in the government office at Baghdâd. Cf. Tabarî, III. p. 2115. But his insatiable nature led him to oblige the Caliph to grant him the deed of investiture for the province of Mâwarâ al-Nahr which was under the Sâmânids. This led him to a war with Ismâ'il who defeated him and sent him a prisoner to Baghdâd in 287/900. Cf. Tabarî, III. p. 2194.

orthodox faith and faithful allies of the Caliphate. Both Ya'qûb and Amr waged wars against infidels in the East and sent magnificent presents to the Caliph. Ya'qûb enlarged his dominions by conquests in the mountainous region to the East and contributed much to the gradual rise of Islam in the country now known as Afghanistan.¹ But the object of the holy war was perhaps to extend their territories and to secure booty; and the despatch of costly presents to the Caliph only to keep him in good humour in order to secure recognition or to plead their cause for a fresh province upon which they had closed their greedy teeth; and also perhaps to figure as the champions of Islam in the public eye.

The Šaffârids also fought against both the Khârijites and the 'Alids and with the same political objects in view. Ya'qûb though he himself is supposed to have been a Khârijite in the beginning of his career,² yet came into prominence by fighting against them as has been shown above. After the defeat of Muhammad the Tâhirid, when he was making his case for the government of Khurâsân, in token of his profound attachment to the Caliphate, he sent the head of a Khârijite captain who, in the neighbourhood of Hirât, for thirty years had dared to call himself 'Commander of the Faithful.'³ When Ḥasan, the ruler of Ṭabaristân, gave refuge to Ya'qûb's opponent 'Abd Allâh, he declared war against him and defeated him. He sent a most deferential account of his victory over the 'Alid dynasty of Ṭabaristân to the Caliphate and announced to the Commander of the Faithful that he had in his custody sixty members of the family of 'Alî in 260/873.⁴ Amr also took the field against Rafî' when he revolted against the authority of the Caliphate and by joining the 'Alid prince of Ṭabaristân had embraced the Shî'a creed and caused the public prayer to be offered for the 'Alid. He hunted Rafî' from place to place and finally sent his head to the Caliph in 284/897.⁵ In both cases the object was to secure the possession of Khurâsân.

(1) Nöldeke, p. 182. In 259/871 Ya'qûb sent an embassy to the Caliph Mu'tamid with the idols which he had captured in Kabul or the neighbouring lands. Amr also carried his arms into the eastern heathen lands as is shown by the large presents he sent to Baghdâd in 283/896. Besides 400,000 dirhams, he sent a number of camels and especially a bronze image richly decked with precious stones of a goddess having four arms. There were a number of other idols upon the car on which it was borne. Cf. Nöldeke, p. 200.

(2) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 216.

(3) Tabarî, III. p. 1882; Nöldeke, p. 184.

(4) Tabarî, III, p. 1884.

(5) *Ibid*, p. 2160.

The revolt of the Ṣaffârids against the 'Abbâsid Caliphate should, by no means, be considered as a Persian revolt against Arab domination. That there was not even the vestige of Persian nationalism in those times is evident from the absence of any concerted action of various Persian rulers against the Caliphate. As has already been shown, the Ṣaffârids were always busy fighting the other Persian rulers, and on several occasions they allied themselves with the Caliphate against them. That Ya'qûb was a Muslim first of all cannot be illustrated better than by his refusal of an alliance with the leader of the Zanj against their common enemy, i.e., the Caliphate. Ya'qûb's despatch of a Quranic verse in reply to the peace overtures, "Say to the infidels, I do not worship that which you worship," is characteristic of his orthodoxy.¹ Nor were the Ṣaffârids inspired by any ideal of a pre-Islamic king in Persia. In the absence of any settled government they could not establish a regular system of administration; but whatever principles they applied in governing their dominions were more in keeping with the teachings of Islam than with the pre-Islamic idea of kingship.² They considered themselves equal even to their soldiers; formed all their plans themselves and directed their executive personally as far as possible. Even a ruler of extensive dominions, Ya'qûb, continued to live as a simple soldier. In his tent he slept upon his shield without any attendants. Both the brothers supervised the administration of their country and delivered justice personally. As regards any fixed rules for revenue collection, they had none; they applied their own laws in accordance with their needs.³

In short, the relations of the Ṣaffârids with the 'Abbâsid Caliphate were not so anomalous as they appear. The Ṣaffârids were willing to show the traditional regard for the religious institution of the Caliphate, but the exigencies of right and justice and the weak rule both at the centre and in the provinces prompted them to set up a new rule. Their

(1) Ibn Athîr, VII, p. 201.

(2) The Sâsânid king remained hidden, inaccessible and invisible even to the highest dignitaries of his court. Cf. Christensen p. 97; Huart, p. 145. The king showed himself in public only on rare occasions amidst great pomp and show which was intended to impress the onlookers, for nobody durst raise his voice in the presence of the king. Cf. Christensen, p. 98.; Huart, p. 147. In great battles which were directed by the king himself, a throne of considerable grandeur was set up in the centre of the army. Cf. Christensen, p. 63; Huart, p. 15.

(3) Nöldeke, p. 193-194; Mîr Khwând, p. 710.

want of moderation came in the way of their achieving any permanent results for the dynasty.¹ But they were the first in Persia to contest the political supremacy of the 'Abbâsids and were bent upon reducing their temporal power to the minimum. Fortunately for the Caliphate, the emergence of these dissenters coincided with the period of Muwaffaq and his son Mu'tadid who were strong enough to curb their ambition. They themselves also contributed to this result by antagonising both the Khârijites and Shî'ahs at the same time. Although both the brothers were defeated and died without fulfilling their ambition, yet they succeeded in asserting the right of the subordinate princes to share with the Caliphate the two outward insignia of sovereignty, i.e., the inclusion of their names in the khutbah and on the coinage in their dominions, and moreover, established a precedent in governing their territories without any regular payment to Baghdâd. Thus the Şaffârîds set the example for the curtailment of the temporal power of the Caliphate in Persia. These concessions once extorted from the Caliphate, had to be nolens volens bestowed by the Caliphs themselves upon their successors, i.e., the Sâmânîds whose relations with the Caliphate we shall trace in the following pages.

The relations of the Sâmânîds² with the Caliphate naturally fall into two periods; the first from 261/874, when they first come into direct relationship with the Baghdâd government, till 333/944; the second from 334/945, when the Caliphate came under the tutelage of the Buwayhîds, till their downfall at the hands of Mahmûd of Ghazna in 384/999. Since their relations during the second period form part of the next chapter they will be dealt with later.

Ruling as subordinates to the Khurâsânî government, the Sâmânîds came into direct relationship with the 'Abbâsîd Caliphate only after the conquest of Khurâsân by Ya'qûb, when in 261/874 the Caliph Mu'tamid granted to Naşr, the founder of the dynasty, the patent of sovereignty to govern the provinces of Mâwarâ al-Nahr which he had already been governing under the Tâhirîds.³ The Caliph gave an order for the exclusion of the name of Ya'qûb from the khutbah in

(1) But the strength of the ties uniting the Şaffârîds with the population of Sijistân is shown by the reappearance and maintenance of the dynasty (except for a short interval under Ghaznevîds and Saljuqîds) down to the fifteenth century. Cf. Zambaur, p. 200.

(2) See article on the Sâmânîds in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

(3) Ibn Athîr, VII, p. 193.

those regions and the inclusion of Naṣr's name instead.¹ Thus the concession of mentioning the governor's name in the khutbah after that of the Caliph, which had been extorted by Ya'qûb, was voluntarily given by the Caliph himself to the Sāmânid Amîr. On the death of Naṣr in 279/892, his brother Ismâ'il was installed in his place and in addition to Mâwarâ al-Nahr, Ismâ'il after his victory over Amr in 287/900 was given the government of Khurâsân which by right of conquest already belonged to him.²

There is no evidence as to any regular tribute paid by the Sāmânids to the central government from the time of the grant of the province of Khurâsân to them after the defeat of Amr. In fact ever since the defeat of Muhammad b. Ṭâhir in 259/871 neither of the governors who were given the government of Khurâsân paid any regular tribute nor were they willing to do so. The defined attitude of various governors had involved the Baghdâd government in costly wars. Under such circumstances the Caliphate was perhaps glad to have the opportunity of entrusting the government of this province to one of its loyal governors on the same conditions as it was ruled by the defiant ones. Since the inclusion of the name of a governor on a gold coin in the East signified his independence, we can date the political independence of the Sāmânids, so far as any regular tribute is concerned, at the latest, from the year 295/907 in which year there appears a gold coin on which the name of the Sāmânid Amîr Ahmad b. Ismâ'il appears along with that of the Caliph.³ By the year 306/918, however, it becomes quite clear that the Sāmânids did not pay any regular tribute for the provinces of Khurâsân and Mâwarâ al-Nahr, as the budget drawn up for 'Alî Ibn 'Isâ, the wazîr of the Caliph Muqtadir, in that year does not contain any revenues from the above provinces.⁴ Thus the Sāmânids were now in full enjoyment of the three concessions extorted by the Ṣaffârids from the Caliphate, i.e., the sharing of the two insignia of sovereignty, and the appropriation of the whole of the revenues.

The Sāmânids, being staunch Sunnis, needed the sanction of the Caliphate to govern their territories so that their

(1) Narshakhî, p. 77.

(2) Tabarî, III. p. 2195; Ibn Athîr, VII, p. 346-47.

(3) Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, Additions, p. 179.

(4) Kremer, *Ueber das Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreichs*, (Monograph on 'Alî Ibn 'Isâ and his statesmanship).

possessions might be placed on a legal basis, and there civil administration carried on in accordance with the Shari'ah. It was this religious necessity that compelled them to ask for a deed of investiture for the possessions whose *de facto* rulers they had become by right of conquest. The acceptance of a deed from the Caliphate was in form a declaration of their political subordination to the former, to which a sort of sanction was attached by the necessity of its renewal on the demise of the granter and the grantee. The possession of this right by the Caliphate made it the custodian of the sovereignty *de jure*, and the Sâmânids were left with the possession of the sovereignty *de facto* alone. On the other hand the Caliph had no hand in the appointment of an Amîr, which was the concern of the Sâmânid government alone. On occasions of successions to the throne, the new ruler applied to the Caliph for the deed of investiture, which was then duly issued by the Caliph. With their political influence waning, the Caliphs began to attach a touch of sacredness to the ceremony by sometimes tying the banner with their own hands.¹ It is very regrettable that there is no copy of such a deed in existence within our knowledge, but from the contents of a copy of an oath of allegiance taken by Mas'ûd to the Caliph, we gather that this document was not a blank cheque given to the governors to rule their kingdoms as they liked; there were certain religious as well as political obligations to be fulfilled by the rulers, who used to bind themselves with formidable oaths to perform them.² Although there was no sanctioning authority to enforce these obligations on the rulers, yet it seems still to have been understood that they were morally bound to abide by them, and there seems to be no hint in any of our sources that orthodox public opinion in Khurâsân was prepared as yet to admit any severing of the link with the Caliphate.

So far as their internal administration was concerned the Sâmânids were quite independent of the central government, but the report of every revolt, every new conquest, and all the movements that were going on in their dominions, was sent to the Baghdâd government; and the Sâmânid Amîrs were expected to act in accordance with the instructions received from Baghdâd. In addition, they had to render help to the Caliphate by suppressing all religious revolts, waging jihâd, arranging for the pilgrimage. etc.

(1) Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 4.

(2) Bayhaqî, pp. 384-389.

When Ṭāhir b. Muhammad b. Amr the Ṣaffārid entered Fārs and expelled the prefect of the Caliph in 288/901, Ismā'il wrote to him that the Caliph had given him the province of Sijistān with all its appendages, and therefore he should abstain from capturing it. In consequence of this, Ṭāhir returned, and the Caliph appointed his own client Badr to Fārs.¹ In 296/910 Ahmad b. Ismā'il sent a despatch to Baghdād announcing the conquest of Sijistān and the capture of Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Layth who was a rebel against the Caliphate.² This was followed by a despatch announcing that he had captured Subkara who had captured Fārs against the wishes of the Baghdād government.³ In accordance with the orders received from the Caliphate, the two prisoners were despatched to Baghdād and the messengers of the Sāmānids were sent back with robes and scented jewels for the governor of Khurāsān.⁴ In 309/921 an envoy of the ruler of Khurāsān brought to Baghdād the head of Layla b. Nu'mān, the Daylamite, who had rebelled against the authority of the Caliphate in Tabaristān;⁵ and in 330/941 Makan b. Kaki's head was sent with some presents to the Caliphate.⁶

The Sāmānids were so loyal to the authority of the Caliphate that they did not oppose it even if their own rights were infringed. They took all such things in good part and were quite content with what they could get out of the Caliph by peaceful means. When Baris Kabir who was the governor of Rayy, Tabaristān and Jurjān on behalf of the Sāmānids, made his way to Baghdād on the death of Ismā'il in 295/907 with all the revenues he had collected, the Sāmānid government condemned the action of the Caliph Muqtadir who welcomed the traitor and gave him the government of Diyār-Bakr.⁷ Again in 303/915 Muhammad b. 'Alī b. Sulūk, a cousin of the governor of Khurāsān who came to Baghdād demanding protection, was welcomed by the Caliph and presented with a robe of honour.⁸

When the people of Sijistān revolted against the authority of the newly appointed Sāmānid ruler, Naṣr II, and paid homage to Muqtadir, the Caliph assigned the province to his

(1) Ibn Athīr, VII, p. 352.

(2 & 3) Misk. I, p. 19; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 21.

Ibn Athīr, VIII, p. 46.

(4) Misk. I, p. 20; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 22.

(5) *Ibid.* 76. *Ibid.*, p. 22.

(6) Misk. II, p. 23.

(7) Ibn Athīr, VIII, pp. 5-6; Mir Khwand, p. 717.

(8) Miskawayh, I, p. 39; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 43.

own men who imprisoned the officials of the Sâmânid ruler and sent them as prisoners to Baghdâd in 301/913.¹ Even then the Sâmânids did not lift a finger against their legitimate suzerain the Caliph, whom they considered justified in granting a piece of territory which they themselves had governed on payment of tribute to whomsoever he chose.

Whenever an opportunity arose, the Sâmânids waged holy war against the infidels. In 291/903 when the Turks entered Mâwarâ al-Nahr, Ismâ'il persuaded the Muslims to wage war against them, and with the help of the warriors for the Faith, he practically destroyed them. He sent a despatch relating these proceedings to Baghdâd.²

The Sâmânids, being staunch Sunnîs, were naturally opposed to any anti-Sunnî movement during their jurisdiction, as it was also detrimental to their political interests. When Muhammad b. Zayd, governor of Tabaristân, attacked Jurjân in 289/901, Muhammad b. Hârûn, the general sent by Ismâ'il, not only expelled the 'Alids from Jurjân, but brought his own country Tabaristân under the jurisdiction of the Sâmânids, and caused the khutbah to be read in the name of the 'Abbâsid Caliph.³ In 290/902 when Muhammad b. Hârûn, who had been appointed by Ismâ'il as governor of Tabaristân, rebelled against him, and threw off the allegiance of the 'Abbâsids by defying the authority of the Caliphate and occupying Rayy against its will, Ismâ'il, under instructions from the central government, proceeded to restore order in Rayy and expel the rebel.⁴ He occupied Rayy whose government was assigned to him by the Caliphate on the stipulation of a regular payment of tribute.⁵

The Qarmaṭian propaganda won several adherents amongst the Sâmânid officials and finally the Amîr Naṣr

(1) Ibn Athîr, VIII, pp. 59-60.

(2) Tabarî, III, p. 2249; Ibn Athîr, VII, p. 368.

(3) *Ibid*, 2208; *Ibid*, p. 357.

(4) Ibn Athîr, VII, p. 365.

(5) Kremer, *Ueber des Einnahmebudget des Abbasidenreichs*, p. 28. The revenue of Rayy appears in the budget of Baghdâd government for 306/918-919; in 314/926 when Ibn Abû'l Saj was given the government of Jibâl and was ordered to fight the Qarmaṭians the government of Rayy was given to the Sâmânids and a person was sent to settle the kharaj. See: Miskawayh, I, p. 149; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 166. This clearly shows that Ismâ'il had not annexed Rayy as it is mentioned in the art. on Ismâ'il in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* by Barthold.

himself became a convert to their teachings.¹ The 'Ulamâ naturally resented the conversion of the Amîr to heresy and they invoked the help of the Turkish guards who formed a plot to depose the Amîr and offer the throne to the great Sipahsalar. The plot being discovered, the Amîr's son Nûh ordered the leader of the conspirators to be executed, and Naşr announced his abdication in favour of his son, Nûh, against whom there was no accusation of heresy. Nûh gave orders to imprison his father and put him in chains. Afterwards he ruthlessly persecuted the heretics, and their property including the treasure of the deposed heretic Amîr was transferred to the orthodox. Henceforward the Shî'ahs were completely suppressed and continued only as a secret sect.²

The Sâmânids were not as ambitious as their predecessors, the Şaffârids; and were content with what they could get out of the Caliphate by peaceful means, as the strongest Sunnî power in Persia their opinion was invited even in the matter of an election of a Caliph.³ They had inspired so much confidence through their loyalty that the Caliphs regarded their dominions as the last place of refuge in case of danger. When the Caliph Muqtadir was hard pressed by the Qarmâtians, 'Alî Ibn 'Isâ addressed the Caliph thus; "If another thing come about, then do thou depart to the remotest part of Khurâsân."⁴

The Sâmânids were in return duly rewarded for their loyalty by the Caliphate. Without the least remonstrance the central government granted them the very concessions which were grudged to others. So much was the Caliphate sure of their loyalty that the government of all these parts which were supposed to be on the verge of revolt was invariably assigned to them; while they, on their part, suppressed all such revolts, pacified the country and held it, if the Caliphate so desired, or else made it over to the Caliphate. In short, it can be concluded that perfect mutual harmony existed between the 'Abbâsid Caliphate and the Sâmânid Amîrs in their relations during this period.

(1 & 2) Nizâm-ul-Mulk, *Siyâsatnâmah*, pp. 188-93; Al-Nadîm, *Fihrist* p. 188; Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 243-244.

(3) Miskawayh, I, p. 4; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 4.

At the time of the election of Muqtadir in 295/907, the wazîr 'Abbâs was waiting for the arrival of the chamberlain of Ismâ'il b. Ahmad, ruler of Khurâsân.

(4) Miskawayh, I, *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 204.

The Caliphate under the Buwayhid régime and its relations with Persian rulers

With the capture of Baghdâd by the Buwayhids¹ a new chapter opened in the history of the Caliphate. Almost all the temporal power of the Caliph was already taken over by various Amîrs who had risen to power at Baghdâd before the Buwayhids. The most important symbol of sovereignty, i.e., the coinage, had already been shared by them and many of the functions of the wazîr were taken over by the secretary of the Amîr al-Umarâ. Even the revenue realised from several parts of the empire was not received directly by the Caliph, who was given an allowance just sufficient to meet his necessary expenses.² In spite of all this the Caliph was still considered the temporal as well as religious head of the Islamic community and orders were issued in his name. He still retained the right to appoint his own wazîr, whose existence could not be ignored, especially when there were so many competitors for the rank of Amîr al-Umarâ.

But with the advent of the Buwayhids to power at Baghdâd, still worse was to come. Being Shî'as, they did not acknowledge the Caliphate of the 'Abbâsids whom they considered as usurpers!³ It was only for political motives that Mu'izz al-Daulah recognised the institution. His position in the beginning was not safe at all. After his peaceful occupation of Baghdâd, he had to meet his rivals the Hamdânids, who had already held the post of the Amîr al-Umarâ. They nearly turned the scales of victory in their favour and it was only a stroke of fortune that, by a mere stratagem, Mu'izz could retain possession of Baghdâd in 334/945.⁴ Besides he had to deal with the Barids and the Qarmatians.

Mu'izz al-Daulah was aware of this opposition and therefore did not think it politic to alienate the sympathies of the

(1) See art. on Buwayhids in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam*. After strengthening his position, Abû'l Hasan 'Alî applied in 322 A.H. to the Caliph Râdi, to invest him with the provinces which were already in his possession. The Caliph consented on condition of payment by him of eight million dirhams. 'Alî forcibly took the robe of honour and the standard from the Caliph's messenger and did not pay even a single penny. Cf. Misk. I, p. 299-300. This shows the necessity of securing a deed of investiture from the Caliph; and also the attitude of the Buwayhids to recognise the 'Abbâsid Caliphate.

(2) Miskawayh, I, p. 352; *Eclipse*, trans. IV, p. 396.

(3) Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 399.

(4) *Ibid*, p. 341.

majority of the population at Baghdâd who were Sunnîs.¹ Perhaps he had a mind to replace the 'Abbâsid Caliphate by an 'Alid one after completely establishing himself. He expressed his desire to transfer the Caliphate to the family of 'Alî immediately after deposing the Caliph Mustakfî on a mere suspicion of intriguing against his authority. But he was checked in his design by the advice of one of his courtiers who pronounced it to be unsound policy, remarking, 'If trouble were to arise between yourself and the 'Abbâsid Caliph, your followers who do not believe him to be the rightful claimant, will not hesitate even if you order them to kill him, but in case of an 'Alid Caliph, they will not hesitate to carry out his commands even if it be to kill you.' These words appealed to Mu'izz who being actuated by personal considerations, dropped the proposal. Political considerations outweighed his religious sentiments and thus the choice fell on an 'Abbâsid Caliph, Mutî'. Thus the 'Abbâsid Caliphs obtained recognition at the hands of those who did not believe in their rights."

When the Buwayhids took charge of the administration of the Caliphate, a permanent Amirate with hereditary rights was established, and by these Amîrs the Caliph was practically stripped of his remaining sovereign functions and privileges. Formerly the Caliph had a wazîr and the Amîr al-Umarâ a secretary, but now it was the other way about. The Caliph had no hand in the actual appointment of the wazîr and even the right of appointing the wazîr and the governors in theory was shared by the Amîrs.³ The Caliph Mustakfî was granted a daily allowance of five thousand dirhams,⁴ but it was further reduced to two thousand on the appointment of his successor, the Caliph Mutî⁵ and that too was at the mercy of these Amîrs. His personal estate, which yielded a yearly income of 200,000 dînârs, was put in charge of a secretary;⁶ but this revenue, like the personal allowance, depended on the goodwill of the Buwayhid Amîrs who might confiscate it if they so

(1) Miskawayh, II, p. 328; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 355.

(2) Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 339-304. This conversation is probably to be regarded not as a historically founded fact, but rather as a summing up of Ibn al Athîr's own reading of the situation. Nevertheless, in the present state of our knowledge, it appears to be a justifiable view.

(3) *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 399; quoted from Sabî's collections, p. 222-223.

(4) Ibn al Athîr, VIII, p. 338. Not dînârs as mentioned in the *History of the Saracens* by Amîr 'Alî, p. 303.

(5) Miskawayh, II, p. 87; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 91.

(6) *Ibid.* p. 108; *Ibid.* p. 111.

desired.¹ Sometimes, when the Amîrs were hard pressed for money, it was not unusual that a demand was made of the Caliphs to advance some money from their personal income towards the common exchequer; and the Caliphs being not in a position to resist such abnormal demands for fear of deposition, had to accede to them.²

The provincial governors or rulers who recognised the 'Abbâsid Caliphate as a religious institution mentioned the name of the Caliph in the khutbah on Fridays and on other ceremonial occasions, and this signified (as has been shown in the previous chapter) the religious recognition of the Caliphate by the rulers who were otherwise independent. But the khutbah at Baghdâd was also, before the advent of the Buwayhids, a symbol of their political supremacy. During the régime of the latter, this prerogative of the Caliph also was encroached upon and the custom was started of having the name of the Amîr conjoined with that of the Caliph in the khutbah at Baghdâd. 'Adud al-Daulah was the first to introduce the innovation,³ and henceforward it became the usual practice for the subsequent Buwayhid Amîrs. Although this prerogative was more under the control of the public than of either the Caliph or the Buwayhid Amîr, yet 'Adud al-Daulah could show his high-handedness when he caused the omission of the name of the Caliph Tai for two whole months from all the pulpits under his control.⁴ Generally, however, a request was made by the Amîr to the Caliph for the inclusion of his name in the khutbah at Baghdâd, and this was usually granted. Since it was the most decisive sign of recognition of an Amîr by the Caliph, great importance was attached even to the order in which the names followed after

(1) Miskawayh, II, p. 344; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 373.

During the period of Mu'izz al-Daulah much of the personal property of the Caliph was confiscated and given to the soldiers.

(2) Miskawayh, II, p. 308; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 330. In 361/971 Bakhtiyâr under the pretext of waging jihâd realized 400,000 dirhams from the Caliph Mutî', who, it was given out, had to sell some of his jewels and furniture, to meet this abnormal demand.

In 381/991 Bahâ al-Daulah actuated by his greed for the wealth of the Caliph Tai, deposed him; and robbed him of all his belongings. Cf. Misk., III, p. 201; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 213.

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 396; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 435. Ibn al Athîr, VIII., p. 507, Ibn Ra'q's name was ordered to be mentioned in the khutbah in all pulpits, Cf. Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 241; but it is quite clear that these did not include the pulpits of Baghdâd. It is noteworthy that this came about gradually; as distinct from that in the provincial cities.

(4) Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 62.

the name of the Caliph. One of the conditions of peace between Sharaf al-Daulah and his brother Samsâm al-Daulah was that the former's name should be mentioned in the khutbah at Baghdâd after the Caliph's and before Samsâm al-Daulah's name.¹ The exclusion of the name of a certain Amîr from the khutbah at Baghdâd meant *ipso facto* the termination of his sovereignty at Baghdâd. A striking illustration of this is furnished by the repeated inclusion and exclusion of the name of Jalal al-Daulah from the khutbah at Baghdâd.²

In all these provinces which were under the political control of the Buwayhids the khutbah contained not only the name of the Amîr al-Umarâ at Baghdâd alongside that of the Caliph, but sometimes those of other members of the Buwayhid family as well.³ In those provinces, of course, where the rulers were politically independent of the Buwayhids, the latter were not included in the khutbah, and only the name of the 'Abbâsid Caliph was mentioned to signify the religious recognition of the institution.

In regard to the coinage, the Buwayhids not only shared but monopolised this symbol of sovereignty to such an extent that even the epithet 'Amîr al-Mu'minîn' after the name of the Caliph was omitted.⁴ Only the name of the Caliph, generally on the reverse side, was kept on, whereas not only the name of the Amîr al-Umarâ with his titles and kunyâ but also the name and title of the head of the Buwayhid family and sometimes that of the heir-apparent were inscribed on the coinage minted at Baghdâd.⁵ Since the coinage was directly under the control of the Buwayhids, they could put on it even those titles which were not granted to them by the Caliph.⁶ It is very interesting to note that even the title

(1) Miskawayh, III, p. 124; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 127.

(2) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 288 & 308-309.

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 115; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 118. In 337/948 in a treaty with Nâsir al-Daulah, the Hamdânid, Mu'izz al-Daulah agreed at that his name as well as those of 'Imâd al-Daulah and Bakh-tiyâr should be mentioned in the khutbah recited in the territories.

(4) Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, II, pp. 194-220. There is no coin minted during the Buwayhid régime, which bears the epithet, 'Amîr al-Mu'minîn' after the name of the Caliph.

(5) Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, II, p. 200-206.

(6) British Museum Catalogue. A coin minted at Baghdad in the year 370 A.H. bears the title 'Shahinshah' after the name of 'Adud al-Daulah. The above epithet is very frequent after the name of Bahâ al-Daulah. Even the title 'Malik al-Mulûk' appears on a silver coin minted at Hamadân in the year 406 A.H.

Shâhinshâh appears on coins minted at Baghdâd, although there is no historical evidence to show that such a title was ever granted to any of the Buwayhid rulers¹ before Jalâl al-Daulah. The controversy that arose on the request of the latter for the grant of the title 'Malik al-Mulûk,' and which led to the setting up of a tribunal of qâdis to consider the legality of such a grant,² is an ample proof of the above statement. A study of the coinage shows how the pendulum of sovereignty swung from the Amîr to the Caliph and *vice versa*. During the régime of powerful Amîrs, the name of the Caliph appears generally on the reverse side, whereas during the reign of weak Buwayhids, it appears on the obverse side; and with the decline of the Buwayhid power, the Caliph Qâdir succeeded in having even his son's name struck at the coinage minted at Baghdâd.³

Another prerogative hitherto exclusively reserved to the Caliph, that of having the drums sounded at his gate at the prayer-times, was encroached upon by 'Adud al-Daulah who compelled the Caliph to give orders that the drums should be sounded at his gate three times a day, morning, sunset and nightfall.⁴ Henceforward it became the usual practice for the Buwayhid Amîrs to have the drums sounded at their gates. Both Sultân al-Daulah and Jalâl al-Daulah in spite of the remonstrances of the Caliph succeeded in having the drums sounded at their gates five times a day.⁵

The Buwayhids, ambitious as they were to rule, still found it expedient to allow the Caliphate to retain its sovereignty *de jure*. Consequently the functions of issuing the deed of investiture both on the change of a Caliph and an Amîr remained intact and in force. Though it was a purely formal proceeding and the Caliph had no alternative but to issue such a deed to the winning party, yet its importance cannot be minimised as, in order to satisfy the public mind, the proceeding had to be gone through and there is not a single instance in which a deed was not asked for by a Buwayhid Amîr. A formal assembly used to be held to which the high

(1) It is wrongly stated that Bahâ al-Daulah obtained the title of 'Shahinshah' from the Caliph; and that the controversy with regard to Jalâl al-Daulah was concerned with the recital of the above title in the khutbah. Cf. Minorsky, *La Domination des Dailamites*, p. 18.

(2) Ibn Athîr, IV, p. 312-313.

(3) Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 219.

(4) Miskawayh, II, p. 396; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 435. Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 507.

(5) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 215, 255.

officials, various dignitaries of the court, commanders of the army and religious heads, i.e., qâdis and Faqîhs, were invited. The recipient of the deed of investiture presented himself most humbly and solemnly before the Caliph whose hands he would kiss and then place the robes of honour on his head as a mark of reverence. Then the contents of the deed of investiture would be read aloud, and both the recipient Amîr and the Caliph would bind themselves with mutual oaths, that of allegiance on the part of the former and of fidelity on the part of the latter.¹ The public attached so much importance to this deed of investiture that at this period, it seems, it was still difficult for any ruler to establish his rights permanently without securing it. In cases of contending parties and usurpers it was considered a chief factor in establishing their claims.² But during the Buwayhid régime everything depended upon the reigning Amîr, without whose consent the Caliph could not issue any such patent of sovereignty. In fact most of the governors and usurpers applied to the Buwayhid Amîrs for such grant rather than to the Caliph, who sometimes used to issue such deeds even if they were against his own wish.³ Not only the Amîr al-Umarâ but any powerful Buwayhid ruler could render the whole proceeding a mere mockery. When Bakhtiyâr wanted to conciliate Fakhr al-Daulah in order to win his support against 'Adud al-Daulah, he had the Caliph Tai issue a deed of investiture to him and his commander, Sahlan b. Musâfir, for the territories in their control as governors appointed by the Caliph and not as deputies of 'Adud al-Daulah as previously arranged. Sahlan

(1) Miskawayh, III, pp. 84, 141 & 240; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, pp. 85, 146 & 254 respectively.

The words بالوفا و خلوص النية have been misinterpreted as loyalty and fidelity; while the words صدق الطاعة have been mistranslated as fidelity. Cf. Miskawayh, III, p. 240; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 254.

(2) Misk., II, p. 239; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 254. After the imprisonment of his father by Abu Taghîb, the Hamdânîd, in 357/968, his right was contested by his brothers and in order to strengthen his cause, Abû Taghîb offered 1,200,000 dirhams a year to Bakhtiyâr for the renewal of the deed. Cf. the story told in Miskawayh, III, p. 89; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 91, that Muzaffar b. 'Alî, the chamberlain of Abû'l Mali, governor of Marshas, bade his clerk write a letter in the name of the Caliph entrusting him with the administration.

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 156-157; *Eclipse*, V, p. 167. Ibn Muhtâj secured the deed of investiture through Rukn al-Daulah, for the province of Khurâsân which was in the possession of Sunnî rulers, the Sâmânîds.

was also granted the title of 'Ismat al-Daulah and was called by his kunyâ. But both these persons, owing to their fear of 'Adud al-Daulah could not even venture to don the robes of honour neither did Sahlan dare to assume his title.¹

Another prerogative of the Caliphate was to bestow honours and this was the only thing left to them by which they could flatter or please a certain Amîr. Since there was a regular craze amongst the Amîrs to obtain flattering titles from the Caliphs,² the latter were very careful about the grant of them and great ingenuity was exercised in devising a suitable title in each case. Even the use of the kunyâ by the Caliph was considered to be an honour and sometimes persons of high rank insisted on receiving this honour.³ In this respect too the Caliphs were prevailed upon by their Buwayhid masters to grant them high-sounding titles beyond all proportion to their merits; whilst, much as they would have liked to do so, they could not grant any title worth mentioning to the Sâmanîds, who were more loyal to the Caliphate than any contemporary Persian ruler. Usually a request for the grant of a title was made not to the Caliph direct but to the Buwayhid Amîr at Baghdâd who generally secured the title demanded for his favourites. In this respect, too, a new practice was adopted by the Buwayhids; not being content with the titles conferred on them by the Caliphs, some of them assumed titles of their own accord.⁴

For political reasons, the Buwayhid Amîrs had various important orders issued in the Caliph's name and bearing his seal of which he was the sole custodian.⁵ His signature was also required on all important correspondence that was carried on with the provincial governors,⁶ and even on contracts made with the officials effecting the assessment.⁷

(1) Miskawayh, II, p. 364-65; *Eclipse*, V, p. 398-399.

(2) *Ibid*, II, p. 321. *Ibid*, V, p. 346.

When peace was made between Bakhtiyâr and Abû Taghîb, it was also agreed that the latter should receive a title. Bakhtiyâr secured the title of 'Adud al-Daulah from the Caliph.

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 346; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 376. When 'Adud al-Daulah wanted to conciliate Bakhtiyâr's wazir, the latter demanded the confirmation of his title and the use of his kunyâ by the Caliph.

(4) As already stated the Buwayhids assumed the titles of Shâhin-shâh and Malik al-Mulûk which were definitely not granted to them. Cf. p. 39.

(5) Miskawayh, II, p. 344; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 373.

(6) Miskawayh, II, p. 113; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 117.

(7) *Ibid*, p. 129; *Ibid*, p. 132.

But this appears to have been a purely formal proceeding; the Amîr made whatever arrangements suited him and sent the documents to the Caliph for signature.

Being Shî'ahs, the Buwayhids had no respect for the 'Abbâsid Caliphs and this explains the humiliating treatment accorded to the Caliphs by them. It was during their régime that the Caliphs, on formal occasions, visited the Amîrs in person.¹ Even the formal ceremony of election was done away with and the Buwayhids nominated whomsoever they would from amongst the family and could depose the Caliphs at will.²

The whole position of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate under the Buwayhid régime can be best described in the words of the Caliph, Mutî' (334-363/946-974) who being asked by Bakhtiyâr to contribute to the expenses of the Sacred War out of his personal income, replied; "The Sacred war would be incumbent on me if the world were in my hands, and if I had the management of the money and the troops. As things are, when all I have is a pittance insufficient for my wants, and the world is in your hands and those of the provincial rulers, neither the Sacred war, nor the Pilgrimage, nor any other matter requiring the attention of the Sovereign is a concern of mine. All you can claim from me is the name which is uttered in the khutbah from your pulpits as a means of pacifying your subjects; and if you want me to renounce that privilege too, I am prepared to do so and leave everything to you."³ No doubt these words were written in a state of utter

(1) Miskawayh, II, p. 396; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 435.

In 368/978 the Caliph Tai went out to meet 'Adud al-Daulah with the whole of the resident army. The Caliph Tai also went to offer condolence to Bahâ al-Daulah. Cf. Misk., III, p. 152-153; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 158-159.

(2) Misk., II, p. 86; *Eclipse*, V, p. 90; Ibn Athîr VIII, p. 338-39. In 334/946 King deposed the Caliph Mustakfi on a mere suspicion that he was maintaining a secret correspondence with the Hamdânids against him (Mu'izz). When the Caliph was holding an assembly to receive an envoy from Khurâsân two Daylamites at Mu'izz's instigation entered the assembly, dragged the Caliph from his throne and took him on foot to Mu'izz's palace where he was confined. Mutî', who had sought protection with Mu'izz owing to his enmity with the late Caliph Mustakfi and is said to have excited Mu'izz against him, was raised to the office of the Caliphate.

In 381/991 Bahâ al-Daulah actuated by his greed for the supposed wealth of the Caliph Tai, deposed the latter and installed his cousin Qâdir in his place. Misk., III, p. 201; trans. VI. 213.

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 307-308; *Eclipse*, V, p. 330. Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 456.

despondency and in order to avoid the unjustifiable payment of money, yet they show the utter subservience of the Caliph to his merciless masters. The position of the Caliphs, however, was not so utterly hopeless as is represented by the above words. The same Caliph who was unwilling to part with some of his wealth to be spent on the Sacred War and the Pilgrimage, could find money to spend on the erection of three palaces which were of such considerable size that in the following century together with the remains of the old palace of the Taj in whose grounds they were created, they are said to have occupied about a third of the total area of East Baghdâd.¹

In spite of the insignificance to which the Caliphate at Baghdâd had fallen, and the utter disregard in which the Caliphs were held by their Shî'a masters, their prestige as the religious head of the Sunnî Muslims was such that even the Buwayhids felt proud to offer their daughters and sisters in marriage to them; and could never get one in return.² In this capacity, they received deputations from various independent Muslim (Sunnî) rulers to whom they issued deeds of investiture and from whom they received costly presents on various occasions;³ and they addressed the pilgrims on their way to or from Mecca.⁴ Even the Buwayhid Amîrs, in order to impress on men's minds the majesty and dignity of the Caliph's exalted office, considered it politic to display great pomp and show on ceremonial occasions.⁵ Besides, the Buwayhid Amîrs considered it one of their duties to maintain the prestige and integrity of the Caliphate in the eyes of the Muslim princes by asking them to pay homage to it by mentioning the name of the Caliph in the khutbah and coinage

(1) Levy, *Baghdad Chronicle*, p. 162-63.

(2) *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 454. In the year 369 A.H., it is mentioned that 'Adud al-Daulah arranged an alliance between himself and the Caliph Tai by marrying the Caliph's eldest daughter. It is obviously a mistake in the translation as it is 'Adud al-Daulah's daughter. The context makes it quite clear on p. 14, VI, (*Eclipse*) where it is mentioned that in the year 371 A.H., on his return to Baghdad, 'Adud al-Daulah, was told that Tai disliked his daughter.

(3) Bayhaqî, p. 361. It was customary with the Sunnî independent rulers to send costly presents to the Caliph.

(4) Misk. III, p. 250; *Eclipse*, VI, p. 265-266.

(5) A vivid description of a grand assembly that was held to receive the Egyptian Ambassador is given by Professor Arnold in *The Caliphate*, p. 66-67.

in their territories.¹ Even the Buwayhid rulers in Persia, Shî'a though they were, continued to recognise the 'Abbâsid Caliphate by fulfilling the above obligations;² and in order to impress on the public mind the legality of their claims, received deeds of investiture from the Caliph³ and put on the robes of honour sent by the latter with great pomp and show.⁴

At Baghdâd there were certain religious obligations which could only be fulfilled by the Caliphs themselves; and in spite of the efforts of the Buwayhids to usurp those functions, the Caliphs succeeded in retaining them. For instance, the appointment of the Qâdis remained a prerogative of the Caliph even during this period of degradation. It was impossible for any Qâdi to hold his office unless he was directly appointed by the Caliph. When Mu'izz al-Daulah in 350/961 not only appointed the chief Qâdi without the sanction of the Caliph but actually farmed the post for 200,000 dirhams a year,⁵ things did not pass off quite smoothly for him. The Caliph declined to receive his nominee and would not permit him to be presented to him even on reception days; and two years later, when he was removed, his successor set aside all his judgments on the ground that he had bought his office.⁶ When Bahâ al-Daulah wanted to place the

(1) When in 401/1010 the Uqaylid Amîr Qarwash b. Muqallad mentioned the name of Hâkim, the 'Alid Caliph of Egypt, in the khutbah in all his provinces, Mausil, Anbar, Kufa and Madâ'in, etc., the Caliph Qâdir protested against it and sent the Qâdi Abû Bakr to Bahâ al-Daulah asking him to take action. The latter sanctioned one hundred thousand dinârs towards the expenses of the army and ordered one of his commanders to bring Qarwash to his senses. The latter was compelled to drop the name of the Egyptian Caliph from the khutbah and re-insert that of the 'Abbâsid. Cf. Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 157. Being a Shî'a, Bahâ al-Daulah was placed in an awkward situation and to justify his action in having the name of the Egyptian Caliph dropped from the khutbah, he caused a document (Mahdar) to be drawn up in 402/1011 by the Qâdis and the Shî'a 'Ulamâ in which the claims of the Egyptian Caliphs were denounced. Cf. Ibn Athîr IX, p. 166.

(2) The name of the 'Abbâsid Caliph appears on all the coins minted in the territories administered by the Buwayhids in Persia. Cf. Lane Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*.

(3) Misk. II, p. 364-365; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 398-399.

(4) *Ibid*, p. 119;

Ibid, p. 123.

Rukn al-Daulah when he received the robes of honour for the provinces of Khurâsân, donned them in public and read his deed in the public mosque.

(5) Misk. II, p. 189; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 205; Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 399.

(6) Misk. II, p. 196; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 212; Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 407.

judicial system under the Shî'a chief judge, he could not succeed owing to the refusal of the Caliph to nominate him. Consequently the otherwise all powerful Buwayhid Amîr had to content himself with a separate office-holder, called Naqîb, to administer justice amongst the Shî'as according to their code of law.¹

A transcript of the letter of appointment of the chief Qâdi in the name of the Caliph in 366/976 in the *Rasâ'il as-Sabi'* is of interest as indicating the substantial independence still enjoyed by the officers of justice. Since most of the Qâdis received a very meagre allowance, just enough to maintain themselves and their family, or sometimes even no salary at all,² they were little inclined to yield to political pressure and feared neither Caliph nor Amîr.³

Besides delivering justice, one of the chief duties of the Qâdis was to prepare a list of 'Attestors' (public notaries) who should be of irreproachable character. The Qâdis were punctilious in filling up this list; every six months fresh nominations were made and undesirable names were removed.⁴ From among these attestors were chosen a fixed number of persons to constitute a body of assessors to assist the Qâdis.⁵ The assessors were appointed personally by the Qâdis and had to vacate their posts automatically on the removal or dismissal of the Qâdi who had appointed them.⁶ That in the selection of the Attestors the Qâdis were not influenced by the temporal authorities, can be illustrated by the fact that when 'Adud al-Daulah's general asked him to direct the Qâdi to include

(1) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 129.

(2) Mez. *Renaissance of Islam*, trans. Khuda Bakhsh, *Islamic Culture*, January 1931, pp. 136-137; quoted from *Rasâ'il as-Sabi'*, pp. 118-127. The Qâdi is enjoined to study the Qur'ân constantly and offer prayers punctually. He is to show impartiality in matters of justice between Muslim and non-Muslim. He is authorised to select 'Attestors' discreetly and to employ an experienced legally trained Kâtib, an incorruptible court ushar (Hâjib) and a trustworthy deputy for work if he cannot personally attend to it. •

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 196; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 212.

(4 & 5) Mez. *Renaissance of Islam*, trans. by Khuda Bakhsh in *Islamic Culture*, January 1931, p. 125. The Baghdâd Qâdi al-Isfaraînî (d. 406/1016) could say to the Caliph Qâdir that he dare not dismiss him. On the contrary he—the Qâdi—need only write to Khurâsan to shake the Caliph's throne. Cf. also the well-known instance of Mâwardî's decision against Jalâl al-Daulah's receiving the title of Malik al-Mulûk (Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 312-13).

(6 & 7) Mez. *Renaissance of Islâm*, trans. Khuda Bakhsh, in *Islamic Culture*, January, 1931, pp. 134-135.

a name in the list of Attestors he gave the following reply, 'You should speak about the promotion of soldiers. The inclusion of names in the list of Attestors is the Qâdi's business. Neither you nor I have any voice in the matter.'¹ The Caliph as the religious head could intervene if in his opinion any person of doubtful character was included in the list of Attestors. Yet sometimes the position of a Qâdi was rendered very precarious if pressure was brought to bear upon him by the reigning Amîr; and in such cases usually a compromise was effected.²

The Imâms of the mosques were directly responsible to the Caliph and generally had to carry out his orders. Of course the Buwayhid Amîrs could, if they so desired, prevent the Caliph's orders from being carried out; nevertheless, they generally did not interfere with them owing to public sentiment. The Imâms were also responsible for seeing that no innovations were introduced in the khutbah. In 420/1029, when the Shî'as introduced an innovation in the khutbah at Karkh, the Caliph appointed a khatîb and although he was stoned and prayers were stopped, yet subsequently the Shî'a leaders apologised to the Caliph and asked his permission to read the khutbah in his name in the usual manner, which was done.³

That the religious functions were still under the control of the Caliph is borne out by the fact that when the Caliph Qâ'im in 426/1034 felt annoyed with Jalâl al-Daulah, he, in order to bring the latter to his senses, issued orders to the

(1) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 15.

(2) Misk. III, p. 270-280; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, pp. 205-298. Two traders while in Mecca on pilgrimage had employed a person who was not officially recognized as Attestor. When the purchaser invoked the help of the Buwayhid Amîr (Bahâ al-Daulah) who issued orders to his representative at Baghdâd to see to the ratification. The Qâdis were placed in a very awkward situation. One of them who did not carry out the instructions of the Buwayhid Amîr was rebuked by the representative of the Amîr and had to leave his place; while the other three were summoned by the Caliph who severely rebuked and detained them in his palace. The Caliph also issued orders that the names of those Qâdis and the Attestors be struck off the list and their discharge be proclaimed from the pulpit. The whole matter was compromised only by bringing to the Caliph's notice that his orders could very well be stopped from being carried out; and that one of the Attestors in question was the only respectable living marginal witness to the deposition of the late Caliph.

(3) Ibn Athîr, I, p. 278.

Qâdis, Faqîhs, Imâms and persons in charge of marriage to suspend their functions.¹

It was during this period of degradation that systematic exposition of the theoretical position of the office of the Caliphate was given by one of the most important jurists of Islâm, 'Ali Ibn Muhammad al-Mâwardî (381/991-450/1058). The motive of the latter in propounding a theory which stands in such glaring contrast to the actual facts and practice may perhaps be found in the fact that at this time not only the Buwayhids (who being Shî'as had no real respect for the 'Abbâsids) but also the Muslim Sunnî independent rulers, out of political necessity, had begun to ignore the existence of certain Caliphs at Baghdâd.² In such circumstances there was grave danger of the utter destruction of the institution with the consequent result of the disappearance of that semblance of Islamic unity that existed between the various Sunnî States owing to their common bond of allegiance, however nominal, to their religious head. It is quite possible that Mâwardî may have written this treatise on the institution of the Muslim State at the instigation of the Caliph with the object of showing the importance of the Caliphate and bringing the necessity of its existence before the notice of the Buwayhids, the Sunnî public and the Sunnî Muslim independent rulers, notwithstanding the apparent weakness of its actual situation.³ But is it not more likely that it was the very fact of the excessive weakness of the Caliphate that instigated him to write his work as a reminder to the Sunnî Muslim world and its rulers that the Caliphate was not a casual political institution which had outlived its day, but a divinely ordained institution which formed an integral part of the religious structure of Islâm. It is absurd to suppose that a man of the intelligence of Mâwardî should have composed such a treatise as a mere essay in theoretical idealism. Hence he sets out to show what the Caliphate ought to be, and ignores its actual weak and degraded position, in bondage to the Buwayhids; at the same time, like all Sunnî jurists, he is concerned to rebut the argument that the community has been living

(1) Ibn Athîr, I, p. 300.

(2) The Sâmânids, as will be shown later, did not recognize the Caliph Mutî' for about ten years and the Caliph Tai at all.

(3) The high regard in which Mâwardî was held by the Caliph is shown by the fact that he was the first to bear the title 'Aqda'l-Qudât (Yâqût, *Irshâd*, V, 407). Mâwardî was several times employed on diplomatic service by the Caliph; and his chief mission was to induce the Muslim rulers to pay homage to the 'Abbâsid Caliphate. Cf. Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 284.

in sin, and hence finds it necessary to give legal sanction to a variety of practices which to a certain extent are in conflict with the religious ideal. Thus, in consideration of the practice of his time, he devises a category of temporal governors whom he calls 'Amîrs by force' within which the Buwayhids and other independent princes of his time such as the Ghaznevids can be placed, but endeavours to mitigate this concession and brings it within the principles of the Islamic Law by laying down certain conditions to be fulfilled by them for the validity of their claims.

An Amîr by force, according to Mâwardî, is a person who, without the knowledge or consent of the Caliph, takes possession of certain territories by force of arms; and the Caliph, being powerless to prevent his seizure of temporal power, entrusts him with the entire administration of those possessions.¹ In this case, says Mâwardî, 'The Amîr would be a permanent ruler but the Imâm or Caliph, by the nature of his position as religious head, would be considered the source of all orders relating to religion so that an illegal and unconstitutional Amirate may be validated as legal constitutional.' For the installation of such a usurper, seven conditions are then laid down which he must needs fulfil.

1. He should preserve and respect the dignity of the Caliph as the supreme religious head of the entire Muslim community.

2. He should make open religious submission to the Caliph so that there may not be any suspicion of opposition to him.

3. He should remain on good terms with the Caliph, and render him assistance in all common matters of Islâm in order to maintain the prestige of Islâm in the eyes of strangers.

4. He should maintain religious rights and should see that orders and decisions relating thereto are not set aside.²

5. He should collect revenue in accordance with the laws prescribed by the Sharî'ah, and should exercise justice and equity therein.

6. He should watch that criminal justice is administered with fairness.

7. He should protect the faith and encourage it, and should abstain from all forbidden things. If he finds people

(1) Mâwardî, *Ahkam al-Sultâniyah*, p. 32.

(2) This clause is rendered in *Orient under the Caliphs*, trans. by Khuda Bakhsh, p. 277, as 'To respect the Caliph's nomination to religious offices, e.g., Qâdis and Imâms.' This is a gross misinterpretation of the fourth condition given on page 33 of *Ahkam al-Sultâniyah*.

obedient to the religious laws, then he should give them their religious rights, if on the other hand, he finds them indifferent, he should extend to them the invitation of Islâm.¹

It has already been shown that the Buwayhids, being Shī'as, had no belief in, and consequently no regard for, the religious claims of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate; therefore they could not sincerely comply with those obligations which were of a purely religious character. They did show outward respect to the office of the Caliphate and tried to maintain its prestige in the public eye; but that was mainly to serve their own political ends. On the other hand, they did certain things which further degraded the position of the Caliph; and gave much offence to the Sunnīs at Baghdâd.

As soon as Mu'izz al-Daulah thoroughly established himself at Baghdâd, he tried to bring the Shī'a element, which constituted only a small portion of the population,² into prominence at the expense of the Sunnī majority. The State encouragement given to the Shī'as emboldened them to the extent of writing the following words in bold letters on the mosques and houses of the Sunnīs in 351/962, "May God curse Mu'awīyah Ibn Abī Sufyân who usurped the Caliphate, those who confiscated Fadak from Fâtimah, those who prevented Hasan from being buried by the side of his maternal grandfather, those who banished Abū Dharr al-Ghifare and those who turned out Ibn 'Abbâs from the Council." When it was found effaced during the night, Mu'izz al-Daulah was advised to replace them with 'May God curse the doers of wrong against the family of the Prophet of Allah,' not mentioning the name of anybody except Mu'awīyah.³

In the following year (352/963) Mu'izz al-Daulah introduced the ceremony of the tenth of Muharram. All the shops and market were ordered to be closed on that day and people were made to put on clothes made of hair cloth to lament the event of the martyrdom of Huseyn. The women were made to come out with dishevelled hair and blackened faces, and go round the city and its suburbs beating their faces in mourning.⁴ The other chief festival of the Shī'as, namely '*Id al-Ghadîr*', was celebrated with great rejoicings. The official quarters were illuminated and shops were kept all night.⁵ With Mu'izz al-Daulah at the helm of State affairs, the Caliph was unable to stop these innovations which were

(1) Mâwardî, *Ahkâm al-Sultâniyah*, p. 32-33.

(2) Miskawayh, II, p. 328; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 355.

(3) Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 403.

(4) *Ibid*, p. 407.

(5) Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 407.

hurting the sentiments of the Sunnīs, and in spite of the resentment of the latter they were carried on by the Shī'as.

Even the two most important religious functions of the Caliph, i.e., waging of Jihād and supervision of the Pilgrimage were neglected during the Buwayhid régime. The Caliph shirked the responsibility for fulfilling the above obligations by saying that these duties belonged to those who had undertaken the administration of the Empire.¹ whilst the Buwayhids, being Shī'as, did not care to discharge them as they involved expenditure without any definite personal advantage to them.²

During this period of irresponsibility especially when the Hamdânids' attention was divided between fighting with the Byzantines on the one hand and the Buwayhids on the other, the former were able to raid the Muslim territories and cause incalculable damage to Muslims' lives and property. The horrors committed by them touched the heart of every Muslim save those of the Caliph and the Buwayhid Amīr.¹ In the year 361/972, when the Byzantines raided Nisibīn, took possession of the place and burnt it down, killing men and taking children captive, a number of people from Diyār Rabī'a

(1) See above, p. 45.

(2) The sacred cities at this time being in the hands of the Fâtimids.

(3) In 351/962, the Byzantines entered 'Ain Zarba and massacred about 660,000 Muslims; the Domestious remained on Islamic territory for twenty-one days, took fifty-four forts and massacred 400,000 citizens of the town of Tarsus. Cf. Misk. II, p. 190-91. In 354/965 about 200,000 men, women and Muslim children were dragged to the Byzantine country, the public mosque of Tarsus was turned into a stable and many Muslims were forcibly converted to Christianity. Cf. Misk. II, p. 211, trans. V, p. 225.

(4) Misk. II, p. 202; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 216-217. In 355/966 about 20,000 Khurāsānīs including various jurists and Shaykhs, proclaiming themselves bent on the Sacred War, asked the permission of Rukn al-Daulah to cross the frontier. Such permission being given to them, they demanded a huge sum of money, saying: "We require the entire land tax of the province which is in your hands, for you may only collect it for the Treasury of the Muslims, to be used in case of emergency; and there can be no greater emergency than the ambition of the Byzantines and Armenians to conquer us and gain possession of our frontiers, and the inability of the Muslims to resist them." They also demanded that an army should be sent out to join them, but when their demands were not met, they proceeded to quarrel with the Daylamites whom they cursed as unbelievers. Their quarrel with the Daylamites led to a conflict with Rukn al-Daulah who, through a stratagem, defeated them. Thus they all were dispersed and went back to Rayy whence they had come. Cf. Misk. II, p. 222-227; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 234-241; Ibn Athīr, VIII, p. 421-422.

and Diyâr Bakr came to Baghdâd summoning the Muslims to arms in the public mosques and in the streets. It was only then that a number of people of Baghdâd joined them and they all went to the palace of the Caliph Mutî and succeeded in gaining admission to him by breaking through the windows. They employed insolent language to him, telling him that he was incompetent to discharge the duties which God had enjoined upon the Imâms. The leading men of Baghdâd came to remonstrate with Bakhtiyâr who, though ostensibly visiting the martyrrium was really on a hunting expedition. They addressed him in the following words, "You are neglecting the interests of the Muslims and, instead of devoting your energies to an attack on the Byzantines, you are wasting them on a fight with Imrân who is one of the people of the Qiblah." Bakhtiyâr promised to return, make peace with Imrân and come back to the frontiers. On his return to Wâsiṭ, he sent orders to Abu Taghlib, governor of Mausil, asking him to prepare sufficient provisions and fodder for himself and his army since he intended to make a raid on the Byzantines. He also sent an order to Sabuktakin, the Chamberlain who was in Baghdâd, to join in the Sacred War with him. Although the latter found an unexpected response from the public to his hypocritical call, yet, being undesirous of leading them, he kept them as a sort of reserve for himself, in consequence of which they became a serious source of trouble. Being inactive they began to quarrel with each other, killing each other, plundering each other's goods and violating each other's women-folk. The matter assumed grave proportions and instead of using their energies in the Sacred War for which they were assembled, they devoted them to the devastation of Baghdâd itself.¹ It was not without irony that Bakhtiyâr under the pretext of waging Sacred War extracted 400,000 dirhams from the Caliph Mutî on this occasion.²

It is no wonder that during this period the route of the pilgrim caravans was not safe.³ Such was the neglect of both

(1) Misk. II, p. 303-305; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 326-327.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 308; *Ibid*, p. 330.

(3) In 353/964 the Kurds made a united attack on the pilgrim caravan that was returning to Khurâsân, and seized and plundered it near Hulwân whither the pilgrims returned. Cf. Misk. II, p. 203; trans. V, p. 217. Again in 355/966 a vast caravan consisting of pilgrims, merchants and refugees from Syria to 'Arâq who were migrating for fear of the Byzantines, was robbed by the Banu Sulaym. Some of the people returned to Egypt but most of them perished. Cf. Misk. II, p. 215; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 228.

the Caliph and the Buwayhid Amîrs in this wise that Badr b. Hasanwayh, a Kurdish chief, transmitted five thousand dînârs with the caravan from Khurâsân to be spent in guarding the road. Later on he increased the sum to nine thousand, finally raising his contribution to the sum of 20,000 dînârs annually. When he died in 405/1014, this stoppage seriously affected the beneficiaries; whereupon the pilgrimage came to a standstill*

The utter subservience of the Caliphs to the Buwayhids, who had taken over all the powers without any corresponding duties or responsibilities, was also to affect the relations of the Caliphate with those Sunnî independent rulers who were the political rivals of the Buwayhids. In this category fall the Sâmânids whose relations shall now be traced.

A. H. SIDDIQI.

(To be continued)

* Misk. III, p. 287; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 306. In addition to this he transmitted a sufficient amount of money to be expended in repairing the road or to be given to the descendants of the Refugees and Helpers in the two sanctuaries, or to the nobles, ascetics, Qur'ân readers and members of distinguished families in Baghdâd; thus raising his contribution to the sum of 20,000 dînârs annually.

THE DATE OF SHÊR SHÂH'S ACCESSION

DR. QANUNGO, in his painstaking monograph on Shêr Shâh, (p. 206 ff.) fixed upon 946 A.H., which began on the 19th May 1539 A.D., as the year of the accession of Shêr Shâh to the throne of India. The determination was based on a discussion of the facts then known, and was more or less conjectural. Fortunately, materials have now turned up which enable us to fix the date more precisely.

In August 1933, Hâkîm Hâbibu'r-Rahmân Khân, the distinguished Orientalist and Yûnânî practitioner of Dacca and a keen collector of old coins, donated his entire cabinet consisting of 221 coins to the Dacca Museum. He subsequently added two more coins, one of them of Jalâlu'd-dîn Muḥammad Shâh of very great importance. The present writer has written a catalogue of the entire collection which will be sent to the Press very shortly. We may, however, profitably notice a coin of Shêr Shâh in the collection which helps to fix the date of his accession.

The collection is rich in coins of Shêr Shâh. There are 59 of them from different mints, ranging in date from 946 A.H. to 952 A.H., but there is one exception. That exception is the gem of the collection and it is a coin clearly dated 945 A.H. It is necessary to note its contents here in order to appraise its historical importance. It is a plain coin, with the *Kalimah* (*La ilah Illâ'llâh, Muḥammad Rasûlu'llâh*) on the obverse inside a square and the names of the Four Companions of Muḥammad in the four segmental margins. After finishing the *Kalimah*, enough space is left to draw a line and mark off a rectangular segment, inside which is placed the beginning of the king's name:—*Al-Sultân Al-'Aâdl*. The arrangement of the reverse is very much the same. The main part of the king's name is placed inside the square, while the king's titles, begun on the obverse, are continued on the margins, clock-wise from the right hand (proper left hand) margin thus:—

Farîdu'd-dunyâ wa'd-dîn Abûl-Muzaffar

Then comes the main part of the name inside the square :—

Shîr Shâh Al-Sultân Khaladallâhu-Mulkahu 945

Then follows the name of the Emperor in Devnagar :—

Srî Shêr Shâhi

To students of Indian numismatics of this period the coin is like a sunny autumn day after a miserably wet and oppressively long rainy season. They at once perceive that ended is the period of the Delhi Sultans with their "billon" coins, i.e., coins of more than one metal mixed in uncertain proportions ; and ended also is the period of the Bengal Sultans, with their uncouth and most often misshapen silver coins, perpetually looked upon with suspicion by the shroffs or money-changers and in consequence savagely cut and disfigured with sharp chisels. On this coin of Shêr Shâh, the letters are refreshingly well-shaped and distinct. The coin is almost a perfect circle and is altogether a work of Art and the very best example of the coin-striker's art. No shroff ever dared to lay his hands on these beautiful coins of the dreaded Tiger-lord. The coin is a veritable emblem of the great change that this wonderful man had effected in the slovenly administration of the country, as well as of his overwhelming power and influence and the confidence that they had succeeded in arousing in the hearts of his subjects.

As already stated, Dr. Qanungo in his 'Shêr Shâh, p. 206 ff, fixed upon 946 A.H. as the year of the coronation of Shêr Shâh. This coin pushes back the date of the event by one year. Fortunately, we can support the datum furnished by this coin with two more coins of the same date. Soon after the Ḥakîm's donation, the Dacca Museum was fortunate enough to secure another donation of coins from Sayyid A.S.M. Taifoor, the worthy representative of an ancient and respected Zamindar family of Dacca. The Ḥakîm had received the greatest assistance from Mr. Taifoor in forming his collection and both the collections cover practically the same ground. There is a 945 A.H. coin of Shêr Shâh in the Taifoor collection also ; and I found a third coin of the same date with Mr. Taifoor which he has since presented to a friend, but not before I had his permission to keep its photograph. These three coins are illustrated here side by side as H., T. and F. (friend). It will be seen that H. and F. are from the same die but T. is from a different die, with a different style of writing though the phraseology on the three coins is the same. From the fact that different dies had to be used in the

manufacture of the 945 A.H. coins, it would appear that a fairly large number of them were manufactured, though only three such specimens have reached us. There are reasonable grounds for believing that all these three coins are from the Raipara Find (P.S. Nawabganj, Dt. Dacca), a considerable portion of which was appropriated by the coolies before the owner of the land could come up (*J.A.S.B.*, 1928, Numismatic Supplement No. XIII: Find described by Mr. H. E. Stapleton) and ultimately found its way to the Dacca market. Presumably, therefore, these coins are from a Bengal mint, though no mint is named.

The following chronology of events in Shêr Shâh's career, compiled from Dr. Qanungo's *Shêr Shâh* will help us in fixing on the exact period when these coins must have been minted. That period will now have to be taken as the time of the coronation of Shêr Shâh and his assumption of the royal prerogatives of the *Khutbah* and the *Sikkah*.

January 1536.	Shêr Khân's campaign against Bengal (p. 118).
March 1536.	Shêr Khân appears before Gaur and is bought off by Maḥmûd Shâh, Sultân of Bengal.
December 1536.	Humâyûn returns from the Guzarat campaign (p. 132).
October 1537.	Second expedition of Shêr Khân against Bengal.
December 1537.	Humâyûn sets out from Agra against Shêr Khân (p. 139).
January 1538.	Humâyûn reaches Chunar (p. 142).
circa March 1538.	Shêr Khân takes Rhotas (p. 152).
6th Zulqada 944 H.	Fall of Gaur and flight of
6th April 1538 A.D.	Maḥmûd Shâh (p. 154).
May 1538.	Fall of Chunar (p. 158., f.n.).
June 1538.	Humâyûn marches towards Bengal (p. 165).
(945 H. began on 30th May 1538 and extended up to 18th May 1539.)	
End of June 1538.	Shêr Khân reaches Gaur by boat (p. 169).

Middle of July 1538. Shêr Khân evacuates Gaur and Humâyûn enters it.

March 1539. Humâyûn leaves a garrison at Gaur and marches out towards Agra (p. 181).

June 27. 1539. Rout of Humâyûn at Chaunsa.

Dr. Qanungo remarks—"Abbâs Sarwani does not say when and where Shêr Khân was enthroned." But from 'Abbâs Sarwani's description of the event (Elliot IV. p. 376-77) it would appear that it happened soon after the battle of Chaunsa (10th Safar 946 H.=27th June 1539 A.D.) and probably very near the field of battle. The 945 A.H. coins of Shêr Shâh prove 'Abbâs Sarwani to be clearly misinformed. The *Târikh-i-Dâ'ûdî* (Shêr Shâh 207) also puts the enthronement and the assumption of the *Sikkah* and the *Khutbah* after the battle of Chaunsa, i.e., in 946 A.H. and is therefore equally misinformed. There are, however, a number of authorities in support of the fact that Shêr Shâh was crowned at Gaur. Dr. Qanungo says that according to his MS. of the *Makhzzan*, the coronation took place in Bengal. "Nizamuddin, Ferishta and Badaoni also corroborate this." If the coronation and the minting of coins took place in Bengal (the discovery of the 945 A.H. coins at Raipara in the Dacca district and their total absence in any other find outside Bengal, appears to point to that conclusion) the date of such an event can be fixed within very narrow limits. 945 A.H. corresponds to the year from the 30th May 1538 to the 18th May 1539; and we find from the chronology compiled above that Shêr Khân was on the alert and on the move most of those months. Though Gaur had fallen in April 1538 and the last descendant of the mighty Huseyn Shâh ousted, the country had remained in charge of Shêr's victorious generals. Shêr hurried there personally only after the fall of Chunar in the beginning of June 1538. There was a regular race for the capital of Bengal between Humâyûn and Shêr and the latter reached it by the end of June 1538. Humâyûn was held up at Teliagarhi, and Gaur was despoiled of its riches and evacuated by Shêr Shâh within about 15 days, i.e., by the middle of July 1538. The coronation and minting of coins by Shêr Shâh have to be placed within this fortnight, between the end of June and the middle of July 1538, i.e., about the middle of Safar, the second month of 945 A.H.



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SHAMS TABRIZI

WAS HE AN ISMAILIAN?

THE name of Shamsuddîn Tabrizî, the spiritual teacher of the eminent mystic Jalâluddîn Rûmî, author of the *Mathnawî*, is so well known in Persian mystic literature, that it seems rather strange to find that, while considerable material is available for the life of the latter in the biographies of the Persian poets and Şûfis, little is known about the former, except some thaumaturgical anecdotes of little substantial value recorded by some heresiologists. In fact, we possess very scanty information regarding the saintly personage whom Professor Nicholson describes as a 'weird figure, wrapped in coarse black felt, who flits across the stage and disappears tragically enough.'¹ As to his early life we are quite in the dark. Even his parentage is uncertain. We come across a few incidents of his life given in the biographical notices of his disciple Jalâluddîn Rûmî. Although some biographers have attempted to deal with him separately their descriptions contain nothing beyond his arrival in Qonia (Iconium) in 642 A.H., his relations with the poet (Rûmî), his sudden disappearance and stay at Damascus, and finally, his tragic murder in 645 at the hands of 'Alauddîn, the son of his own disciple.² Some writers have also given the pedigree of his spiritual teachers.³ That is all the information we possess about his life.⁴

As it is often the case that a writer's religious prejudice or political animosity invariably prevents him from taking an impartial attitude, one of his biographers having described the mystic as a lineal descendant of the Ismailian rulers of Alamut this statement, which has been accepted on insufficient data by some Muslim writers as well as by some European

(1) Selected Poems from the *Divân-i-Shams-i-Tabriz*, Introduction, p. xviii.

(2) The dates given by his biographers do not seem to be correct, for which see the above reference.

(3) Daulatshah, *Tadhkirah*, p. 127, Lahore edition.

(4) Nicholson, pp. xvii-xxv.

Orientalists, has led the followers of a particular cult to insist on his being an adherent of the Ismailian creed. That this is far from true I shall now proceed to show on the authority of trustworthy accounts.

The contention of those who want to prove Shams Tabrîzî an Ismailian is based entirely on the fact that some writers have given the name of the mystic's father as 'Alauddîn or Jalâluddîn, both names of rulers of Alamut and heads of the Assassins. An attempt has been made to trace his descent from one or the other, with a view to proving him to be an Ismailian.

After a critical examination of different sources I find that the claim that the name of Shams' father was 'Alauddîn and that therefore he was an Ismailian, is not supported by historical evidence. He had, moreover, no connection whatsoever with the Ismailite sect either by descent or persuasion.

The known sources giving an account of the mystic are enumerated below :

PERSIAN SOURCES

- (1) Shamsuddîn Aflâkî (710-754),
Manâqibu'l-Ârifîn.
- (2) 'Abdur-Rahmân Jâmi (d. 898 A.H.),
Nafhatu'l-Uns.
- (3) Daulatshâh, (d. 900 A.H.),
Tadhkiratu'sh-Shu'arâ.
- (4) Nûrullâh Shustarî, (d. 1019/1610-11),
Majâlisu'l-Mu'mînîn.
- (5) Ridâ Qulî Hidâyât, (d. 1872 A.D.),
Majmau'l-Fuṣṣahâ.

URDU SOURCES

- (6) Shiblî Nu'mânî,
Sawânih Maulânâ Rûm.
- (7) Muḥamadu'd-Dîn Fauq,
Hâlât-i-Shams Tabrîz.

ENGLISH SOURCES

- (8) Redhouse,
English Translation of Mathnawi,
Introduction.
- (9) R. A. Nicholson,
Selected Poems from the Divan-i-Shamsi Tabriz.

- (10) E. G. Browne,
A Literary History of Persia, vol. II.

In the above sources we have been able to trace two theories regarding the parentage of the saint:—

1. Among the 'earlier writers 'Aflâkî and Jâmi both agree that Shamsuddîn was the son of one Muḥammad bin 'Alî bin Malikdad or Malik Dâ'ûd. Daulatshâh still further goes on to relate that his father originally belonged to Bazar in the district of Khorâsân and came for purposes of trade to Tabriz, where Shams was born.
2. Daulatshâh states that Shams was a descendant of 'Alauddîn (in some MSS. Jalâluddîn), and at the same time he quotes the opinion of the author of *Silsilatu'dh-Dhahab*, who says that it is wrong to allege Shams to have been the son of 'Alauddîn. The same opinion has been quoted by Shiblî on the authority of the *Nafḥat*. But it is strange to find that neither in the *Nafḥat* nor in the *Silsilah* (three manuscript copies of which I have been able to secure) does this remark appear.

Besides the two older authorities of Aflâkî and Jâmi, all other sources, with the exception of *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥa*, entirely rely upon Daulatshâh. None of these sources expressly or impliedly state that Shams belonged to the Ismailian sect beyond mentioning 'Alauddîn or Jalâluddîn as his supposed father. The author of *Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥa*, who has written the lives of the Persian poets with much care and precision, has relied on Aflâkî and Jâmi in this respect. Thus it is evident that Daulatshâh has been followed throughout in respect of the names of the Ismailian rulers.

Let us now examine how far Daulatshâh is to be relied upon in this matter. It would be sufficient to mention here that one good reason for disbelieving Daulatshâh lies in his misstatement, attributing to 'Alauddîn the act of abandoning the faith of his forefathers which is attributable to Jalaluddin according to all Islamic chronicles which give an account of the Ismailian dynasty of Alamut. We give here below the following references:

1. Ibnu'l-Athîr,
Târikhu'l-Kâmil, vol. xii, p. 115.

2. Abû'l-Fidâ,
Târîkh, vol. iii, p. 114.
3. Hamdullâh Mustaufî,
Târîkh-i-Guzidah, p. 523.
4. Mirkhond,
Raudatu's-Safâ, Part iv, p. 81.

On the strength of the above authorities it is obvious that it would be a very serious error to apply the well-known historical act to the son instead of to the father. Even Professor Nicholson has erroneously followed Daulatshâh in giving him the name of 'Alauddîn'.¹

Moreover, on the following grounds we have every reason to disbelieve Daulatshâh in this matter:

- (i) He himself does not cite any authority for giving the name of Shamsuddîn's father as 'Alauddîn or Jalâluddîn.
- (ii) Daulatshâh, while taking notice of Jâmi's refutation of the name, puts forward another theory about Shamsuddîn's father. He writes:

"Some people say that he was originally a native of Khorâsân and belonged to the town of Bazar. His father had settled in Tabrîz for the purpose of doing business in cloth."

In conclusion he remarks:

"It matters not to what place he belonged, as we are not concerned with 'face' but with 'action.'"

It is likewise significant that he does not give the name of 'Alauddîn with any specious show of credibility.

- (iii) Daulatshâh is mostly unreliable as far as historical facts are concerned. Numerous historical errors have been detected in his *Tadhkirah*, on which scholars hesitate to rely for names and dates. Professor Muḥammad Iqbâl of Punjab University, who prepared the Lahore edition of Daulatshâh's work, has very judiciously made the following remark:

(1) p. xix.

(2) p. 127.

“Daulatshâh, being a contemporaneous writer, can be trusted as far as the seventh period of Persian poets is concerned, but it is evident that he has not written historical facts carefully in his book. He has accepted all sorts of traditions, right or wrong, owing to which several errors have crept into his work, and scholars like Shibli and Rieu have been misled by relying upon it.”¹

Professor Browne, who prepared a correct European edition of Daulatshâh, has aptly observed:—

“This is an entertaining but inaccurate work, containing a good selection of historical errors, which have in some cases misled even good and careful scholars like Rieu.”²

Consequently, the following facts are brought home to us:—

- A. That in older accounts the name of Shamsuddîn's father occurs as Muhammad bin 'Alî bin Malikdad or Malik Dâ'ûd, and not 'Alauddîn or Jalâluddîn.
- B. That Nûrullâh Shustarî, Shibli, Nicholson and Browne have given the names of 'Alauddîn on the authority of Daulatshâh.
- C. That Daulatshâh is the only writer who gives the name of 'Alauddîn, which is not supported by any other authority prior to Daulatshâh. Moreover, he is not trustworthy in this matter for reasons stated above.
- D. That the author of Majma'u'l-Fuṣaḥa, while writing about Shams, has followed Jâmi rather than rely on Daulatshâh or Nûrullâh in giving the name of his father.
- E. That the pedigree of the spiritual teachers of Shams Tabrîzî, as given by Daulatshâh, contains the names of renowned Ṣûfis who were almost all adherents of the Sunnite school, a fact which explodes the theory of Shams being an Ismailian.

(1) Lahore edition of Daulatshâh, Introduction.

(2) *A Literary History of Persia*, vol. iii, p. 436.

- F. That there is no direct evidence to prove that either Shams or his disciple belonged to the Ismailian cult ; nor is there any specific reference found in their poems to indicate that they were Ismailians.

In view of the above facts and circumstances, the alleged claim of Shamsuddīn being an Ismailian is absolutely unfounded, as it is not based on any data of evidential value. Sufficient grounds have been set out above to prove that the theory of his descent from the Ismailian dynasty of Alamut is entirely untenable, as its soundness has not been vouched for by earlier writers of recognised eminence.

KAZI AHMED MIAN AKHTAR.

AL-FÂRÂBÎ AND HIS THEORY OF DREAMS

MUHAMMAD bin Muḥammad bin Ṭarkhân bin Awzalagh abû Naṣr al-Fârâbî, the greatest philosopher of Islam before Ibn Sînâ, was born of Turkish origin at Wâsij, a fortified little town in Fârâb¹ in Turkish Transoxiana, towards the end of the ninth century A.D. He passed his early life at his birthplace. When, after travelling hither and thither, he eventually reached Baghdâd, he knew his own language—Turkish—only. Here he learnt and mastered the Arabic language, and began his serious study of philosophy. At this time Baghdâd boasted of the presence of Abû Bisher Mattâ bin Yûnus,² a very famous scholar of advanced age. He taught Logic, and had acquired such a name that every day hundreds of students of Logic used to gather round him from different quarters. He was a specialist in Aristotelian Logic, on which he delivered lectures and dictated notes. He was without his equal in this subject, and possessed a very facile pen. Al-Fârâbî joined the circle of his students.³ Some authorities are of opinion that Al-Fârâbî is much indebted to him for his clear and concise style of writing. Al-Fârâbî stayed at Baghdâd for some time, and then left for Ḥarrân, where he was fortunate in meeting a Christian philosopher.

(1) Later this city was known as Uṭrâr (اطرار). See Ibn-Khallikân, p. 78.

(2) Died at Baghdâd in the reign of the Caliph Ar-Râzî.

(3) Jamâlu'd-Dîn âl-Qifṭî simply mentions that Abû Naṣr was a contemporary of Abû Bishr, and that he was younger in age and below him in scholarship. His original words are:—

”وكان ابو النصر الفارابي معاصراً لابي بشر متى بن يونس ، الا انه كان فوقه في السن فوقه في العلم“

See *Târikhu'l-Hukamâ*, Lippert's Ed., p. 278. Ibnu'l-Ibarî also repeats the same sentence. See *Târikh Muktaṣaru'd-Duwal*, Beyrût Ed., p. 296. They do not speak of his joining the circle of his disciples.

Yûḥannâ bin Ḥailân (يوحنا بن حيلان),¹ who was also a specialist in Logic. From him he acquired a little of Logic, and then returned to Baghdâd.

Now he studied all the branches of philosophy, and collected all the books of Aristotle, with a view to master them and to understand the aim and the purpose of the author in writing them. It is said that a copy of Aristotle's book on Mind was discovered afterwards, on which there was a record in Al-Fârâbî's own handwriting, that he had read that book a hundred times. Similarly he is stated to have said, that he read Aristotle's book on Natural Hearing (السمع الطبيعي) forty times, and that he felt the need of reading it over again. Such was the time and the labour that he spent in mastering the Peripatetic system of philosophy. Someone asked him: "Who is a greater philosopher—you or Aristotle?" He replied: "If I can catch his ideas and understand his teachings I shall be his greatest disciple." All this intensive study of Aristotle helped him to present his Logic in a very lucid and clear form, and to clarify what Al-Kindî and others before him left obscure. He stayed at Baghdâd and continued his study of philosophy until he made a name for himself, and far excelled his contemporaries. It was here that most of his chief books were written.

Eventually he left Baghdâd, and went to Damascus. He did not stay there, but went on to Egypt. According to his own statement in his *Siyâsat Madaniyyah* (سياسة مدنيه) he began the compilation of his books at Baghdâd, and finished them in Egypt. After staying in Egypt for some time he returned to Damascus and stayed there. At this time

(1) Died at Baghdâd in the reign of the Caliph Al-Muqtadir. There are three readings of his name: Ḥailân (حيلان), Khailân (خيلان), and Jailâd (جيلاد). Lippert, without giving any reason, prefers the last, although other biographers have the first. See his Ed. of *Târikhu'l-Hukamâ*, p. 277. According to Abu'l Fidâ his name was Abû Ilayâ (ابو حيا). See *Al-Mukhtaṣar fî Akhbârî'l-Bashar* (المختصر في اخبار البشر), vol. II, Egypt. Ed. The author of *Al-Mira't-u'l-Jinân wa 'Ibratu'l-Tazân* prefers the middle one. See Hyderabad, *Dâ'iratu'l-Ma'ârif* Ed. vol. II, p. 329.

(2) For details of his life and philosophy see my article "*Al-Kindi and his Philosophy*" in the *Annals of the Bhandarkar Institute*, Poona, vol. II, Part 2, January 1921.

Seyfu'd-Daulah 'abîl Ḥasan 'Alî bin 'abî'l Haijâ 'Abdullâh bin Ḥamadân was on the throne, with Aleppo as his capital. Seyfu'd-Daulah was a great patron of learning and the learned, so he welcomed him at his court. When Al-Fârâbî arrived, Seyfu'd-Daulah was holding a meeting of the scholars whom he had gathered together, and who represented every conceivable branch of knowledge. Every one of these savants was a specialist in the subject he represented and supposed to be without his match. Al-Fârâbî entered in the Turkish dress, which dress he never gave up all his life. On entering the hall Al-Fârâbî stood still. Seyfu'd-Daulah asked him to sit down, but Al-Fârâbî asked: "Where should I sit down? Where I am or where you are?" "Where you are," replied Seyfu'd-Daulah. Thereupon he jumped over the heads of those present, and rushed towards the Amîr, until he reached him and almost pushed him off his throne. Seyfu'd-Daulah did not like this sort of behaviour from a stranger. So he asked his attendants to let this madman know that he had shown bad manners, and that the Amîr was going to ask him certain questions. If he answered satisfactorily, well and good, otherwise he would be burned alive. Seyfu'd-Daulah was under the impression all this time that the stranger, dressed as he was as a Turk, knew Turkish only, and was absolutely ignorant of Arabic. He was wonder-struck when the stranger replied in eloquent Arabic: "Have patience O Amîr! The end justifies the means."* Hearing this, the Amîr asked him if he was conversant with the Arabic language, to which the stranger replied: "I am master of more than seventy languages." This short episode was sufficient to bring the rude stranger into Seyfu'd-Daulah's favour. Now Abû Naşr began to talk on every subject, and easily eclipsed and silenced all the savants present, so much so that after a short time he was the only man talking, and the savants were jotting down whatever escaped the lips of the "madman." Shortly afterwards Seyfu'd-Daulah dispersed the meeting, as he wanted to be alone with Abû Naşr. The Amîr now asked him if he would like to have something to eat. "No," said Abû Naşr. "Some drink?" asked the Amîr again. "No." "Some music?" persisted the host. "Yes," was the reply. So Seyfu'd-Daulah ordered a band of musicians, who began to play on their respective instruments. Al-Fârâbî was all the time finding fault with them and criticising them adversely. "Are you conversant with this art also?" questioned the Amîr.

* The original words are:—("فان الامور بعواقبها")

"Yes," said Al-Fârâbî. So Seyfu'd-Daulah asked him to play some music. Al-Fârâbî opened his bag, took out a lute (عود), and after tuning it began to play. The result was that all those present began to laugh. Then he returned it and began to play a second time. Now all those present began to cry. He returned it a third time, and played again. This time the audience fell sound asleep. He left them sleeping and quitted the durbar quietly. Such was Al-Fârâbî the musician. It is said that it was Al-Fârâbî who invented the instrument known as *Qânûn* (قانون). He remained with Seyfu'd-Daulah the rest of his life, and died, when he was about eighty years of age, at Damascus, whither he had gone with Seyfu'd-Daulah, in the year 339 A.H. (950 A.D.). He was buried at Damascus.

Al-Fârâbî always shunned society. He loved to be alone. He was always to be found in some garden, or on the river bank. Leading a retired life, his wants were very few, so that he was quite happy with his four hundred *dirhams* a day—which was the pension that he had accepted from his royal patron. In his later days he lived in the garb of a Sûfi.

II

Al-Fârâbî's literary production was considerable. He is known as the author of some seventy books, most of which are lost to us. The chronological order of his works has not been determined. His shorter treatises show his contact with the dialecticians and natural philosophers and belong, most probably, to his early days. But it is doubtful whether they are genuine in the form in which they have reached us. In his early days, however, he was busy commenting on the works of Aristotle, and it is for this reason that he is called "the second teacher" (المعلم الثاني), the second Aristotle, so to speak.

He wrote *An Introduction to Logic*, *A Concise Logic*, a series of commentaries on the *Categories*, the *Hermeneutics*, the *First* and the *Second Analytics*, the *Topics*, the *Sophistics*, the *Rhetorics*, and the *Poetics*, that is the whole group of treatises which form branches of Logic in the strict sense of the word. His commentary on the *Isagoge* of Porphyry might be called the preface to this collection. His writings also comprise commentaries on several Greek books; for example, Aristotle's *Nichomachean Ethics*, *Physics*, and *Meteorology*, and his writings on the heavens and the universe. He also

commented on Alexander of Aphrodisias's book *de Anima*, Plato's *Laws*, and the *Almagest* of Ptolemy; and to him we are also indebted for a praiseworthy exposition of the difficult problems in the *Elements* of Euclid.

Among Al-Fârâbî's original works may be mentioned his treatise, "The *Ideal City*" (مدينة الفاضله), which has been edited by Fr. Dietrich and published at Leiden in 1895. It is a work in 34 chapters, wherein the Muslim philosopher, under the influence of Plato's *Republic*, gives his conception of the organisation of a perfect polity. This work may be of little interest, but its importance for metaphysics cannot be denied. Dietrich has also edited nine of his small treatises, of which the most celebrated is the *Gems of Wisdom* (فصوص الحكم), and the *Agreement between the Philosophy of Plato and Aristotle* (الجمع بين رأى الحكيمين افلاطون الالهى وارسطوطاليس). The former treatise contains many ideas in a concise form. There is a commentary on it by Ismâ'îl al-Fârânî. In the latter he has tried to reconcile the teachings of Plato and Aristotle. Two of his smaller works appear in *Al-Pharabii opera omnia*, and two others have been translated in F.A. Schmolder's *Documenta Philosophiae Arabum*. To Psychology and Metaphysics our philosopher contributed numerous works under the titles of *Intelligence and the Intelligible*, the *Soul*, the *Faculties of the Soul*, the *One and the Unity*, *Substance*, *Time*, *Void*, and *Space and Measure*. Quite a number of his works have recently been published by the *Dâ'irat'ul-Ma'ârif*, Hyderabad, Deccan.

Al-Fârâbî's activity was not confined to the realms of Philosophy alone. His intention, like that of other "philosophers" was to distinguish himself in all the sciences. He seems to have been a good mathematician, a fair physician and a talented musician—a somewhat rare combination. Besides, he took much interest in occult science. Some songs attributed to him still exist among the maulvi dervishes. It is to his pen that we are indebted for the most explicit work on the theory of the Oriental music.

Al-Fârâbî's style consists of a series of contentious expressions, which always appear to be profound and scholarly; but sometimes the absence of methodical sequence makes them rather obscure. Being a difficult and an obscure author, it is a mistake to interpret him dogmatically.

III

Before embarking upon the task of uncritically exposing Al-Fârâbî's theory of dreams a preamble outlining his psychological doctrines will not be amiss, for it will show the ground on which this theory stands and thus facilitate understanding of his thesis. Here no attempt can obviously be made to dive deep into these doctrines. Only so much of his psychological teachings will receive attention as will help to clarify the basic conceptions. This is meant to be a mere preamble and nothing more.

In his psychological teachings Al-Fârâbî shows himself a very faithful disciple of Aristotle. Like his master, he is a staunch upholder and a forceful advocate of the faculty psychology that it was the fashion in those days to present to the thoughtful public. He differs from his master only in minor points. Leaving aside these differences, there is not much to demarcate the one from the other. Aristotle endows the human soul with five principal faculties: Vegetative power, on which the maintenance of the corporeal organism depends; Appetitive power,¹ which is exerted in striving after what is agreeable, and repelling what is disagreeable; the faculty of Sensuous Perception, by which objects perceptible by the senses are represented in our cognitions; the Locomotive faculty, by which we are enabled to move the body and its members, and make use of them in external action; and lastly Reason. The Appetitive power is of two kinds: the Concupiscible and the Irascible² according as it merely strives for what is good, or rises in opposition to the hindrances which stand between it and the attainment of the good it is seeking. Under the faculty of Sensuous Perception he subsumes the faculty of Imagination and Memory.

According to Al-Fârâbî, man comes into this world equipped with certain faculties which help him to lead a peaceful life, and to meet its dangers successfully. First, and of foremost importance, is the Nutritive faculty (*قوة غذائية*), which nourishes the somatic self. After it comes the Sensitive faculty with its five external senses. With the help of one of these he senses heat, cold, etc., or the tangible qualities of the objects. This is the sense of Touch. By the help of the second he obtains the gustatory qualities of external things. This is

(1) Plato calls it the *Appetitum*.

(2) Plato assumes an independent Irascible faculty of the Soul.

the sense of Taste. By the third he gets at the fragrance of the things. This is the sense of Smell. The fourth helps him in audition. This is the sense of Hearing. By the fifth he sees light. This is the sense of Sight. Along with these senses is created an Inclination (نزاع) towards what he senses—i.e., he either likes it, or dislikes it. This faculty is known as the Appetitive faculty (قوة زردعية). This faculty is the basis of volition.* Volition is the inclination towards, or away from, what a man perceives, either by the senses or by imagination or by reason. Then there is another faculty which enables a man to reproduce the sensuous image of the sensible objects, without the immediate presence of these objects. This is the faculty of Imagination (قوة متخيليه). This faculty joins certain sensible objects and separates others in a variety of ways. Some of these joinings and separations are true and some are false. They are true in the sense that there is a like of them among the sensible objects, and false in the sense, that there is nothing like them in the external world. Inclination also accompanies what a man imagines. After this comes the Rational faculty (قوة ناطقه). With the help of this faculty it is possible for a man to conceive of intellectual and intelligible things, to discriminate between the beautiful and the ugly, and to master arts and sciences. Here again inclination accompanies what a man conceives.

Now in every one of these faculties there is a "chief" (رئيسه) and several "menials" (رواضع) and "servants" (خدم). The "menials" and "servants" are dispersed throughout the body, and the "chief," by its very nature, controls and manages them. The liver, for example, is an organ, which is a "chief" and a "servant" at the same time. It is mastered by the heart, but in its turn masters the gall-bladder, the spleen and the like. Similarly the bladder serves the heart, and so on. Similar arrangement obtains in the senses. In the Sensuous faculty the well-known five external senses are the "menials" and the "servants," and they are dispersed in the eye, the ear, and so forth. The "chief" over them is that power, which combines what all these "servants" have gathered. This power is known as the Common Sense (حس مشترك). This "chief" also dwells in the heart. The faculty of Imagination is, however, an

* Here Al-Fârâbî anticipates the modern psychological hedonism.

exception. It has no "menials" or "servants." It is unitary, and is also located in the heart. It is, by its very nature, a "chief" over the sensible objects. The Rational faculty is different in this respect from all the other faculties. Its "menials" and "servants" are not of its own class. It lords it over all the other faculties. The Appetitive faculty has its "servants" also. All the organs of the body, all the nerves, and all the muscles, in short everything and anything which helps in the execution of the bodily movements, are these "servants." This "chief" also has its seat in the heart. This obviously means that the heart is the "capital" for all the "chief" faculties.

With the help of this introduction we shall be able to follow Al-Fârâbî through the exposition of his dream-theory, to which I now proceed.

IV

Even a cursory glance over what Al-Fârâbî has written about dreams discloses three chief features of his theory:—

(i) Al-Fârâbî ascribes much importance to the working of Imagination in dream-perception.

(ii) He bases his theory on the doctrine of the temperament in vogue in those days in the realms of Psychology and Medicine.

(iii) He believes that dreams are symbolic, and that we can dream of anything and everything of which we have had experience during the waking state. So that he has no difficulty in explaining any particular dream.

The faculty of Imagination, he believes, stands somewhere between the Sense and the Reason. When by the faculty of Sensuous Perception we actually sense a thing, and when this faculty functions normally, the faculty of Imagination is absolutely passive, in so far as it is engaged in receiving the impressions from the sensible objects. In addition to this it is in the service of the Rational faculty, and at the same time it helps the Appetitive faculty. Now when the Appetitive, the Rational, and the Sensuous faculties reach their first perfections and cease to perform their respective functions—as happens in sleep—the faculty of Imagination becomes free. It no longer receives the fresh impressions, which sensible objects pour upon it. At the same time it ceases to serve the Rational, and to help the Appetitive faculties. Now it can comfortably work with and on those impressions of sensible

objects that it has so far received and retained. This work takes the form of aggregation and segregation, in so far as it is its nature to join some impressions and to separate others.

So far it has been assumed that the only function of the faculty of Imagination is to preserve and to retain the impressions of the sensible objects, and to join, or to separate them. But in reality it has a third function also. This third function is Representation or Reproduction (محاكاة). This means that it can form an image, or an exact representation of the sensible objects whose impressions it has preserved. This representation generally takes two forms. Sometimes it represents sensible objects with the help of the five senses, by combining those impressions that it has preserved, making a copy, as it were, of those objects. Sometimes it represents intellectual objects, and at other times it represents the Nutritive and the Appetitive faculties. It can also represent the temperament that a body assumes at one time or another. If the temperament of the body is moist, it represents this moisture by combining those sensible objects which can represent moisture, e.g., water. If this temperament happens to be dry, then this dryness is represented by those sensible objects which can adequately represent dryness. Similarly with coldness and heat of the body. We can go even to the extent of saying that this faculty is, as it were, a form in the body, and the body endows it with its own temperament. But we should not lose sight of the fact that the Imagination is a mental faculty. As such it accepts this temperament according as it is in its nature to accept, and not according to what it is in the nature of the bodies to accept. When a wet body, for example, affects another body with its wetness, this second body becomes wet like the first. But such is not the case with the faculty of Imagination. When wetness affects it, it does not become wet itself, but it accepts this wetness in the shape of those sensible objects which can adequately represent wetness. It is just as it happens in the Rational faculty. In accepting wetness the Rational faculty only accepts its nature, for everybody knows that the concept of wetness is not itself wet. In the same way when anything affects the faculty of Imagination, it accepts from the agent what it is in its nature to accept. Now suppose a thing affects it, and it is in its nature to accept it, and to accept it in the very form in which it is received. In such cases there are two ways in which the faculty of Imagination accepts. It either accepts the thing as it is, and in the very form in which it is offered, or it

represents it by the help of sensible objects which can adequately represent it. And if it is in its nature to accept it as it is, it accepts it simply because it (the faculty of Imagination) can represent that thing by means of those sensible objects which reach it, and which are fit to represent that thing. It cannot accept intellectual objects as they are. Whenever it has to deal with such objects, it does not accept them as they are in the Rational faculty. It represents them by the help of those objects with which it represents sensible objects. In the same way, when a body endows it with its own temperament, it accepts that temperament in the shape of the sensible objects which have that temperament and so can adequately represent that temperament. When it is given an object which it is possible to sense, sometimes it accepts it as it is, and sometimes it represents that sensible object by some other sensible object.

From the above it should be clear that the Imagination, working in the service of the Sensuous Perception, produces two different kinds of dreams. Sometimes it is a reproduction of our actual experience during the waking state. We see and do in our dreams what we have actually seen and done in our normal waking life. This is the form that our dream-consciousness usually takes. This sort of revival, or recall, we know, is one of the primary functions of Imagination. So we have little, if any, difficulty in explaining these revival-dreams. In such dreams the Imagination works freely, unaffected by the limitations of space or time, and unbounded by the extremely narrow circle of present interest.* In the other form of

* The ancient Muslim philosophers believed that during the waking state there are two forces which keep back the faculty of Imagination from doing its proper work. These forces they called Inhibitions (موانع). One of these inhibitions is sensorial (حسى). In the waking state the Imagination is so much engaged in receiving the external impressions, that it finds no time for doing its own specific work. The other inhibition is intellectual (عقلی). In the waking state the mind is always busy thinking over something, and hence the Imagination is, as it were, on a holiday. It is for this reason that we cannot dream in the waking state. With the disappearance of these two inhibitions—which is possible in sleep alone—we can have a dream normally. But if we are able to remove these inhibitions during the waking state also we can have a state resembling that of a normal dream—as happens in a reverie, or what is nowadays known as a day-dream. With this conception of the inhibitions these philosophers approached very nearly Bergson's "interestedness" in the waking state, and hence his psychological theory of dreams. See his lecture on *Dreams*, Eng. Tr. p. 53.

the dream all these things obtain, save that the things dreamt of are not exactly those of which we have had experience in the waking consciousness. Here the Imagination substitutes other objects of sense for the real ones. But, of course, these substitutes have some kind of relationship with the original objects. In the first case the Imagination substitutes one object of sense for another object of sense. In the second place, the substitute is of a nature that can adequately represent the original. For the table we do not dream of the moon. Here the symbolism of the dream-content comes in. Such dreams, and such only, stand in need of interpretation. This feature of the dream again does not require much explanation, for this substitution is another of the functions of Imaginations.

This is not all. Our dream-content depends upon the condition of the body as well. When there is much of heat in the body we generally dream of hot things. Similarly when coldness preponderates we usually have dreams of things cold in nature—ice, for example.

In short our dream-content, according to Al-Fârâbî is determined (1) by our actual normal experience, and (2) by the temperament of the body at the time of dreaming.

So far we have taken account of the working of Imagination in connection with the Sensuous Perception, and the consequent cognitive nature of the dream. But dreams are not always cognitive in nature. We dream of movements as well. Sometimes it happens that we make actual movements as we should do in the waking state. Sometimes we get up in our sleep and make actual movements of eating, for example. How does this happen? Now we know that the execution of movements is a function of the Appetitive faculty, all the motor organs of the body being its "servants." When this faculty is prepared for its specific impulses, e.g., for rage, or for passion, or for any other act, it is at once imitated by the faculty of Imagination, and the physical activities through which these impulses satisfy themselves drop out. In such cases the organs serving the lower faculties sometimes become prepared to act in a way exactly similar to the way in which they act when serving the Appetitive faculty. All this activity is taken up by the faculty of Imagination, and thus we get a representation sometimes of one activity, and sometimes of another. Nor is that all. When the temperament of the body is such that it is followed by a passivity in the Appetitive

faculty, that temperament is represented by the activity of this faculty. So the organs serving this faculty actually produce those acts. When the body assumes a temperament which is followed by a passion for marriage, for example, in the Appetitive faculty, that temperament is represented by the actual acts of marriage. This activity is not due to the actual presence of the sexual impulse. It is due, rather, to the fact, that the faculty of Imagination represents that impulse by the acts, which that impulse leads to. Similarly it frequently happens that a man gets up in his sleep, and begins to walk up and down, or begins to beat some imaginary person, or to flee from him. In all such cases there is no man to beat, or to flee from. What happens is, that the representation of the faculty of Imagination stands for the thing represented, and evokes motor responses as if that thing were actually present.

So the manner in which the motor dreams are produced is not a mystery. It is exactly similar to the manner in which the cognitive dreams are produced. Here again the faculty of Imagination reigns supreme. The dream-movements, in other words, are excited, not peripherally, but centrally. They are of the class of ideo-motor actions. Then again we see that the dream-content is determined by the temperament that the body assumes at the time of dreaming.

There remains a third type of dreams—dreams of intellectual objects. So far we have seen the change that objects of sense and movements undergo under the influence of the faculty of Imagination. It must have been noted that Al-Fârâbî's conception of the nature and functions of the Imagination is absolutely sufficient to explain the dreams we have taken account of so far. This same conception serves as the key for the solution of dreams of rational and intellectual objects, because the Rational faculty also undergoes a similar change in the faculty of Imagination. Rational and the intellectual things are represented by adequate things. Thus a rational thing of extreme perfection, the first cause for example, is represented by the best and the most perfect of sensible objects, objects of extreme beauty and attraction. A defective rational thing, on the other hand, is represented by the lowest and the most defective of sensible objects—objects of extreme ugliness. In other words, the perfection and the beauty of the sensible objects is directly proportional to the perfection and the beauty of the rational objects. Thus all the objects of sense can be used to represent rational and intellectual objects.

The Active Intellect (*عقل فعال*) is the agency through which potential rational things become actual, and the Potential Reason is transformed into the Actual Reason. This latter change takes place through the instrumentality of the Rational faculty. Reason is of two kinds: theoretical and practical. The latter kind has to do with present and future particular objects. The former, on the other hand, conceives knowable rational and intellectual things. The faculty of Imagination is a *via media* between these two forms of Reason. Now whatever the Rational faculty receives from the Active Intellect is like the light that the eye gets in vision. This light emanates from the Active Intellect, and shines upon the faculty of Imagination. Thus an activity is started in the Active Intellect for the sake of the faculty of Imagination. This activity sometimes gives to the Imagination those rational things which are fit for the theoretical reason, and sometimes those sensible particulars which it is the business of the practical reason to receive. The faculty of Imagination represents the former by the sensible objects which compose them, and the latter it accepts in the very form in which they are represented, and sometimes it represents them by other sensible objects. It is characteristic of the practical reason that it works its materials (the sensible particulars) without deliberation (*دوية*). Of these particulars some are actually present, and others are to make their appearance in the future. But whatever the faculty of Imagination gets is untouched by deliberation. The Active Intellect endows the faculty of Imagination with the particulars in dreams and "true visions" (*رويات صادقه*), and it (the Active Intellect) endows the faculty of Imagination with rational objects as well. But the Imagination uses copies instead of the originals. All this happens in sleep. It happens in the waking state also, but very seldom, and with a very few people. It is a curious fact, however, that we dream more of particular, than of rational, objects.

To be brief, we dream of rational objects just as well as we dream of objects of sense, or of movements. But, sticking as Al-Fârâbî does to the old notion of the higher faculties ceasing to function in sleep,* he has difficulty in explaining such dreams. His ingenuity, however, carves out a way for him. The Rational faculty, he asserts, does not work in dreams as it works in the waking state. It transforms its

* This notion can claim many adherents even today.

objects into objects of sense and then does its work. In other words, in dreams all intellection is carried on in terms of sensible objects. It looks difficult to explain how this happens. But here again his conception of the nature and functions of Imagination comes to his rescue. The action of the Imagination, he thinks, is necessary for intellectual cognition, inasmuch as we must keep the object of Intelligence before us under the form of a sensuous image, and this image is represented by the Imagination. From this it may be inferred that Al-Fârâbî does not deny the recurrence, or occurrence, of logical concepts, and therefore of logical ratiocination, in dreams, as his predecessors, and some of his modern co-workers were, or are, in the habit of doing. This misleading notion has lately been corrected by Bergson in his admirable lecture on dreams. In fact Bergson goes to the paradoxical extent of saying that it is the excess of logical explanation that is responsible for all the inconsistencies so frequent in dreams. Al-Fârâbî does not go so far. As a matter of fact he is not explicit on this point. This much, however, is clear that many dreams to explain which so many quaint, and in some cases barbarous, theories have been put forward, can be very easily and readily explained by this extremely simple and straightforward theory. Even the wish-fulfilling nature of dreams, which was the cause of so much botheration for Freud, and which brought down so much criticism on him, is easily understood, and explained with the help of this theory. Al-Fârâbî's conception of the nature and functions of Imagination is very convenient, and stands him in good stead on many occasions. And who can say that it is unacceptable to the modern thinker? In supporting and advocating this theory of dreams one can very easily be accused of applying the scale of values to determination of the nature of things. It is not the intention of the present writer even to suggest that this theory is good and valid because it is simple. It has to be accepted at its face-value. We must not, however, overlook the point that it is for the last thirty years or so that the dream problem has been able to attract the serious attention of psychologists and philosophers like Freud and Bergson. The late Prof. Rivers, of revered memory, had to complain about this deplorable—or should we say criminal?—negligence on the part of thinkers in this age of Enlightenment. This accusation does not, however, apply to Muslim thinkers, as almost every Muslim thinker of note in every age has written treatises on dreams. They did not take dreams to be a negligible bye-product of the waking consciousness, nor the

result of some serious mental or cerebral derangement.* Naturally their explanations are in terms of the psychological concepts known to them, as are the explanation of the modern thinkers. Some credit must be given for their attempts to understand an important mental phenomenon, even though we may now be in a position to label these attempts, and their results, as crude and "unscientific." They were quite "scientific" at the time when they were first put forward and anyhow were much better than the contemptuous attitude even of modern thinkers.

MU'TAZID WALI UR-RAHMAN.

* The Muslim philosophers recognised three different kinds of dreams: (1) "false dreams" (خواب پریشان - اصغاث الاحلام), (2) patho-genetic dreams (خواب مرض، سوء مزاج), and (3) the "true dreams" (روایات صادقه). The patho-genetic dreams are again subdivided into (a) those that are the result of excessive cold or heat in the cerebral hemispheres, and (b) those that are due to disturbance in the diffusion and the harmonious distribution of the four humours of the body: the blood (دم), the phlegm (بلغم), the black bile (سودا), and the yellow bile (صفرا). Most probably this tri-partite division of dreams is based on the following traditions of the Prophet:—

١- عن ابی هريرة عن النبي صلعم قال الرؤيا ثلث - فبشرى من الله و حديث النفس، وتخويف الشيطان (ابن ماجه)

٢- عن عوف بن مالك عن رسول الله صلعم قال ان الرؤيا ثلث - منها هاويل الشيطان ليحزن ابن آدم ومنها مايمهم به الرجل في يقظته فيراه في منامه، ومنها جزء من ستة واربعين من النبوة. (ابن ماجه)

٣- وفي الصحيح ان النبي صلعم قال الرؤيا ثلث - روى من الله. روى من الملك، ورؤيا من الشيطان *

The Hindu thinkers also recognised practically all these forms of dreams with this difference, however, that Indian medicine, and hence Indian philosophy, recognised only three humours of the body, viz., phlegm (*kapha*), wind (*vata*), and bile (*pitta*). See Prof. Umesh Mishra's art., on "Dream Theory in Indian Thought" in *Allahabad University Studies*, vol. v, p. 271, n. 7. In general there is not much difference, regarding the nature and the ætiology of dreams, between Hindu and Muslim thinkers. For the Hindu view of dreams see the article referred to above, and also Max Müller's *Six Systems of Hindu Philosophy*, Longmans, Green, 1916, p. 175.

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BOOKS AND AUTHORS

KITABU'L-AURÂQ, VOL. II*

IT is only a few months since we congratulated Mr. Heyworth Dunne on the first volume of his *Kitâbu'l-Aurâq* in these pages; and now the promised second volume lies before us. At this quick rate—which we should have thought impossible—the whole four volumes of Aṣ-Ṣûlî's great and most delightful work may be available in this well edited, well printed form before a year is past. It is no small achievement when we consider the magnitude of the task and the condition of the MSS. from which this perfect version has been made.

The first volume consisted of examples of poetry composed by high officials of the 'Abbâsid régime interspersed with a few pages of biography. The present volume is a diary of events in the reigns of the Khalîfahs Ar-Râdî billâh and Al-Muttaqî billâh kept by one in the current of affairs; the only poetry quoted being a number of laudatory odes by Aṣ-Ṣûlî himself, which, he does not hesitate to tell us, are of wondrous merit, and selected poems of the Khalîfah Ar-Râdî which we often prefer for their vigour and freshness. The Khalîfah had been Aṣ-Ṣûlî's pupil in the art of poetry, as well as in Ḥadîth—so good a pupil that the master feared his judgment. When Al-Muttaqî billâh succeeded on Ar-Râdî's death, Aṣ-Ṣûlî did not trouble to compose an ode for the occasion but adapted an old ode which he had written years before. This, he tells us, though good enough for Al-Muttaqî, was not the kind of thing he would have dared recite before

* اخبار الراضى بالله والمتى بالله او تاريخ الدولة العباسية من سنة ٣٢٢ الى سنة ٣٣٣ هجرية من كتاب الاوراق لابي بكر محمد بن يحيى الصولى
عنى بنشره ج - هيورث دن بمدرسته اللغات الشرقية بلندن بمساعدة اوصياء
ذكرى ج - و - جب بلندن - مصر ١٣٥٢ -

Akhbâr Ar-Râdî wa'l-Muttaqî from the *Kitâbu'l-Aurâq* by Abû Bakr Muhammad b. Yahyâ Aṣ-Ṣûlî. Arabic text. Edited by J. Heyworth Dunne, London School of Oriental Studies. Subsidised by the E. J. W. Gibb Memorial Trust. London, Luzac and Co., 46 Great Russell Street, W.C. 1935.

Ar-Râđî who was skilled in poetry and knew the worth of words. The prose narrative, which forms the bulk of the present volume, is of absorbing interest and the poems quoted are of a higher order than those gathered in the former volume which were mostly the occasional work of amateurs. Aş-Şûlî was a sound academic versifier and Ar-Râđî quite a brilliant virtuoso.

The author loved Ar-Râđî, who had been his pupil and consulted him, and did not love Al-Muttaqî, who stopped his coming to the Court and gave no heed to his advice, however good. Those were troublous times in Baghdâd—the days when the Buweyhî power was still confined to Persia, when Turk and Deylamî and Hamdânî strove with one another for the office of Amîru'l-Umara, still in the gift of the Khalîfah who, by favouring first one and then another claimant strove to maintain supremacy. Ar-Râđî is described in *Kitabu'l-Fakhrî* as the last Khalîfah to compose a dîwân of poetry; the last Khalîfah to rule personally, the last Khalîfah to preach the khutbah from the pulpit on a Friday; the last Khalîfah to have boon companions and accord free access to the learned, and the last Khalîfah to follow, in his public and domestic affairs, the rules established by the great 'Abbâsîs. He found a good Amîru'l-Umara in Bajkam after Ibn Râ'îq, whom he disliked, had been got rid of; he rode out himself and pacified the people more than once; he kept his promises; he listened to the good advice of Aş-Şûlî and others, and might, one feels, have stopped the process of disintegration in the empire, or at least have checked it for a time, if his health had not been undermined by the rigour of his imprisonment in the days of the cruel Al-Qâhir. He died of hæmorrhage at the age of thirty-one years and six months after a reign of six years, ten months and ten days.

Ar-Râđî could be angry when he had good cause, and Aş-Şûlî knew the way to calm him. When the foot-soldiers, clamouring for their arrears of pay, threatened to enthrone a son of Al-Ma'mûn, the Khalîfah was furious against both the sons of Al-Ma'mûn: "And Ar-Râđî said to me when I went in to him; 'There, O Şûlî, thy neighbour Ibn Al-Ma'mûn is to be enthroned Khalîfah; they hesitated between the two of them and chose the elder. By Allah, verily I will give the flesh of both of them to the birds to eat.' Dhakî the chamberlain heard it and so did the servants standing by. I said: 'May Allah not let me live to see another in the place of our lord! Is one fit for the Khilâfat who has lived in vain for seventy years; and moreover neither of them has

done anything well or can understand anything.' When he heard that remark of mine he laughed at it and, when he laughed, I spoke more freely, and said: 'Those two have many enemies and calumny is rife against them. It may be that their enemies have done this to incriminate them.' Then he threw to me a scrap of writing which recorded what he had said. Muḥammad ibn Ḥamdūn came in while we were on the subject and he spoke of it and in his remarks followed my lead. We kept on talking thus till he was mollified. And I went out and Dhakī the chamberlain said to me: "May Allah reward thee well. Hast thou received a written statement of what our lord said?" I answered, "Yes." He said, "I also have received the like of it." Then he gave me his script and I gave him mine, and both were thrown into the Tigris.*

That was not the only occasion when Aṣ-Ṣūlī saved men's lives by tactful handling of Ar-Râḍī. Only in his last days the Khalīfah resented such interference of his old tutor, a fact which Aṣ-Ṣūlī records among the symptoms of his master's illness. On the other hand in his attempts to influence Al-Muttaqī for good Aṣ-Ṣūlī never succeeded. That Khalīfah is depicted as averse to all good counsel, and indeed his story shows that he was ill-advised. Aṣ-Ṣūlī, as a private citizen, records his conduct of affairs with grief, and confesses that he never could divine his motives. Distrust of all experienced counsellors and fear of all established influences made Al-Muttaqī more like a hunted fox than a wise ruler; and all his fears were groundless, if we may believe the author. Tūzūn, the Amīru'l-Umara from whom he fled, had always acted in

* قال لي الرازي حين دخلت اليه : هناك يا صولي قد اجلس جارك ابن الماء موت خليفة، وميل بين الاثنين فاختر الكبرياء والله لأطعمن الطير لهما وذكي الحاجب يسمع ذلك وخدم قيام فقلت لأحياني الله الى ان آرى مكان سيدنا غيره وما ابعد هذا يا سيدى في نفسى ايصلاح المخلافة من خايبين سنة ومع ابعد هو الله ما محستان شيأولا يفهما فلما سمع قولى هذا ضحك منه فلما ضحك المنسوط في الكلام فقلت اعداء هؤلاء كثير والتشنيع عليهم عظيم ولعل هذا شنعاء اعداء هم عليهم - فرمى الى بفصل من كتاب قد ذكر ما قاله فيها ودخل محمد بن حمدون ونحن في ذاك فاعاد عليه القول فسلك في الكلام طريقى وما نزلنا نكلمه حتى سكن وخرجت فقال لي ذكي الحاجب احسن الله جزاءك هل ورد عليك كتاب فيما قاله سيدنا قلت نعم قال وقد ورد على مثله فاعطاني كتابه ودفعته اليه كتابي فرمى بهما في دجلة.

his interest and was better able to defend them than those with whom he sought refuge. His flight from Baghdâd brought upon the city a succession of disorders and calamities which Tûzûn did his best to remedy, so that it was to the Amîr Tûzûn rather than the Khalîfah that the people looked for guidance when Al-Muttaqî at last consented to return. And there was little horror at the Khalîfah's betrayal and cruel murder by the Amîr, the people feeling that the latter had received sufficient provocation. That, at any rate, appears to be Aş-Şûlî's view; though he is careful to point out that all that he admires in the policy and behaviour of Tûzûn was really the work of the Amîr's confidential adviser and chief secretary Abû Ja'far ibn Sheyrzâd, to whom Aş-Şûlî has devoted two pages of such praise as has seldom been poured out upon a politician. This Abû Ja'far, by the way he tells us, was ignorant of the Amîr's plan to betray Al-Muttaqî and very strongly disapproved of it.

Political events and high intrigues furnish only half the human interest of this diary. We get curious glimpses of the daily life of Baghdâd and of events which the historian would overlook; as when the bridge and the grand stand collapsed beneath the weight of sightseers who had come to see the Khalîfah proceed in state by water to his palace; or when, in a time of pestilence, locusts appeared in large numbers which, according to Aş-Şûlî, was God's blessing, "because the chasing and the eating of the locusts did the people good." The account of the looting of the author's house and loss of all his treasures, by men who had no quarrel with him but had come to rob his neighbour's house, is worth quoting:

"As for my (personal) news, at the end of the month of Ramaḍân, on a Monday, the Deylamîs came to the house of Ibn Yunâl at-Tarjumân which is adjoining mine at Qasr 'Isâ and looted it. They went up on to the roofs and found them joining my roofs, so they fell upon the people on my roofs and I knew nothing of it, being seated in the company of a number of teachers of ḥadîth and literary men, my visitors. We rushed up and remonstrated with them but it was no use. Our women took to flight. They left none of my treasures and other belongings untouched. They took from me nearly a hundred garments, most of them of the robes of the Khalîfahs, gifts of honour. And they took of fine glass and china more than I can compute. They found a fragment of a Manuscript of mine and looted it and they took all the valuables of my family and the clothes of theirs that they found. They made

my guests go out, to be met and searched at the door by some of their men, when anything found on them was taken. One of our neighbours told me that he saw them tugging at one of the garments till it tore and each one took a part, and that he saw them do this with Dabîq napkins and they got hold of a box full of perfumes which I had in store and broke it on the ground so that they gathered only a little of it. The same with a precious thing which was in it and two kinds of ambergris, and they took from me two saddles, one of which was heavy, and a donkey from my stable till I bought it back for ten dînârs. And the worst of it for me in memory is that a feeble teacher of ḥadîth came to me afterwards and said: 'I had a little money with me and it was taken in thy house' and demanded that I should make it good—when the value of what I had lost was nearly three thousand dînârs all belonging to me and my family and no-one else—except that a friend of Abû'l Huseyn ibn Al-Qushûrî known as Ibn Ar-Râ'îd had a saddle which he had left in my house till he should come and fetch it, and it was looted—and by Allah I and the members of my family have not been clothed till this present time, and I am poor since then without a pension or anyone to benefit me or befriend me."*

فاما خبرى انا فى اخر شهر رمضان وقت الخدار البردين من النجمي
فان الديالم - فى يوم الاثنين صاروا الى دار ابن ينال الترحمان وهى ملا صفتي
بقصر عيسى فنهوها وصعدوا سطوحها فوجدوها كالتصلة بسطوحى فزلوا على
من فوق سطوحى وانا غافل ولى مجلس وعندى خلق من اصحاب الحديث
واهل الادب فوثبنا اليهم وكلمناهم فما نفعلنا شيئا وخرج حرمانا هاربات ولم
يتروا الى شئنا من ذخائر وغيرها الا اتوا عليها واخذوا الى نحو مايتى
قطعة من الثياب اكثرها من كسى الخلقاء وخلعهم واخذوا من الزجاج الفاخر
والصيتى مالا يضبطه عددى ووجدوا قطيعته من دفاترى فنهوها - واخذوا كل
ذخيرة لعيالى وثوب وجدوه لهم وجعل من كان عندى يخرج فيلقاه قوم منهم على
بابى فيفتشه وباخذ شيئا ان وجد معه -

ولقد حدثني بعض جيراننا انه راهم يتجادلون على بعض الثياب حتى تحرق
فيأخذ كل واحد قطعته منها وانه راهم فعلوا هذا بمناذيل دبيقية وظفر او بصندوق
فيه طيب قد ذخرته فكسروه فى الارض فها وصلوا الى السير منه وكذا لك غاليت
كانت فيه وعبروندوا واخذوا الى سرجين احدهما ثقيل وحمارا من اصطبل حتى اشتريته
بعد ذلك بعشرة دنانير واشد مايتى على ان بعض ضعفه اصحاب الحديث كان
يحببى بعد ذلك فيقول كانت هى نفيقه فاخذت فى دارك واحتاج ان أعرضه من
ذلك فكانت قيمته ما ذهب لى نحو ثلاثه الاف دينار - الخ

Aṣ-Ṣûlî, unlike most diarists, does not write much about himself. The passage we have just quoted is exceptional, as is indicated by his prefatory "as for my (personal) news." He is careful to preserve the true perspective, as he sees it, of events; and if he attaches more importance to the appointment of a new preacher to the Eastern, the Western or the Baratha mosque, and thinks the death of any old Muḥaddith or literary bookworm worth recording, that is because he had sincere regard for piety and learning and really thought them better worth pursuing than mere wealth and power. He claims to be impartial in his judgments here recorded of men like Bajkam. Tûzûn, Seyfu'd-Daulah, and the courtiers and officials of the day; and his claim seems fully justified. His book shows up in strong relief the life of Baghdâd in the decade he describes as would a searchlight turned upon a city lost in night.

Mr. Heyworth Dunne is again to be congratulated on the perfection of the text. There are no *lacunæ* and no serious misprints. The type is admirably clear. Our one complaint is that the uncut copies sent to us were both so lightly sewn that the sheets fell apart as one handled them. The work is fully indexed.

M. P.

THE DOCTRINE OF THE ṢUFIS

(*Kitâb al-ta'arruf li madhhab ahl al-taṣawwuf*)

Translated from the Arabic of Abû Bakr al-Kalabâdhî by Arthur John Arberry, M.A., Assistant Keeper of Oriental Books and MSS. in the India Office, formerly fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge. Cambridge University Press 1935.

THE author of this work, Al-Kalabâdhî (died *circa* 380 A.H.—990 A.D.) while describing with authority the belief and practice of the Ṣûfis, is concerned with demonstrating their essential orthodoxy which, since the *cause célèbre* of Al-Hallâj (Al-Huseyn ibn Manṣûr, executed at Baghdâd for persistent blasphemy in 309 A.H.) was being impugned by theologians. He writes:

"They (Ṣûfis) are agreed that all the ordinances imposed by God on (His) servants in his Book, and all the duties laid down by the Prophet (in the Traditions) are a necessary obligation and a binding imposition for adults of mature intelligence; and that they may not be abandoned

by any man whether he may be a veracious believer (*ṣiddîq*) or a saint or a gnostic, even though he may have attained the furthest rank, the highest degree, the noblest station."

That is quite true of all the early *Ṣûfis*, but not of many of the so-called *Ṣûfis* of today. Religion has two aspects, public and personal, one being a matter of observances, the other of personal experience. In the time of the Prophet and his immediate followers, when Islam was pure religion without theology, there was no separation of the two which were regarded as inseparable. It was when, in response to the polemics of the Eastern Christian Church, and in imitation of them, an intricate and sterile theology developed and was sedulously cultivated by those who might be regarded as official exponents of religion and, associated with public observances, passed current with the mass as true religion that the simply pious drew apart from it, seeking refuge in devotions and austerities which were marked in their dress and demeanour. That was the real beginning of *Ṣûfism*. Al-Ghazzâlî later, by his splendid rejection of theology as worthless when compared with faith and conduct, made it the essence of Islamic philosophy. It is one of the ironies of history that the *Ṣûfis* in the course of time should have developed a scholasticism almost as intricate as that from which they first revolted. But that has nothing to do with the present work, which treats of *Ṣûfism* before its Persian and Indian aberrations.

As to the origin of the term *Ṣûfî* there is no certainty. Here the derivations from *Ṣûf* (wool), *Ṣafa* (to be pure), and *Sultan* (bench—referring to the *bench* in the Prophet's mosque) are mentioned, though the two latter are grammatically improbable; but not the derivation favoured by some good etymologists (e.g., Ibn al-Jauzî) from *Sûfah*, a surname given in pre-Islamic times to one dedicated to the Ka'bah and hence having the sense of "set apart" or "consecrated." *Ṣûfî* predilections on this point are negligible for it is certain that they did not name themselves; the people named them. On everything for which *Ṣûfis* are themselves responsible this book is of high authority. The author does not attempt to defend Al-Ḥallâj, but he quotes him as "one of the great *Ṣûfis*," which is significant of his own attitude. Anyhow the charges on which Al-Ḥallâj was condemned (with the concurrence of some leading *Ṣûfis*) do not lie against *Ṣûfism* though the attempt of the ecstasies allegorically to express the inexpressible has undoubtedly led to much

misunderstanding. As Al-Kalabâdhî says: "Such experience does not come within the scope even of reference, much less explanation."

"When men of common parlance question us,
 "We answer them with signs mysterious
 "And dark enigmas; for the tongue of man
 "Cannot express so high a truth, whose span
 "Surpasses human measure; but my heart
 "Has known it, and has known of it a rapture
 "That thrilled and filled my body, every part.
 "Seest thou not, these mystic feelings capture
 "The very art of speech, as men who know
 "Vanquish and silence their unlettered foe."

The trouble with Şûfis has been that, while declaring loudly that they cannot speak of it, they speak and write and sing of it continually in terms apt to mislead and tempt the vulgar.

"If, being sober, I
 "No more descry
 "Save what is His, what higher truths await
 "In drunkenness, which is the nobler state?"

"Now come sobriety
 "Or let me be
 "Intoxicated; work out Thy design:
 "Drunken or sober, I am ever Thine."

Of the spiritism of the later Şûfis there are hardly any traces here, though we think the remark of Abû Suleymân (p. 130): "A man never turns back save when he is on the road; if he had arrived he would never have returned" refers as much to the departed soul as to the soul in ecstasy, meaning that only the less fortunate spirits can be called up at a "séance."

That Şûfis even in those days were too apt to mistake dreams and visions for reality may be judged from the following extract:

"Abû Hamzah al-Khurâsânî said; one year, when I performed the pilgrimage, I was walking along the road, when

I fell into a well. My soul contended with me that I should cry for help; but I said: 'No, by God, I will not cry out!' I had hardly completed this cogitation, when two men passed by at the top of the well, and one of them said to the other: "Come, let us fill in the top of this well from the roadway." So they brought a stick and a reed mat. I was moved to cry out; then I said; 'O Thou who art nearer to me than they!' and I held my peace till they had filled in the well and gone away. Then I saw something dangling its feet into the well and saying 'Catch hold of me.' So I caught hold of it, and behold it was a lion; and I heard a voice saying, 'O Abû Hamzah, this is excellent. We have rescued thee from destruction in the well by means of a lion.' "

Mr. Arberry's translation of this highly technical work is admirably clear and simple, so much so as to hide the extreme difficulty of his task completely from the reader. His introduction and brief footnotes are all that is needed for elucidation. Now and then the sense—not the accuracy—of his rendering seems questionable, especially in quotations from the Qur'ân; and on p. 144 "God is great" is obviously a mistake for "God is greater." In particular Mr. Arberry is to be congratulated on his rhymed translation—a most difficult feat—of the many poems quoted in the Arabic text. Two short examples have been given; here is another:

" This I have proven, this I now declare
 This is my faith unbending,
 And this my joy unending:
 There is no God but God! no rivals share
 His peerless majesty,
 His claimed supremacy.

" When men have been alone with God, and know,
 This is their tongues' expression,
 And this their hearts' confession:
 This ecstasy of joy knits friend and foe
 In common brotherhood
 Working to common good."

Şûfism at its best is of the very essence of Islâm. Anyone who reads this work attentively will have a clearer idea of what

Şûfism really is than is possessed by many modern Şûfis. There is an index of the names and places mentioned.

M. P.

HYDERABAD REFORMS*

MR. M. FATHULLAH KHAN has written a very useful as well as readable book. A clear account of the Administrative Reforms which have been effected in Hyderabad, from their beginning by the great Minister Salar Jung until these days when the progress of the Nizam's Dominions is spectacular, was much needed, and Mr. Fathullah Khan has given us that and something more. He has given us a complete short history of the Asaf-Jâhî kingdom from the standpoint of the welfare of the subjects. The early chapters show the growing need of great reforms and the later chapters show the great reforms in process of being carried out. The whole is fully documented, and so authoritative. At the time when we are celebrating the Silver Jubilee of His Exalted Highness the present Nizam, in whose reign the rate of progress has increased tremendously and the enthusiasm of the subjects has been roused, the following passage is of topical interest:

"During the last quarter-century of His Exalted Highness's reign, Hyderabad has achieved an all-round progress and prosperity. A comparison of certain figures of expenditure at the date of his accession with those of the last budget will give an idea of the progress made. The sum annually spent on public education was then only 16 lakhs, it is now 90 lakhs per annum; on Medicine and Sanitation 8 lakhs, it is now 26½ lakhs; on Agriculture ½ lakh, it is now 9 lakhs; on Co-operative Credit Societies ½ lakh, it is now 4½ lakhs; on Irrigation 23½ lakhs, it is now 59¾ lakhs exclusive of nearly 5 crores of rupees sunk in major projects, the biggest being Nizam Sagar, with 442 miles of canals commanding an irrigable area of 2¾ million acres of land.

"In matters of administration, a definite advance in keeping with the progressive growth of political thought and conceptions has been made. In so doing, the structure has been built solidly upon the bedrock of living tradition and in

**A History of Administrative Reforms in Hyderabad State.* By M. Fathullah Khan. Secunderabad, Deccan. New Hyderabad Press 1935.

harmony with the broad level of popular sentiment and conviction. The budget of the State, which is by itself a great credit to the administration of Hyderabad today, has long been kept entirely free from the demands of the ruler for his personal use; there is a Legislative Council with elective non-official representation in it; a judiciary independent of the Executive; a fixed Civil List; and a trained Civil Service with security of tenure. Hyderabad under the present ruler has been making a distinct contribution to the cultural development of India by its monumental work of conservation and preservation of ancient artistic and architectural remains, by its munificent support to the publication of many outstanding works of lasting merit on artistic and literary subjects, by liberal grants to several seats of Indian culture and learning, and by the foundation of a Vernacular University, all of them supported and encouraged by the Nizam himself."

We could wish that Mr. Fathullah Khan had devoted a chapter to description of the progress made in education, of which the Hyderabad administration has especial reason to be proud, but perhaps he deemed the subject outside his chosen field—or perhaps he thought it worthy of a separate book.

His work can be warmly recommended to all who wish to learn the truth about Hyderabad, while for the Hyderabadis it supplies a long-felt want. Mr. Fathullah Khan writes such good English as a rule that we are surprised to come on "strived" (p. 1. of Preface), "disturbation" (p. 4), and other strange inventions in his work. The book contains a frontispiece (the portrait of His Exalted Highness), and two appendices.

M. P.

THE PRINCES OF ARCOT

THE book before us* is the first volume of "Sources of the history of the Nawwabs of the Carnatic," the first publication in the Madras University Islamic Series. It is a translation of the *Tûzak-i-Wâlâjâhî* of Burhân ibn Ḥasan by the Head of the Department of Arabic, Persian and Urdu in the University of Madras, and tells the story of the Muslim domination of the Carnatic up to the "martyrdom" of Nawâb Sirâju'd-daulah. It is a valuable and timely

**Tûzak-i-Wâlâjâhî* of Burhân ibn Ḥasan. Translated into English by S. Muḥammad Ḥusayn Nainar, M.A., LL.B., Part I, University of Madras, 1934.

publication to dispel the false idea in many minds that Muslim influence in the regions which now form the Madras Presidency was never paramount and that the Mughal Empire never reached Cape Comorin.

Mr. Muḥammad Husayn Nainar's translation is literal, preserving all the locutions of the original Persian with quaint effect. The following description of a battle is a good example:

“According to the orders of Nawwâb Âṣaf Jâh, Nawwâb Sirâju'd-Dawla Bahâdur came like a heavy cloud to the country where the chivalry of the people was blighted and the gardens of the hearts of the oppressed were parched with drought. Like the breezes of the Spring he proceeded to refresh that side of the country. By the rain of the arrows and the shots of his soldiers, by the serried ranks of his armies, by the flower-like gaping wounds made by the swords of his soldiers, but the bud-like silence of his boastful enemies, by the melodious music of the brave slogans of “Kill and take,” by the *bulbul*-like screams of those who sought safety, he created the tumultuous joy of Spring. He managed as successfully as ever the business of rooting out the haughty mischief-makers. He eased the trunk of that haughty rambler in the valley of revolt of the weight of the head on its shoulders, and having pinned to his spear the vainglorious head, he brought under his control the taluq of Rajbandar. He carried the ball of valour away from the other generals of his time. The victory took place on Wednesday, the day of Mercury, and so it was ordered that music should be played five times on Wednesdays each week. This practice is even now observed in the *nawbat-khâna* of Hadrat-i-A'lâ just as Friday music is continued in commemoration of the victory of Pondicherry. Servants like us seek from God the permanence of these customs.”

Nawâb Sirâju'd-daulah, founder of the present dynasty of Arcot, was a vassal of the great Nizâmu'l-Mulk Âṣaf Jâh—who is here described as Wazîr of the Deccan—and it was in his name that he put down the rebellion above mentioned, and inflicted two severe defeats on the Mahrattas. His tragic end through treachery, which happened in the troubled times which came on the whole country after the death of Âṣaf Jâh I—is feelingly described in highflown and poetic language.

The work has been well done. Especially we must praise the careful and correct transliteration—rare in India—which

proves if proof were needed, the translator's scholarship. The printing and get-up are excellent. Only occasionally in the English we happen on an unfamiliar word or idiom, as for instance the translator's use of "horses" when he means cavalry. In English we say "horse" (*—soldiers understood*) and "foot" (*—soldiers understood*). We do not say, a certain general led so many horses and feet. So when we read of Babu Nayak marching "at the head of one lakh of horses" we picture horses without men and are astonished for a moment that such an inroad should have caused so much dismay. Of particular interest is the author's account of the various groups of Europeans who had been allowed to trade in the Carnatic—the "Portugals," the Denkomar People (Danes), the Walandez (Dutch), the French and the English. It is intelligent and well-informed. The story of Christopher Columbus is quite clearly told.

We congratulate the University of Madras upon this bright beginning of its valuable Islamic series of publications.

M. P.

AMIR KHUSRAU*

WE are indebted to Dr. A. C. Woolner, Vice-Chancellor of the Punjab University for sending us a copy of this interesting work which was originally submitted as a thesis for the Ph.D. degree of London University, and is now published by the Punjab University in its Oriental Publications Series. We are not generally in favour of printing degree theses, which are not as a rule composed for the general reader. But the work under review may well be regarded as an exception since it is undoubtedly the first serious attempt to introduce to the English-reading public a mediæval Indian poet whose literary work and versatile genius mark him out as one of the most remarkable personalities in the literary history of the world. It seems a pity that Mr. Wahid Mirza should have thought it necessary to trace laboriously the life of the poet in the labyrinth of the political history of the period, devoting more than half of his moderate-sized book to that purpose. His researches begin from Chapter IV, where he deals with Amir Khusrau's works, and after discussing the subject minutely is inclined to conclude that, notwithstanding many contrary reports and conjectures, the bulk of Khusrau's prose

**Life and Works of Amir Khusrau*. By Wahid Mirza. Punjab University, Oriental Publications Series. Lahore 1935.

and poetry has been preserved to this day "without any serious damage or decrease." These works of Khusrau may be grouped into the following six divisions, according to Mr. Wahid Mirza:—

"A. The Five Diwans:

- | | |
|-----------------------|--------------------|
| (1) Tahfat-us-Sighar. | (2) Wastul-Hayat. |
| (3) Ghurratu'l-Kamal. | (4) Baqiya Naqiya. |
| (5) Nihayatu'l-Kamâl. | |

B. The Historical poems:

- | | |
|-----------------------|----------------------|
| (6) Qiran-us-Sa'dain. | (7) Miftah-ul-futûh. |
| (8) 'Ashiqa. | (9) Nuh Sipih. |
| (10) Tughluq-Nâmah. | |

C. The Khamsah:

- | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|
| (11) Matlau'l-Anwar. | (12) Shirin-o-Khusrau. |
| (13) Aina-i-Sikandarî. | (14) Hasht Bihisht. |
| (15) Majnun-o-Leyla. | |

D. The Ghazliyat:

- (16) The lyrical poems of
Khusrau.

E. Prose works:

- | | |
|---|----------------------|
| (17) Tarikh-i-'Alai or Kha-
zain-ul-futuh. | (18) Afdalul-fawaid. |
| (19) I'jaz-i-Khusrawi. | |

F. Hindi Poetry:

- (20) The Khaliq Bari and
other Hindi poems
ascribed to Khusrau."

Three other works alleged to be Khusrau's, of which the tale of Four Darvishes is best known through its classical Urdu translation, Mr. Wahid Mirza rejects as fictitious. He then treats each of the genuine works separately. This is the most illuminating part of Mr. Mirza's thesis and contains an excellent exposition of the various aspects of Khusrau's prose and poetic work. An account of the Tughluq-Nâmah, the last historical Mathnavî of Amîr Khusrau, recently published by the Persian Manuscripts Society, Hyderabad, has also been appended at the end of the volume. The comparative merits of Khusrau's lyrical poetry—always a delicately difficult subject in the East—are judiciously discussed, followed by a

few specimens of Ghazals with their English translation. The first of these is quoted below:—

غزل

- ۱ - مست آمدہ باز بہ مہمان کہ بودی -
جانان شکرے در شکرستان کہ بودی -
- ۲ - اے یار جدا ماندہ، دل تنگ کہ جستی -
اے یوسف گم گشتہ بہ زندان کہ بودی -
- ۳ - دیوانہ من و بر سر کوئے کہ گذشتی -
تشویش دہ حال پریشان کہ بودی -
- ۴ - مے دوش بکا خوردی وساغر بکہ دادی -
در ظلمت شب چشمہ حیوان کہ بودی -
- ۵ - آراستہ و مست در آغوش کہ خفتی -
این بخت کرا بود بفرمان کہ بودی -
- ۶ - جعدت کہ کشیدہ است ولبت را کہ گزیداست
بیش کہ نشست شب و مہمان کہ بودی -
نے بوئے گلے داری و نے رنگ بہاری -
خسرو توبہ نظرہ بستانے کہ بودی -

Translation :

(Jealousy)

Lo! comest thou again to me,
The graceful body swaying!
Thine eyes are languid, O my love,
Where hast thou been a-maying?
Whose love-lorn heart didst gladden thou?
O faithless one! be candid!
Where didst thou hide thy moon-like face
As Joseph in the well did?
I rave for thee, but heedless thou—
Where hast thou been a-roaming?
Whose heart was it that caught new fire
From yon bright cheeks a-flaming?

Where didst thou quaff the cup last eve
 Whom didst thou hand the goblet?
 Whose thirsty lips in darkness did
 That life's own fountain wet?
 Who held thy languid drooping form
 Of musk and henna scent
 In his fond arms?—To whose behest
 Thy wilful nature bent?
 Who kissed yon lips—whose hands did smooth
 Those lustrous, raven tresses?
 Who fondled thee—ah! say forsooth—
 With eager, hot caresses?
 Thy cheek hath lost its rosy hue
 Thine eye its wonted glow!
 Come, Khusrau, tell me who it was
 Her fair face did thee show!

The translation may not appear to be perfectly exact—few translations of poetry ever are—but the attempt is not altogether futile.

Mr. Wahid Mirza's book contains some doubtful spellings of names (such as 'Barni,' 'Hasan Sanjari,' etc.), and the historical portion of the book may give rise to minor controversies, but these slight flaws in no way spoil the merit of the work, which in every chapter shows the industrious research of the young author and is on the whole an important contribution to the scanty literature on mediæval India. The book, though not free from misprints, is neatly printed in small type on art paper by the Baptist Mission Press, Calcutta, and may be had from the Punjab University, Lahore.

S. H.

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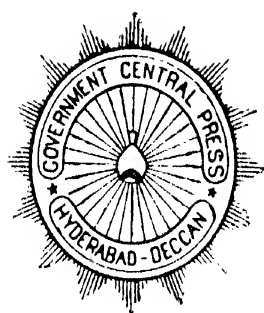
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THE DEVIL'S DELUSION OF IBN AL-ĴAUẒI

(Continued)

Account of the way wherein he deludes the poets

HE deludes them into thinking that they are men of learning and possessors of sagacity which distinguishes them from their fellows, and that He who favoured them with this sagacity is likely to pardon their failings. Hence you find them "philandering in every valley" of falsehood, slander, satire, vilification and confession of atrocities. The mildest of their methods is to eulogize a man, who fearing that the poet may satirize him, will pay him, out of fear or shame before the company. All this is a sort of blackmail; and you may see many a poet and man of letters wearing silk without scruple, and lying beyond measure in his eulogies; narrating love-feasts and wine-bouts, "I with other men of letters made a party and did thus and thus." Such procedure is far removed from "learning"; that is "reverence" towards God shown by practising piety.

And most of these poets and men of letters when in straitened circumstances repine, disbelieve, and start finding fault with destiny, as in the following utterance

Although my ambition may soar to the skies,
My luck, buried deep underground, cannot rise;
Full many a buffet from fate must I bear;
How mischievous, fate, how unkind, how unfair!

These people forget that their own misconduct is what causes their distress; they suppose themselves to be worthy of favours, and to deserve immunity from trial, having paid no attention to their duty of obeying the enactments of the code. Their sagacity therefore is at fault in this negligence.

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the most accomplished scholars

Certain ambitious people have acquired all the sciences connected with the code, Qur'ân, Tradition, Jurisprudence, Philology, etc., and then been privily deluded by the devil

making them "think more highly of themselves than they ought to think" in consequence of their attainments and the services they have rendered to their fellows. Some of them he puffs up with the thought of the length of time they have devoted to study, and recommends indulgence to them, saying "How long is this labour to last? Give your limbs some rest from these arduous occupations, and indulge your soul in its desires; if some lapse occurs, your knowledge will avert the punishment," dilating on the superiority of the learned. If the man accepts this, and yields to the delusion, he is lost; if he is helped by God, he should reply: The answer to you is threefold: one is that the superiority of the learned lies in their acting according to their knowledge; it would have no sense unless it were to be practised. If I do not act in accordance with it, I am like one who does not understand its purport, and might be compared to a man who amasses food, but does not eat, so that his hunger is not thereby allayed. A second mode of reply is to confront him with texts which censure him who does not put his knowledge into practice, such as the Prophet's saying *The man who will be punished most severely is a savant whom God has not profited by his knowledge*, and his narrative of a man who shall be thrown into hell-fire and his bowels gush out, and who will say "I used to enjoin right and not do it, and forbid wrong and commit it." And a third is to recount to him the punishment of those who perished, having known but not acted by their knowledge, such as the devil and Balaam. And sufficient censure of the person who knows but does not act is to be found in the words of God (lxii. 5) *the like of an ass that carries books*.

The devil has deluded some of those who are sound in both knowledge and practice in another way: he persuades them to be conceited of their knowledge, jealous of rivals, and to play the hypocrite in order to gain supremacy. Sometimes he makes them think that this is something which is their due; sometimes he encourages their desire for it, which they do not abandon though knowing it to be sinful. The remedy for this in the case of those who are helped by God is to think carefully about the guilt of conceit, jealousy, and hypocrisy, and assure the mind that knowledge will not avert the mischief of these acquirements. On the contrary their punishment will be doubled, there being a double reason for it. One who studies the biographies of those ancients who both knew and practised will despise himself and feel no pride. Whoso knows God will be no hypocrite, and whoso observes how fate works as His will demands will feel no jealousy.

The devil approaches these people with a curious fallacy. There is nothing wrong, he says, in your seeking elevation, since you are the representatives of the Code, and your object is merely to glorify religion and suppress innovations. Your giving free rein to your tongues concerning those who are envious of you is indignation on behalf of the code, since those persons censure its supporters; and what you suppose to be hypocrisy is nothing of the kind, since whosoever among you humbles himself and makes show of weeping will be imitated by people, just as they imitate a physician who practises cautery on himself more than one who merely prescribes it.

This delusion can be thus dispelled. If some other member of their class were to claim superiority over another and take a higher place in the assembly, or were to be slandered by an envious person, this savant would not feel as indignant as he would in his own case even if the victim were a representative of the code, so that it would be known that his anger was not on his own account but on that of the code. As for hypocrisy, that is inexcusable in all cases, and is unsuitable as a means of conversion. Ayyub al-Sakhtiyani* used to sweat when he repeated a Tradition, but would wipe his face, and say: what a bad cold I have! Further "acts are to be judged by the intentions," and critics have sharp eyes. Now many a man who will not himself slander Muslims will rejoice in his heart when they are slandered in his presence, incurring threefold guilt thereby: first by his rejoicing, since this was what caused the slanderer to commit the offence; secondly by his taking pleasure in the maligning of Muslims; and thirdly by not remonstrating.

The devil has yet further deluded these experts, who stay up all night and labour all day in the composition of learned works, by making them suppose that the object is the propagation of the faith. Their secret object is the propagation of their own fame, increase of reputation, supremacy and the attraction of students from all regions to the writer.

The delusion can be thus dispelled. If one of these students were to desert the writer for someone more learned than he, this would annoy the former; and this is no characteristic of a sincere teacher, for the sincere teacher should be like a physician, who treats patients for God Almighty's sake, and rejoices if a patient be cured by some other physician. We

*66—131.

mentioned up above the Tradition of Ibn Abi Laila, which we will repeat here with a different chain of authorities going back to 'Abd al-Rahman his son. He said: I have been contemporary with a hundred and twenty of the Prophet's Companions, of the Helpers, and there was not one of them but if asked about any matter would have wished that one of his brethren would have answered for him; and likewise with the reporting of Traditions.

Now the experts at times escape the delusions of the devil which are known among them, and such as he conceals; to such a man the devil says: Never have I met your like! How well you know my coming in and my going out!—If the man accepts this, he is ruined by his conceit; if he declines to accept it, he escapes. Al-Sari al-Saqati said: Were a man to enter a garden containing all the trees created by God, with all the birds created by God perched on them, and every bird to address him in his language, saying "Peace upon thee, O saint of God," and he were to acquiesce, he would be a prisoner in their hands.—God is the guide, there is no God but He!

Section VII—dealing with the way wherein the devil deludes governors and sovereigns

He deludes them in numerous ways of which we shall mention the chief categories. The first is making them suppose that God loves them, and were it not for that, He would not have given such a man His office or made him His deputy over His servants.—This delusion is to be dispelled by the consideration that if they are His deputies in reality, they had better judge in accordance with His code, and follow His pleasure. In that case He will love them for their obedience. As for the titles king and sovereign, they have been given by God to many whom He hates, as indeed He has bestowed worldly prosperity on many on whom He would not look; to a number of such persons He has given authority over saintly and pious men, whom they have murdered and to whom they have done violence. Such a gift, however, is not for their benefit, but for their disadvantage; this being a case of the text (iii. 172) *We only give them respite that they may increase in guilt.* The second is his telling them that government requires awe, so that they become too proud to seek knowledge and make assessors of the learned, so as to act by their advice and be instructed in religion. Now it is well known that a man's nature borrows from the qualities of his associates, and when men mix with those whose preference

is for worldly prosperity and who are ignorant of the code, their natures will borrow these people's qualities in addition to what they already possess of the like, and will disapprove of all that opposes such or warns therefrom; and this leads to ruin.—The third is his making them afraid of enemies, and bidding them screen themselves securely so that complainants can have no access to them, and official appointed to remedy injustices can neglect his duties. Abu Maryam al-Asadi* has reported the following Tradition of the Prophet: Whenever, he said, a man whom God has put in charge of Muslim business screens himself from attending to their wants God will screen Himself from attending to that man's wants, needs, or distress.—The fourth is getting them to put in office unsuitable, ignorant, and ungodly persons. The injuries which these officials inflict on people cause their curses to fall on the sovereign. Further the devil gives them illicit profits out of illegal sales and the infliction of punishment on innocent individuals. They suppose that they can free themselves from responsibility with God for what they have put on the neck of the deputy. They are mistaken. If the minister of Alms appoints rogues to distribute them, and they cheat, he has to make their defalcation good.—The fifth is his persuading them to act arbitrarily, amputating hands which the law does not permit to be amputated, and executing persons who ought not to be executed. He makes them fancy that this is politic; the underlying idea being that the sacred code is imperfect, and requires supplementing, so that we are to supplement it according to our own views.

This is indeed the worst of delusions; for the code is a divine polity, and it is absurd to suppose that there can occur in God's polity any flaw which it needs human polity to remedy. God says (vi. 38) *We have neglected nothing in the Book* and (xiii. 41) *there is none that can rebut His judgment*. Hence one who claims to be politic claims that there is some flaw in the code. We have been told how 'Adud al-daulah was attached to a slave-girl, and finding that she occupied his mind, he ordered that she should be drowned lest she divert his mind from managing his realm. This is sheer madness, since it is unlawful to put a Muslim to death save for a crime. His belief that such an act was lawful was infidelity; but if he believed it to be unlawful, only thought it advantageous, then there is no advantage in what is contrary to the code.

*His name was 'Abdallah b. Ziyad.

The sixth is his persuading them to be lavish with money, supposing it to be under their control.—This delusion can be dispelled by the observation that such control is withdrawn from a man who is extravagant with his own property: how much more must this be the case with one who is hired to look after other people's property! Only such amount of the money is his as is in proportion to his work; he has no right to squander. Ibn 'Aqil said: it is recorded that Hammad the Reciter repeated some verses to al-Walid b. Yazid, who gave him 50,000 dirhems and two slave-girls; this, he observes, is recorded by way of praise, but it is in fact a serious charge; for it means squandering the treasure of the Muslims. The devil further persuades some to withhold from the deserving their due, and this is as bad as squandering.

The seventh is to suggest to them that they may indulge in offences, deluding them with the idea that their protection of the roads and making the country safe will avert punishment from them. The reply to this is to tell them that they have been put in authority for the purpose of guarding the country and making the roads safe, and these are duties incumbent upon them; the offences wherein they indulge are illicit and their discharge of their duty will not avert punishment.

The eighth is to delude most of them with the consideration that such a one has discharged his duty inasmuch as things are superficially right; whereas if he were to scrutinize he would find that there was much disorder. It is recorded of al-Qasim b. Talhah b. Muhammad that he said: I observed how the vizier 'Ali b. 'Isa set a salaried official over the Melon House,¹ his business being to go round the dealers in grapes; if a man bought a basket of grapes suitable for wine, he was not to interfere with him; but if he bought two or more, he was to throw salt over them, that it might not be possible for the man to make them into wine. Further, he says: I have witnessed sovereigns forbidding astrologers to sit in the streets so that the practice of acting by the stars might not spread. I have also known the army to be without a single beardless boy with tresses until Bachkam the foreigner² appeared.

The ninth is to persuade them to procure money and extort it by violent scourging, confiscating all the possessions

(1) Near where the Tabik Canal joined the Nahr 'Isa was the building known as the "Melon House" (Le Strange, Baghdad, p. 85).

(2) For an account of this person, see Index to the *Eclipse*.

of the dishonest officials and making them swear *that there is nothing more*. We have been told how 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz received a letter from a retainer to the effect that certain persons had embezzled the money of Allah, and that he could not make them disgorge except by the infliction of torture; and the Caliph wrote him: *I prefer that they should meet Allah with their dishonesty to my meeting Him with their blood*.

The tenth is to suggest to them to give alms after plundering, telling them that a dirhem given in alms wipes away the guilt of ten obtained by plundering. This is absurd, for the guilt of the robbery endures, whereas the dirhem given in alms will not be accepted if it be obtained by robbery, whilst if it be obtained from a lawful source it will not avert the guilt of robbery, since the gift to a poor man will not invalidate the other man's right.

The eleventh is to encourage them while persisting in their iniquities to visit saintly men and implore their prayers, and make them think that this will lighten their guilt. This good act will not cancel the other bad act; Mani⁽¹⁾ said: A trader passed by a tithe-collector, and an embargo was put on his vessel. The trader went to Malik b. Dinar⁽²⁾ and informed him about this. Malik arose and went with him to the tithe-collector. When the people saw Malik, they said to him: O Abu Yahya, why did you not send some to us about your business? He said: My business is that you should release this man's vessel.—They said: We have done so.—Now they had an urn into which they put the dirhems which collected from the traders. They asked Malik to pray for them. He said: You had better tell the urn to pray for you; How can I pray for you when a thousand others are calling down curses upon you? Do you suppose one man's prayer will be answered, and those of a thousand receive no answer?

The twelfth is in the case of officials who are in the service of a superior, and do wrong when they are commanded to do it, for the devil to delude them with the idea that the guilt falls not on them but on their superior. This is false, since such a person aids in wrongdoing and whosoever assists transgression is himself a transgressor. For the Prophet cursed ten persons in the matter of wine, and cursed the taker of usury, the man who lets him take it, and those who witness the act.

(1) Probably Mani' b. Majid b. Matar (*Lisan al-Mizan*).

(2) Died 123.

To this category belongs collecting taxes for a superior who, it has known, will squander and embezzle. For this too is a case of giving help in wrongdoing. It is recorded that Ja'far b. Sulaiman¹ said: I heard Malik b. Dinar say: It is sufficient dishonesty for a man to be the trusted agent of one who is dishonest. It is God who guides us to the truth.

Section VIII—Account of the way wherein the devil deludes devotees in their devotions

You should know that the widest doorway whereby the devil enters is ignorance. He can get at the ignorant with impunity; at the learned only with difficulty. The devil has deluded many devotees by reason of their lack of knowledge, since most of them are occupied with their devotion and have acquired no profound knowledge. Rabi' b. Kuthaim² said: Study jurisprudence, and then become an anchorite.

His first delusion is the idea that devotion is superior to knowledge, whereas knowledge is more excellent than works of supererogation. He puts into their minds that the object of learning is work, and the only work which they know is what is done with the limbs of the body, being unaware that work is the work of the heart, and that the work of the heart is superior to the work of the limbs. Mutarrif b. 'Abd-allah³ said: excellence in knowledge is better than excellence in devoutness: Yusuf b. Asbat⁴ said: one chapter of knowledge learned is better than seventy raids. Al-Mu'afa b. 'Imran⁵ said: The writing out of a single Tradition is to my mind preferable to a whole night spent in prayer.

Now I observe that these people having suffered this delusion, causing them to prefer acts of devotion with their limbs to knowledge, the devil was enabled to delude them in various forms of devotion.

(Passage unsuitable for translation.)

Account of his delusions in the matter of ablution

There are some whom he deludes in the matter of intention, and you will see such a person say "the filth has been removed," after which he will say "prayer is permissible," and then after that he will say "I will remove the

(1) Al-Duba'i: died 178.

(2) Died 61.

(3) 137—214.

(4) Died 195.

(5) Al-Zihri al-Himyari. Among the Shaikhs of Malik b. Anas.

filth." Now the source of this delusion is ignorance of the code; for intention is in the heart not in the utterance, and there is no need to take the trouble of uttering, and further there is no sense in repeating the utterance. There are some whom he deludes by examination of the water used for ablution, saying to such a person How do you know that it is clean?—making all sorts of improbable suggestions about it. He ought to be satisfied with the decision of the code that purity is the essence of water, and an essential quality is not to be rejected for a possibility. Some are deluded into using a quantity of water, to which there are four objections; waste of water: frittering away invaluable life over what is neither necessary nor commendable; encroaching on the law, since such a person is not satisfied with the small amount of water which satisfies the law; entering on a course forbidden by the law, by exceeding the three *washings of the hands*. Oftentimes such a person takes so long over his ablution that he misses the prayer time or its commencement, which is of prime importance, or misses public prayer.

(Rest of this section omitted.)

Account of the way wherein he deludes them in the call to prayer

A case of this is intoning the Call; Malik b. Anas and other men of learning disapproved of this practice exceedingly, because it removes the Call from being a reverential performance to resemble singing. Another case of it is their mixing the Call to the morning prayer with exhortations, praises, and homilies, inserting it in between. Learned men have disapproved of all additions to the Call. We have seen people mount the minaret at night and exhort or preach. Some read Surahs of the Qur'ân in a loud voice, interfering with people's sleep, and confusing the reading of those who keep vigil. All these practices are reprehensible.

Account of the way wherein he confuses them in prayer

A case of this is his deluding them in the matter of the clothes with which they cover themselves; you will see one of them wash a clean garment a number of times, and wash it after a Muslim has touched it. Some of them wash their garments in the Tigris, thinking that washing them at home is insufficient. Some of them plunge the garment into the well, as do the Jews; the Prophet's Companions did not do these things: indeed they prayed in Persian clothes, when they conquered the country, and made use of the Persian

mats and wearing apparel. Some of the misguided sprinkle water over the garment and wash the whole of it, which sometimes makes them late for public worship. Some of them neglect public worship because of a little rain, which they fear may drip on their clothes.

Let not any one suppose that I object to cleanliness and decency; only excess which is beyond the limits of the code and involves waste of time is what I forbid.

Another case is his deluding them in the matter of intention in prayer. One of them says: I will make such and such a prayer, and presently repeat this, thinking that he has lessened his intention, whereas intention is not lessened by his dissatisfaction with the wording. One of them says *Allahu Akbar*, then cancels it, and when the Imam makes an inclination, this deluded person says the words and makes inclination simultaneously; I should like to know what has produced the intention at the latter rather than at the former time, unless it be that the devil wishes the man to miss the advantage.* There are deluded people who swear "By Allah I will not say *Allahu Akbar* except this time"; and some who swear with the sanction of loss of property and divorce. All these are delusions of the devil. The code is liberal, easy, and free from these afflictions. Neither the Prophet nor his Companions practised anything of the sort. We have been told that Abu Hazim once entered the mosque when the devil suggested to him that he was about to pray without ablution. He said: You are not as careful of my interests as that!

The illusion is thus to be dispelled. Let it be said to the victim of it: If what you want is to produce the intention, such intention is already present, since you are about to perform a religious obligation, and that is an intention; and the seat of intention is the heart, not the utterance, so the utterance is unnecessary. Further you have uttered it in a sound state, so why repeat it? Do you suppose that you have lost the memory of what you have said? That indeed would be unsoundness.

A certain shaikh told me a strange story about Ibn 'Aqil. He was met by a man who said: I wash a member of my body and say that I have not washed it; and I utter *Allahu Akbar*, and say that I have not uttered it.—Ibn 'Aqil said to him: Omit to pray as it is not incumbent on you.—Some people said to Ibn 'Aqil: How can you say this?—He said to them;

*Of earlier utterance.

The Prophet said "The pen* is withdrawn from a madman till he recover." A man who utters *Allahu Akbar*, and then says he has not uttered it is not sane, and prayer is not incumbent on the insane.

I would observe that you are to know that the cause of such delusion about intention in prayer is mental disease and ignorance of the code. It is certain that a man would be thought to be of unsound mind if when he rose up in honour of a learned visitor he were to say "I am going to stand up as a mark of respect to the visit of this scholar on account of his learning," coming forward to greet him, because the man must have had the notion in his mind from the time when he saw the scholar. Similarly a man's rising to pray in order to perform his religious obligation is a notion which takes shape in his mind in a single moment which takes no time; time is only taken by the stringing of these words, which are not obligatory; the delusion is mere ignorance. Further the deluded person forces himself to produce in his mind the ideas of purity, performance, and obligation, all at once in separate utterances which he reads—and this is impossible. Were he to undertake the like in the matter of rising up before the scholar he could not do it. The man who knows this knows intention. Further it is permissible to prefix it with a brief interval to the utterance *Allahu Akbar* provided the man does not cancel it; why then take such trouble to attach it to that utterance, since, if the man make it and does not cancel it, he has practically attached it to that utterance? Musawwir is reported to have said: Ma'n b. 'Abd al-Rahman showed me a document which he swore was in the script of his father, containing the words: 'Abdallah said: "By him than whom there is no other God I have never seen any one more vehement against the prolix than the Prophet, nor any one after him more afraid on their account than Abu Bakr; and I think 'Umar was more afraid on their account than any one in the world."

There are some deluded persons who after making sincere intention and uttering *Allahu Akbar* are careless about the rest of the prayer as though that utterance were the sole purpose of the ceremony. This delusion may be dispelled by the thought that the purpose of that utterance is to enter into worship. How then may worship be neglected when it is the dwelling, the man contenting himself with taking care to guard the door?

*i.e., that of the recording angel.

Certain deluded persons are satisfied with uttering the formula *Allahu Akbar* behind the Imam when the inclination is not quite complete, and then start afresh and utter the formula of "taking refuge" after which the Imam makes the inclination. This too is a delusion; for the fresh start and the formula of taking refuge are enactments of the Sunnah, whereas that which he neglects, viz., the recitation of the *Fatihah*, is according to a number of learned men obligatory; when an enactment of the Sunnah should not be preferred to it.

I may observe that in my youth I used to pray behind our master the jurist al-Dinawari, who once saw me do this; he said to me: My boy, the jurists differ as to the obligation of reciting the *Fatihah* behind an Imam, but they do not differ about the starting formula being a Sunnah; so pay attention to what is obligatory and omit the Sunnahs.

The devil has further deluded various people who have neglected many Sunnahs owing to fancies which have occurred to them. Some would keep back from the front row, such a man saying that his intention was proximity of heart; someone would not let one hand down on the other in prayer, saying "I am unwilling to make a display of humility which is not in my heart." These two proceedings have been told us of certain saints. It must have been due to want of knowledge; in the *Sahih* of Muslim there is a Tradition that according to Abu Hurairah the Prophet said: If men only knew the value of the Call to prayer and the front row, and found no other way to get into it, they would draw lots for it. And among the Traditions of Abu Hurairah found only in Muslim there is this: The best row is the front, and the worst is the back. As for putting one hand on the other, this is a Sunnah. Abu Dawud in his *Sunan* records that Ibn Zubair said: Placing hand upon hand is of the Sunnah. Also that Ibn Mas'ud used to pray putting his left hand on his right, but the Prophet seeing him do this placed the right hand on the left.

I will state my objection to the man who says he meant nearness of heart and will not put one hand on the other, however great a man he may be. It is the code which objects, not we; someone said to Ahmad b. Hanbal that Ibn al-Mubarak* said so and so: Ahmad replied that Ibn al-Mubarak had not descended from heaven. Someone quoted

*118—181. His name was Abdallah.

to him Ibrahim b. Adham,¹ and he said: You have brought me evidences of the Way; what you should produce is the Original.² This ought not to be neglected for the saying of someone for whom there is personal respect. For the code is greater, and mistaken interpretation may become current.—It is, however, possible that he had not heard the Tradition.

The devil has further deluded certain persons in the pronunciation of the letters in their prayers. You may see a man saying the word *al-hamd* (praise) twice; such repetition is a transgression of the proper practice in prayer. Sometimes he deludes people in the doubling of a consonant, or in the pronunciation of the word *maghdub* (in the phrase "against whom there is anger"); I have known people to pronounce it *maghsub* owing to the stress which they put on the *dad*; what is wanted is the correct pronunciation of the letter, nothing more. The devil gets them away from correctness by an increase of effort, and distracts them from understanding what they recite by over-attention to the letters. All this is his delusion. It is recorded that Sa'id b. 'Abd al-Rahman reported that Abu'l-'Amya³ had been told by Sahl b. Abi Umamah⁴ as follows. He and his son visited Anas b. Malik when he was performing an abbreviated prayer like that of a traveller, and said to him: God have mercy on you, do you regard this as the prescribed prayer? Is it the Prophet's prayer or an additional act of worship?—He said: It is the Prophet's prayer; any mistake I may have made is unintentional. The Prophet used to say: Do not make things difficult for yourselves lest God make them difficult for you. This happened to certain people, of whom the relics are in the cells and the monasteries. *Monkery which they invented, and which We had not prescribed for them* (lvii. 27).—Among the Traditions of 'Uthman b. al-'As found only in Muslim there is the following: I said to the Prophet "Truly the devil comes between me and my prayer and confuses my recitation." The Prophet said: "That is a demon called Khanzab. When you perceive him, ask God's protection from him three times, and spit on your left." I did so, and God removed him from me.

(1) Famous ascetic.

(2) By evidences of the Way he probably means proofs belonging to a particular discipline.

(3) His father.

(4) Abu Umamah's name was Sahl b. Hunaif.

The devil has further deluded a number of ignorant devotees into thinking that devotion consists merely in standing and squatting. They are sedulous in these performances, knowing no better. I have noticed how a number of people say the *salam* when the Imam says it, although they have not finished reciting the obligatory confession of faith; that obligation cannot be borne vicariously by the Imam. He has deluded others into prolonging the prayer and increasing the recitation while neglecting what the Sunnah has prescribed in the prayer, and perpetrating what is disapproved therein. I once visited a devotee who was uttering a non-obligatory prayer in the daytime, and reciting aloud. I said to him: The Sunnahs ought not to be neglected because you stay awake at night, so when sleep overcomes you, sleep, for your soul has certain rights over you. Buraidah* is recorded to have said: The Prophet said: If a man recites aloud in the daytime, fling dung at him.

The devil has deluded a number of devotees into praying much in the night, some of them staying awake the whole night, taking more pleasure in staying up and praying at midday than in performing the prescribed devotions; only such a person may fall asleep a little before dawn, and so miss the prescribed prayer. Or he may get up and make ready for it but miss the assembly, or feel lazy in the morning and unable to earn for his family. I saw a devout shaikh named Hussain al-Qazwini walking for much of the day in the Mosque of al-Mansur. I asked him why he walked, and he said it was in order not to fall asleep. I said: This is ignorance of what is demanded by the code and the reason. As for the code—the Prophet said “Your soul has certain rights over you” so go to sleep. He used also to say: Go gently, for if any one treats this religion with violence, it will overcome him.—It is recorded that Anas b. Malik said: The Prophet entered the Mosque one day and noticed a rope stretched between two pillars. He asked what is this? He was told that it was for Zainab; she was praying, and could take hold of it when she felt lazy or faint. He bade them loosen it; and he said: Let any one of you pray when he feels vigorous, and if he feel weak or faint, let him squat. ‘A’ishah is recorded to have said: The Prophet said: If one of you dozes, let him lie down till his sleep passes from him; for if he were to pray while dozing, he might start asking for forgiveness and revile himself.

*Died 63.

I may observe that this is a genuine Tradition, recorded by Bukhari and Muslim, whereas the previous one is found only in Muslim.

As for the intelligence: since sleep renovates the powers which are tired out by wakefulness, if a man keeps it off at the time when he needs it, it affects both his body and his mind; so we ask God to protect us from ignorance. If any one say: You have reported to us that a number of the ancients used to stay awake all night: the reply is that those persons gradually acquired the capacity to do so, and could be sure of attending public prayer at dawn. Further they used to get help from a siesta and from paucity of food. Hence they could do this without harm. In addition we have no record that the Prophet ever kept awake for a whole night, taking no sleep therein; and his is the practice which should be followed.

The devil has deluded several of those who keep vigil into talking about it in the daytime. Such a man will say: A certain *muedhdhin* uttered the Call to prayer at such and such an hour, in order that people may know that he was awake at the time. The least objection to this, supposing it to be free from hypocrisy, is that it removes the action from the sphere of secrecy to that of publicity, and so reduces the divine reward.

He has deluded others who isolate themselves in the mosques for prayer and devotion, and are known to do so, so that people gather round them and follow their lead in prayer, and they become famous. This is a temptation of the devil, whereby the soul is enured to devotion, knowing that this will spread abroad and earn eulogy. Zaid b. Thabit is recorded to have stated that the Prophet said: A man's best prayer is one offered in his own house, except the prescribed prayers.

I may observe that this Tradition is to be found in both *Sahih*. 'Amir b. 'Abd Qais* used to dislike being seen praying, and would offer no additional prayers in the mosque; yet he prayed a thousand inclinations every day. If any one visited Ibn Abi Laila while he was praying, he would lie down.

Some devotees have been deluded into weeping while people are around them. Such a fit may overtake a man, and he be unable to suppress it. A man who displays it when he

*A Companion of the Prophet.

can conceal it lays himself open to the charge of hypocrisy. It is recorded on the authority of 'Asim, that when Abu Wa'il prayed at home, he used to sob violently; only he would not do the like in any one's presence, though the whole world were offered him. Ayyub al-Sakhtiyani used to rise up when he was overcome by a fit of weeping.

A number of devotees also have been deluded into praying night and day while taking no trouble to reform secret faults nor about food. Attention to such matters would be their duty rather than supernumerary prayers.

Account of the way wherein he deludes them over the reading of the Qur'ân

A number of people have been deluded into frequent recitation of the Qur'ân which they gabble without modulation of the voice and without pauses; this practice is not commendable. It is indeed recorded that some of the ancients used to recite the whole Qur'ân every day or at every inclination, but this was exceptional. If people persist in this practice, though it may be permissible, still modulation and pausing are preferred by the learned. The Prophet said: He will acquire no sound knowledge who takes less than three days to read the Qur'ân.

The devil has deluded some Readers to recite the Qur'ân on the minaret of a mosque at night all together with loud voices, to the extent of one or two Parts. These people combine public annoyance by keeping people from sleep with exposing themselves to the charge of hypocrisy. Some recite in the mosque at the time of the Call to prayer because that is the time at which the congregation assembles.

The most curious case that I have seen of this sort is that of a man who used to lead morning prayer on Friday, then turn and read the two final Surahs, and then pronounce the prayer said when a man has read the Book through, in order that people should know that he had been doing this. This was not the procedure of the ancients. They used to conceal their devotions; all such acts of al-Rabi' b. Khaitham were performed in secret. Sometimes a visitor would come when he had opened the Sacred Volume; in such a case he would cover it with his garment. Ahmad b. Hanbal used constantly to read the Qur'ân, but no one ever knew when he had perused the whole.

We have now recorded various ways wherein the devil deludes the Readers of the Qur'ân; God knows best what is right and He it is Who guides.

Account of the way wherein he deludes them in the matter of fasting

He has persuaded people to fast perpetually, which is permissible provided the fast is broken on the days wherein fasting is unlawful. Only trouble arises therein in two ways. One is that the process is likely to lead to debilitation, so that the man is unable to earn for his family, and perform his conjugal duties; in both the *Sahih* there is a Tradition that the Prophet said: You have duties to your wife. Such supererogatory act often leads to neglect of the obligatory. The second is that the man misses the better way. For there is a genuine Tradition that the Prophet said: The best fast is that of the Prophet David, who used to fast and break his fast on alternate days. There is a Tradition by a chain of authorities going back to 'Abdallah b. 'Amr who said: I was met by the Prophet who asked me: Have I not been told that you stay awake all night, and that you are the person who says I shall assuredly stay awake during the night and fast during the day?—I fancy he replied: Yes, O Prophet of God, I did say that.—The Prophet said: Stay awake and sleep, fast and break your fast. Fast three days in every month, and that will count as a perpetual fast.—He said: I replied: O Prophet of God, I can do more than that.—The Prophet said: Then fast one day and break your fast two days.—He said: I can do better than that.—The Prophet said: Then fast one day and break your fast one day, which is the most reasonable form of fasting, being that of the Prophet David.—He said: I can do better than that.—There is nothing better than that, said the Prophet. This Tradition is to be found in both *Sahih*. If any one object that a number of the ancients are reported to have fasted continuously, the answer is that they were able to combine fasting with discharging their duties towards their families; perhaps in most cases they had no family and so need for earning. Some of them too only did this towards the end of their lives. Still the saying of the Prophet "There is no form of fasting better than that" disposes of such stories. Many among the ancients who fasted continuously, only eating coarse food and little of that, lost their eyesight or had their brains dry up. Such procedure is neglect of the soul's just claims and putting on it an intolerable burden. Hence it is not permissible.

A report sometimes gets about that a devotee fasts continually, and learning of this report he either does not break his fast at all or only does so in secret for fear of losing reputation; so this is a latent hypocrisy. If such a man meant to be sincere, and conceal his conduct, he would break his fast in the presence of those who know him to fast, and then return to his fasting without this being known. Some of them record the amount they have fasted, e.g., "To-day makes twenty years in which I have not broken fast." He is deluded into supposing that he reports this in order that he may be imitated, whereas God knows the real purpose. Sufyan al-Thauri said: A man performs an act in secret, but Satan does not leave him alone till he talks about it, so transferring it from the register of secret to that of public performances. It is the practice of some to fast on Mondays and Thursdays, and when such a man is invited to a meal he says "To-day, Thursday, is my fasting day"; if he were to say "I am fasting," it might be supposed that this was due to some affliction;* the form in which he puts it means that he fasts every Thursday. Some of these people look down on other people because they break their fast; some while fasting long do not trouble with what sort of food they break fast; or while fasting do not abstain from slander, petulance, and inquisitiveness. The devil makes them suppose that their fasting will atone for it all. All this is delusion.

Account of the way wherein he deludes them in the matter of pilgrimage

Sometimes a man discharges his obligation by a single pilgrimage, and then repeats the performance without his parents' consent, and this is an error. Or he goes on pilgrimage while in debt or having claims against him, or does so for amusement or on money from a tainted source. Many a pilgrim likes to be met and called *The Hajji*, and the majority of them neglect on their journey the obligations of purity and prayer. They assemble round the Ka'bah with impure hearts and internal uncleanness. The devil shows them the external form of the pilgrimage, deceiving them; for what is intended by the pilgrimage is proximity of heart not of body. This can be realized only by maintenance of piety. Many a man goes to Meccah thinking only of the number of his pilgrimages, and saying "I have stood in this place twenty times." Many a man has resided long in Meccah, and not

*This is probably the sense.

even started cleansing himself within, his mind being very likely concentrated on the favours which he will get from someone or other. Very likely he will say "I have now been a neighbour (of God) for twenty years." Many a man have I seen on the Meccan road intent on pilgrimage, yet beating his companions to get at the water and jostling them on the way.

The devil has further deluded many of those who make for Meccah into omitting their prayers, and cheating when they sell, supposing that the act of pilgrimage will atone for it all. Some he has deluded into inventing ceremonies which do not belong to the pilgrimage. Thus I have seen many adopting fanciful fashions in their costume, such as baring one shoulder, and remaining whole days in the sunshine so that their skin may peel off, and their heads swell, hoping to gain credit with people thereby. Among the Traditions of Ibn 'Abbas to be found only in Bukhari there is one to the effect that the Prophet saw a man making the circuit of the Ka'bah with a halter, and cut it; or according to another account that he saw one man leading another through whose nose a ring had been passed, and cut the cord with his hand, ordering the guide to lead the other with his hand.—This Tradition indicates that religious innovation is forbidden even if the intention be to do a pious act.

He has deluded some into professing reliance on God and so starting without provision for the journey, supposing this to be "reliance." This is a grievous error. A man said to Ahmad b. Hanbal: I wish to start for Meccah in reliance without provision.—Ahmad said to him then start apart from the caravan.—The man said No, with the caravan.—Your reliance, said Ahmad, is then on other people's knapsacks.—We ask God to guide us.

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the raiders

The devil has deluded many people into proceeding to the sacred war with the hypocritical and vainglorious intention of being called *Ghazi*; or at times the object is to be called hero; or the quest of spoil: whereas "Acts are according to their intentions." The following Tradition goes back to Abu Musa. A man came to the Prophet and said: O Apostle of God, tell me, one man fights out of bravery, another out of patriotism, and another for display; which of these is in the path of God?—The Prophet said: When a man fights in order that God's word may be uppermost, he is on the path of God.—This Tradition is to be found in both *Sahih*.

The following is recorded as having been said by Ibn Mas'ud: Beware how ye say So-and-so died or was slain as a martyr; for a man may fight for the sake of spoil, or to obtain mention, or to exhibit his prowess.—There is also a Tradition connected by a chain of authorities with Abu Hurairah that the Prophet said: The first people to have sentence pronounced on them on the Day of Resurrection are three: A man who has died in battle, who will be brought and reminded of the benefits which he received and will acknowledge them, and will then be asked what he did in return. He will say: I fought for Thee till I was slain.—He will be told: Thou liest. Thou foughtest in order that it might be said What a brave man!—as indeed was said. An order will then be given that he be dragged on his face and cast into Hell. Next a man who has studied and acquired knowledge and read the Qur'ân, who will be brought and reminded of the benefits which he received and will acknowledge them, and will then be asked what he did in return. He will say I studied and acquired knowledge on Thy account, and read the Qur'ân.—He will be told: Thou liest; thou didst study in order that it might be said What a learned man!—as indeed was said. And thou didst read the Qur'ân in order to be called a Reader, as indeed thou wast. An order will then be given that he be dragged on his face and cast into Hell. Next a man to whom God has been bountiful, bestowing on him every sort of wealth, who will be brought, reminded of the benefits which he received, which he will acknowledge, and then be asked what he did in return. He will say I left no object whereon Thou wouldst have money spent but spent it thereon for Thy sake.—He will be told: Thou liest. Thou didst do this in order that it might be said What a generous man!—as indeed was said. An order will then be given that he be dragged on his face and cast into Hell.—This Tradition is found only in Muslim.

There is a Tradition which goes back to a Companion of the Prophet reported by Abu Hatim al-Razi. I heard, he said, 'Abadah b. Sulaiman narrate as follows: We were on an expedition with 'Abdallah b. Mubarak in Byzantine territory, when we came across the enemy. When the two armies met, one of the enemy came forward and challenged to single combat. A man on our side came forward, engaged the other for a time, then thrust him and killed him. The same thing happened with another champion and a third. Then our champion challenged to single combat, and the

challenge was accepted by a man who engaged our champion for a time and then slew him. The men thronged round him, I being one of them; we found that our champion had veiled his face with his sleeve. I lifted a corner of the sleeve, and lo and behold, he was 'Abdallah b. Mubarak, who said: You too, then, Abu 'Amr, are among those who disgrace us!—So consider, I said, this sincere hero, who feared lest his sincerity should be tainted through his being seen by men and winning their praise, and so hid himself!—Ibrahim b. Adham used to fight, but when booty was procured would take none of it in order that his reward in heaven might be all the greater.

The devil also deludes the religious warrior when he takes booty; often-times he takes what it is unlawful for him to take. Possibly he may be so ignorant as to suppose that the goods of Unbelievers may be taken by any one, or not to know that embezzlement of spoil is sinful. The following Tradition of Abu Hurairah is to be found in both *Sahih*. We marched (he said) against Khaibar with the Prophet, and God granted us the capture thereof; we did not take as booty gold or silver, only furniture, food, and clothing. Then we proceeded to the Wadi. The Prophet was accompanied by a slave of his and when we alighted this slave started loosening his saddle, when he was hit by an arrow which caused his death. When we were felicitating the man on his martyrdom, the Prophet said Not so, by Him in whose hand is Muhammad's soul. His garment will burst into flames upon him, since he took it out of the plunder on the day of Khaibar, when it had not been apportioned to him.—The people, he said, were frightened, and a man brought a shoestrap (or a pair of them), saying I got this on the day of Khaibar. A strap (or a pair of straps) of fire—said the Prophet.

The raider may indeed know of the prohibition, but seeing a great quantity of booty be unable to restrain himself. Or he may think that his having fought in the sacred war will atone for his act. And here we may see the effect of faith and knowledge. It is recorded by a chain of authorities ending with Hubairah b. al-Ash'ath after Abu 'Ubaidan al-Anbari. When, he said, the Muslims entered Mada'in and collected the spoil, a man came forward with a casket which he gave to the officer in charge of the spoil. Those who were present said: We have never seen any object like this; all that we have got would not equal it or approach it in value. The man was asked whether he had taken anything from it. He said: You may be sure that were it not for God, I would never have

brought it to you.—They saw that the man was of some importance and asked him who he was. He said: I will not tell you in order to be praised by you nor will I encourage you to eulogize me; I will praise God and be satisfied with His reward.—They sent a man to follow him, and when he had joined his comrades, the follower asked about him, and found that he was 'Amir b. 'Abd Qais.

Account of the way wherein he deludes many of those among them who have a reputation for virtue

They are of two classes, the knowing and the ignorant. He approaches the knowing in two ways. The first is ostentation, seeking fame and admiration for their conduct. There is a Tradition with a chain of authorities going back to Ahmad b. Abi'l-Hawari who heard Abu Sulaiman say that he had heard Abu Ja'far al-Mansur sob in his sermon on a Friday. Anger, he said, overtook me, and I intended to rise up when he descended from the pulpit and admonish him with reference to what I knew of his conduct. Only, he said, I did not like to stand up and admonish a Caliph while the people were sitting looking at me, so that I would be guilty of ostentation, and be executed without being in the right. So I sat quiet.

The second way is anger on one's own account. This may be at the start, but often comes on in the course of enjoining right owing to the contumely which the censor endures, leading to personal hostility. So 'Umar b. 'Abd al-'Aziz said to a man: Were I not angry, I should punish you. He meant: You have made me angry, so that I was afraid the punishment would be out of wrath for God mingled with wrath for myself.

When the person who enjoins right is ignorant, Satan plays with him, and his injunction does more harm than good. For he may well forbid some act which is agreed to be legitimate, or censure some performance whose doer is acting according to the theory of some school. Such a man may break open a door or climb over a wall and beat and abuse the wrongdoers; if they retort with language which annoys him, he becomes angry on his own account. He is likely to reveal what the code bids him conceal. Ahmad b. Hanbal was asked about people who had in their possession forbidden articles covered up, e.g., a harp or some intoxicant; he said, if such a thing be, do not smash it; but according to another Tradition he said Do smash it. This is to be interpreted as meaning that the

article is covered with some thin material through which its outline can be seen, whereas the former Tradition deals with the case in which it is not visible. He was asked about a man who heard the sound of drum or lyre, not knowing what it was; he answered You are under no obligation with regard to what is out of your ken, so do not enquire about it. It may happen that such a censor may refer the culprits to someone who will deal unjustly with them. Ahmed b. Hanbal said: If you are sure that the Sultan will inflict the legal punishments, then refer the matter to him.

Among the delusions which the devil practises on the censor is causing him, when he censures, to sit in an assembly, describe what he has been doing and boast of it, and further revile the culprits in the style of an angry man, and curse them; yet they may have repented, and may be better men than he, being penitent, whereas he is proud. His talk may involve exposure of the Muslims, by giving information to the ignorant, whereas it is his duty to hide the failings of Muslims so far as it is possible to do so. I have heard how a certain ignorant censor would assault people about whose conduct he had no certain knowledge, beat them mercilessly, and smash vessels—performances all due to ignorance. When a man who has knowledge censures, you are quite safe with him. The ancients used to show delicacy in censuring. *Silah b. Ashyam** seeing a man talking to a woman said: Verily God shields; may He shield us and you!—Passing by some people he said: My brethren, what say ye of a man who, meaning to travel, sleeps all night and plays games all day? When will he do his travelling?—The attention of one of them was aroused and he said: Friends, this man means us.—So he and his companions repented.

The people who have the best right to be censured with delicacy are princes. The proper way to speak to them is as follows: Truly God has exalted you, so recognize the extent of His benefits, for gratitude ensures their continuance, and they ought not to be requited with transgressions.

The devil deludes some devout persons so that when they see wrong they fail to censure it, saying: Enjoining and forbidding are for saints; I am no saint, so how can I command any one else?—This is a mistake, for it is his duty to enjoin and forbid, even if he were guilty of the same offence; only when a person who is innocent of an offence censures it, his

*A story of his devoutness is told by Tabari, ii, 393 (A.H. 61).

censure is effective, whereas if he be not innocent, it is ineffective. Hence the censor ought to keep himself innocent in order that his censure may have effect. Ibn Aqil said: We have seen in our time Abu Bakr al-Aqfali in the days of al-Qa'im,* who when he set about censuring wrongdoing took with him a number of shaikhs who supported themselves entirely by the labour of their hands, such as the saintly shaikh Abu Bakr al-Khabbaz (the baker), who was taken from his inspection of the oven and followed him, with others, no one of whom accepted alms, or soiled himself by taking presents, men who fasted all day and kept vigil all night, shedders of tears. If any dishonest man tried to follow him, he would be rejected. Al-Aqfali would say: If we meet an army with untrustworthy troops, we shall be routed.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(To be continued)

NOTES ON THE SOUTHERN INCENSE ROUTE OF ARABIA

I should like to express my gratitude for assistance kindly rendered both in Hyderabad by Sir Akbar Hydari, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, H.H. the Sultan of Makalla, and in Hadhramaut itself by the Emir Slaim Ibn Ahmad Ibn Abdullah el Ge'eti, Governor of Makalla, by the Sayyids of the House of Al Kafia Tarim and Sewun and especially Sayyid Abu Bakr Al-Kaf, by H.H. the Sultan Ali Al-Mansur Al-Kathiri of Sewun, H.H. the Sultan Ali Ibn-us-Salah Al Ge'eti of Al-Gata, the Sayyids Husain and Sa'id al-A'jam of Shibam, the Governors, Muhammad and Ahmad Ba-Zurra of Masna'a, and the Sayyids of the House of 'Attas both in Mashed and Wadi 'Amd. Without their kind help I would have found it impossible to travel as I did in friendship and security through their country.

ANYONE who travels in South Arabia with an interest in historical geography will carry with him, it may be presumed, both Ḥamdānī's *Jazīrat al-'Arab* and Sprenger's *Alte Geographie Arabiens*.

Apart from these, however, a good deal of information exists, fragmentarily scattered, derived chiefly from more recent travellers and from ancient inscriptions that have come to light. I had hoped to compare some of this with what clues I might collect in the country itself, especially along that stretch of the Incense Road which led from Shabwa to the sea. I was prevented by illness, and these notes are nothing but the summary of such information as I had gathered for my own use—a sort of skeleton to be clothed by local investigation. A satisfactory study of the ancient trade route of Arabia, the Incense Road which carried the spices of the southern coasts and the goods of India to the Mediterranean, requires far more historical knowledge than I can profess to have. Apart from the monuments hitherto recovered from

the ancient Arabian empires, which must be studied, there is probably pre-historic material waiting for the student in half-obliterated mounds beside the way: and since this route must have been a desert route for most of its length ever since the termination of the pluvial period in Arabian geography—a route therefore defined by physical necessities of water—it is also well to follow its history as far as one can right through Mediæval Islam and modern times; for in its rough outline it is likely to have remained unaltered.

We know from inscriptions that the southern empires had colonies or outposts to the north along the road which followed more or less the *Hajj*, the Pilgrim route, building as it went Doughty's tomb city of Hejr (*Madain Şâlih*) and other monuments probably buried in the sand. No European has followed it from Syria to Mekka except that engaging adventurer, Ludovico de Varthema, in the early 16th century.¹ One branch of it went by Petra, "where many Romans and strangers reside" (*Strabo*, xvi, iv, 21); and there was an easterly branch towards Syria, where the caravans came in from Gerra on the Persian Gulf: in 1900 B.C., 'Asiatics of the Desert' brought antimony to Egypt from Carmania.⁵ (192) The oasis of Taima, the *Thaim* of Ptolemy's map and Tema of Job, known in the days just before Islam as one of the places where Jews found it worth while to trade and settle,² (54) was a very old station on this Syrian branch, "*carrefour des routes de Syria et du Hêjaz*."³ (314) Byzantium used to keep small native outposts on it, and oil, corn and wine were exported to Arabia.² (309)

The main Incense Road appears not to have passed through Mekka, which lies west of the direct way.³ (127) It touched Tabâla, where there was a famous temple to the Venus-God, *Dhû'l-Halasa*,⁴ (232) and thence reached the centres of the pre-Islamic empires of Arabia, an interesting and practically unknown portion of the great trade route.

The most northerly and most ancient of the empires known to us is the Minean, and its capital at Ma'in was visited by *Joséph Halévy* in 1870, in danger and in disguise, and by no European before or since. He collected a number of inscriptions which bear out *Pliny's* account of the Mineans as the oldest known commercial people in South Arabia, holders of the Incense Route and monopolisers of the trade in myrrh and frankincense.⁵ (105) *Pliny* also gives an interesting reference which relates them with the Mineans of Crete, but this is by the way.⁵ (105)

The Minean king-lists, so far as they have been scheduled at present, lead us back approximately to the 14th century B.C., but there is no doubt that very much older records still await discovery in South Arabia. Whether or no they will connect with the Euphrates delta still remains to be seen: the Sumerian name of Magan used for the Persian Gulf may be related to Ma'in;⁴ (65) many words and names of the Hammurabi dynasty in Babylonia are South Arabian;⁴ (61-2) and the coins found in South Arabia use symbols "that trace back to a very remote Babylonian antiquity:"⁴ (27) it is possible that there may be some foundation in local legends such as that quoted by Maqrizi, who makes 'Ad ibn Qahtan rule over the Babylonians and his brother Ḥaḍramaut over the Habashi (of Dhufar);⁵ (142) or in the Oman Tradition²⁵ that some of the descendants of Shem, escaping from the Deluge, settled in Ḥaḍramaut and thence spread into Arabia.

This is only one of the directions in which a study of ancient South Arabia will lead us. Trade with India and with Africa open up two other histories of which the scanty records we now have show only the later stages.

That the Indian trade was long established at the time of our Minean inscriptions may be inferred in various ways. The use of teak wood in the ancient Yaman buildings shows the intercourse with India;³ (157) and the Dravidian alphabet is supposed to be of Himaritic* origin;⁵ (210) Lieutenant Speke, when he explored the Nile, found that the Hindu texts were his best geographical authority, owing to an ancient commerce with Abyssinia.⁵ (230)

It is still an open question whether the 'Land of Punt' to which the 18th dynasty Pharaohs sent their fleets, is to be located on the Arabian or African coast. On the Deir el-Bahri relief which illustrate these expeditions in the 15th century B.C., both the incense-trees and the cattle are of the Arabian and not the African varieties.⁵ (218, 270) An Egyptian tale of the 18th century B.C. speaks of Pa-anch, the island of the King of the Incense Land, the Panchaia of Virgil (Geog. 1-213), probably the island of Socotra and legendary home of the phoenix, that lays itself to die on 'a nest of cinnamon and sprigs of incense' (Pliny, x-2).⁵ (133 ff)

* The words Himyaritic and Sabaean must often be used in a generic sense because there is no other single word to include the whole of South Arabian antiquity.

Whatever the exact location of the "Land of Punt" may be, there is no doubt as to the antiquity of its trade. The first known Egyptian expedition for incense was in the 28th century B.C.,⁵ (120) and even then the land must have been long "heard of from mouth to mouth by hearsay of the ancestors. The marvels brought thence....were brought from one to another....as a return for many payments," even as Richard Burton describes the trade from the heart of Africa to Egypt, handed from tribe to tribe.

There is also no doubt as to the early and close connection between the Arabian and African incense regions. Arabian names were taken over by colonists to Africa: the *Ascitæ* or *Asachæ* of the *Periplus*, of Stephanus of Byzantium and Bion crossed probably from *Hâsik* on the coast beyond *Dhufar*;⁵ (62) the *Ĥabashî*, whose name developed into that of Abyssinia, the *Hbsti* of the Egyptian inscriptions came to Africa from the 'lands of the *Abaseni*' east of *Ĥadramaut*.⁵ (62) Josephus says that the capital of Ethiopia was called *Saba* till *Kambyses* changed it to *Meroe*.⁷ (II-9)

The colonising and trading activity of the Arabs along the African coasts has continued from the days of the South Arabian empires to modern times. In the first century A.D. the *Periplus* describes the coast towards Zanzibar as being "under some ancient right which subjects it to the sovereignty of the state that is become first in Arabia," which..... "sends many large ships, using Arab captains and agents who are familiar with the natives and intermarry with them."⁵ (28)

Of all these colonisers and traders, the *Ĥabashî* are the most interesting. Attacked by *Ĥadramaut* from the North, they left their home along the *Mahra* coast towards the beginning of our era; built the city of *Axum*, and founded the kingdom of Abyssinia which perpetuates their name.⁵ (9) Their later alliance with Rome, which permitted the entry of a western power into the Red Sea and the Indian Ocean, and the substitution of a sea for a land route, finally was the cause of destruction to the South Arabian supremacy.

In the age just before Islam, Arab enterprise by sea seems to have declined, and the vessels mentioned as trading from the port of *So'aibah* near *Mekka*, (for *Jiddah* came later), are all Abyssinian.² (15) But at the time of the *Periplus*, six centuries before, *Muza* (*Mauza*) and *Ocelis* (or *Perim*) were busy roadsteads 'crowded with Arab shipowners and sea-faring men.'⁵ (30) The ancient empires came down to the

sea at these points. A Minean inscription has been found at Ta'izz and Abyân in Yaman;⁸ (70) and San'a mentioned as a 'capital' in a pre-Islamic poem,⁸ (8) was possibly the Uzal of Genesis x, 21: but the chief Incense Road passed through the hinterland farther East, and there seem to be no ancient vestiges on the western side of the Yaman watershed⁹ (7, 144) nor, in the days of the Hijrah, were any Jews settled in this region,² (154) at a time when most of the profitable trade was in their hands. The most westerly traces of the ancient empires were left by Ḥimyar, whose capital was Tzafar near Yerim; and this westerly location is due to the shifting of trade towards the sea route, which gradually superseded the inland caravans.

From the centres of the Minean empire,—Ma'in, Yatil (later Baraqish), Karnan (later as-Sauda), etc., which lie round the Wâdi Khârîd in the region of Najrân and Jauf,⁴ (15)—the great trade route entered the lands of Saba.

The Sabaeans, mentioned in the book of Job, may possibly have come down from North Arabia. A Minean inscription mentions them as attacking a north-going caravan to Egypt.⁴ (65) They send tribute to Sargon in Assyria, and a Sabaean king is mentioned under Sennacherib, in 685 B.C.⁴ (75) They rose as the Mineans declined, and their capital at Marib is the best known of all the ancient capitals, owing chiefly to the destruction of its great dam in the 6th century A.D., a catastrophe seized upon by Islamic legend to mark what was no doubt in reality the very gradual breaking up of old prosperity. The dam has an inscription dated A.D. 542-3, and was repaired in A.D. 449-50,⁴ (105-6) so that its destruction must have occurred only just before Islam. That this affected the prosperity of the region as greatly as Arab fantasy and later authorities have taken for granted is, I believe, very doubtful. In his expedition to Arabia long before this date, Aelius Gallus, the Roman commander, reached Mariaba (Marib) and there turned back for lack of water—a conclusive proof that the region was not so flowing with streams and honey as later writers profess. Indeed I believe that the whole of this great route was created, not by the fertility of the lands through which it passed, but by the extremely profitable nature of its trade—an argument which explains its sudden decline as soon as that trade was deviated to the Red Sea.

The march of Aelius Gallus is interesting as a further corroboration of the old route, for he touched neither Mekka

nor San'a but marched East through Najrân and other places in the Minean lands¹⁰ (389) and turned back at Caripeta—possibly Kharibat-Sa'ûd,—where Katabanian inscriptions have been found.⁶ (20)

Marib is described by Pliny as a town six miles in circumference. It has been visited by Arnaud,¹¹ Halévy,¹² and Glaser,¹³ to whom we owe most of the inscriptions and a plan of the great dam and of the Haram Bilqis, a temple built in that elliptical form which, according to MM. Rathjens and Von Wissmann,⁹ (212) existed before the Mineans and other Semites displaced it with the rectangular style which can be seen in the mosques of Ḥaḍramaut and Yaman to-day.

From Marib the route led, as it does now, to Harib and thence to the Wadi Baihân.

Harib was the mint of the Katabanians, whose capital Tamna' lies somewhere in Baihân, though yet unidentified. Their descendants, the tribe Kitbân, existed in the 10th century as a sub-tribe of Dhû-Ru'ain (Sam'ani) whose origin was in Sarw-Madhij, S.E. of Baihân (Ḥamdâni, 90).

What little is known about the Katabanians is due chiefly to Carlo Landberg (*Arabica*, v.) and to Glaser,¹³ (24) who collected about 100 Katabanian inscriptions from Beduin.⁴ (23, 59 ff) They were sovereigns in their time over their tract of the Incense Road; before and after the 6th century B.C. they warred with Saba, which engulfed them finally in 115 B.C., and celebrated the event by adding the title Dhû Raidân to that of Saba.⁴ (87-8) Katabanian coins, however, continued to be struck.⁴ (94) Strabo describes them as extending to the Straits of Bab el-Mandeb over the later lands of Ḥimyar.⁶ (1)

The Gebanites, the Gebanitæ of Pliny, who ousted and succeeded the Katabanians in Tamna', also went down to the sea at Muza and Ocelis.⁸ (76) The track which Wyman Bury mentions as made in the 11th century from Ḥaḍramaut to the Tihâmah by way of Ibb¹⁹ (15) possibly followed the line of the older highway. It was a branching-off from the main Incense Route in favour of the African imports, on which custom-dues were gathered. Pliny, when he speaks of myrrh (xii, 35)—which is now no longer grown for export in Arabia, but was still found in the Ḥaḍramaut by the Bents,¹⁵ (89)—describes the Minean kind, which includes "that of Ansaritis in the kingdom of the Gebanitæ." And: "The growers pay the 4th part to the King of the Gebanitæ." [see also⁵ (31)]

Tamna', indeed, which Pliny describes as a city with 65 temples was one of the key positions on the Incense Road. The description of the traffic is interesting.

"The incense, after being collected, is carried on camels' backs to Sabota (Shabwa), of which place a single gate is left open for its admission. To deviate from the highroad while carrying it, the laws have made a capital offence. At this place the priests take by measure and not by weight, a tenth part in honour of their god, whom they call Sabis; indeed it is not allowable to dispose of it before this has been done; out of this tenth the public expenses are defrayed for the divinity generously entertains all those strangers who have made a certain number of days' journey in coming thither. The incense *can only be exported through the country of the Gebanitæ*, and for this reason it is that a certain tax is paid to their king as well." (xii, 32).

Indeed the enormous length of the road, and the passing from one people to another, must have entailed a great deal of very delicate diplomacy and many distant relationships. The Mineans for instance appear as friends in Ḥaḍramaut in early days, with a colony there⁴ and as friends of the Gebanitæ also.⁸ (75) The whole of the trade was an immense machine, delicately adjusted.

"There are certain portions also of frankincense which are given to the priests and king's secretaries: and in addition to these, the keepers of it, as well as the soldiers who guard it, the gate-keepers and various other employees, have their share as well. And then besides, all along the route, there is at one place water to pay for, at another fodder, lodging of the stations, and various taxes and imposts besides; the consequence of which is, that the expense for each camel before it arrives at the shore of our sea, (the Mediterranean), is 688 denarii. ."

The Wâdi Baihân, the highway between Tamna' and Shabwa, must have been a prosperous and populous region: the quantities of statues and inscriptions which are brought and reported from there testify to this apart from other evidence.

South of it, between Kataban and the sea, the kingdom of Ausan existed: we have two inscriptions only,⁴ (60 ff) but it gave its name to the Ausanitic coast of East Africa⁵ (74) and to the place near Zeilah which the Somalis call Ausal. The only accounts I know of this region are, in mediæval writers,

Ibn Mujâwir who gives a route, Aden-Shibam by Abyân, Dathinah, Baihân, and 'Antar ('Andal?'),³ (144) and in modern times Wyman Bury's *Land of Uz*, where the existence of ruins round Nisab and Dathinah suggest that in ancient as in the modern days a number of tracks led up from the coast over the difficult watershed of the Kaur to feed and come into the great road somewhere south of Harib. Many ancient places here lasted on from the times of paganism into Islam, and Muller gives a list of such names: Dhû-l Qail, al-Qamar (between Sarw and Dathinah) Hasa, Shammâr, al-Baiḍa, al-Hujairah, "all castles....in Sarw and Radman, of pagan times."⁸ (44) Even in the 14th century, Sarw Madhij sent out 20,000 men to fight and the Banû Wahas are mentioned "in a fort from the times of paganism."¹⁴ (III-4, p. 139, 247) The Yafi'î and Aulâkî hillmen still frequent these tracks, by which the Turks entrenched at Lahaj during the Great War were able to get supplies, avoiding the coast. Idrîsî's route from San'a to Ḥadramaut and Dhufar, follows a roundabout way through this southern country by Saum'a and thence presumably by Nisab;³ (148) his eastern distances are very wild.

There must have been tracks to the sea from these populous highlands; but the testimony of the ancients, the geography of the country and the location of such finds as have already been made, all point to the fact that the main Incense Road, continuing by the Wâdi Baihân to Shabwa, did not come to the sea until it reached a point more or less south of that city, where the Periplus mentions Cana⁵ (32)—the Canneh probably of Ezekiel, xxvii, 23,—as the first port east of Aden.

To Shabwa "all the frankincense....in the country is brought....to be stored,"—an indication which shows it to be in a key position west both of the incense forests and of the main road from the coast. The position of Shabwa is known, since a village of the name exists near the ancient site and its salt quarries are as famous in the country now as they were right through the Middle Ages. One of the British Museum bronze tablets dedicated to the god Almaqah is from Shabwa. Bakrî describes the place as being reached from Marib by way of "the small market-place of Namra.... through a sandy plain to the Sengar spring, and then by sandy dangerous lands belonging to the Banû Ḥarîth ibn Ka'b to Shabwa. This is the first town of Ḥadramaut, and one sells there a camel load of fruit for one dirhem"—so that it must still have been a fertile spot in the 11th century A.D.

Its eastern approaches, now desert, must also have been fertile at that time, since Bakrî continues to say that from Shabwa, "one village touches another to Jarimah, (?) the most blessed spot in Ḥaḍramaut, surrounded by gardens."³ (139) It is probably along this route that Ḥusain ibn Salâma, the great Ziadite Wazîr in Yaman, built mosques and minarets in A.H. 409, one mosque at every stage, with wells and mile-stones, along the 60 stages between Tarim and Mekka.²⁷ (236; 9)

The 'sandy dangerous lands' west of Shabwa, were the S.E. continuation of that wilderness of Saihad (called Dhahyal by Yâqût) which "divides between the inner lands of Yaman....and Ḥaḍramaut, by four or five stages between Najrân and Baihân," and "ends not far from Marib." (Ḥamdânî). Ḥamdânî, cited by Bakrî, (615) mentions the loss of a caravan 270 miles from Najrân in Saihad in his time. "Behold the desert of Saihad is an empty desert, a wilderness where the winds blow in all directions, a country where the crows are king." (Ibn Rusta, *Bib. Geog. Ar.* vii, p. 113.)

It was probably more of a wilderness in the days of Islam than earlier, for the sands have been encouraging in this desert corner. Ḥamdânî, followed by Yâqût (iv, 434) describes two roads, one along the Wâdi Baihân and one north of it across Saihad. This northern road is a short cut to the Minean lands. It still exists and is used by caravans between Ḥaḍramaut and Yaman whenever there is a condition of comparative tranquillity along that wild border. I was in the Wâdi Ḥaḍramaut at such a time, and met one or two of these caravans coming by way of 'Abr and Shabwa. The following itinerary for this route was written down by the grandfather of the present 'Attas Sayyids of Huraidha in Wâdi 'Amd, and I copied it from his MSS. in Huraidha: he collected the names from Beduin, and I give it for what it may be worth. No European has been along this way.

'Arudh,—'Ain (border of Ḥaḍramaut),—'Abr (marked on maps).—Mlais (tiny hamlet).—Mishainiq (spring).—Shirâ (wâdi, good water),—Hadhbat Al Ja'aid (hill in wilderness with water),—Khakuifa (little water),—Najrân: 8 days altogether.

Practically nothing is known about the country through which this northerly route travels; but the fact that, in spite of being shorter, it does not seem to have interfered with the supremacy of the main Incense Road south of it points either

to a want of security or to desert conditions (or probably to both) which would make its use less satisfactory than the longer way. Another route which the Bents mention¹⁵ (129)²⁰ (220) in Wâdi Ser, marked by a Himyaritic signpost, was said by the Beduin to have been abandoned 500 years before, because of encroaching sands. The fact seems to be that the desert, though it has encroached sufficiently to destroy the fertility of the Marib-Baihân-Shabwa fringe (assisted by the decline of trade and external prosperity), was probably never, even in old and prosperous days, very far from its present boundaries.

As far the main road, Marib-Shabwa-Ḥaḍramaut, it is further referred to by Ibn Khordâdhbah (*Bib. Geog. Ar.* v, 143) as 9 sikak, or post-houses, between Marib and 'Andal—proof that a post route existed in the 9th century A.D.: by Ibn Rusta, (*Bib. Geog. Ar.* vii, p. 113) as 3 stages Shibam-Ḥaḍramaut-Saba (i.e., Marib)—inaccurate, but he makes an interesting reference to gold mines at Marib and to the fact that the Shaikh's palace there dated from before Islam: by Yâqût (iv, 434) who also wrongly makes Shabwa (i.e., J. Milch) 3 days from Marib: by Ibn Mujâwir, 8 days, and, coming to later times, by Niebuhr,²⁶ (130) who gives Shibam-Marib, with his usual accuracy, as ten days. This route is still the one most generally followed by caravans from San'a.

We now reach Shabwa and the two main routes, south to the port of Cana on the coast, and east to the incense forests and Dhufar.

Shabwa, described by Pliny as a city with 60 temples, by the *Periplus*⁵ (32) as "the metropolis Sabbathath in which the King lives," was the focus for both these streams of traffic, and its power and importance is shown down to the early days of Islam, when the Ḥaḍramis present at the conquest of Egypt were first known as al-Ashbâ ('Abd al-Ḥakam 47 B and Hamdânî, p. 98). The name of a national dance in the Ḥaḍramaut, the Shabwânî, still perpetuates the name of Shabwa.

There can be little doubt that the main route between Shabwa and the coast lay along the Wâdi 'Amd, the easiest and most direct way, full of ancient ruin-fields and signs of a once dense population.¹⁶ (199-200) A way into Ḥaḍramaut long continued to pass by 'Andal at the northern end of this wâdi; the name 'Andal seems indeed to have been used as a synonym for Ḥaḍramaut: "from Marib to 'Andal, which is

Ḥaḍramaut¹³ (143) (see also Ḥamdânî, 85, 26; Bakrî and Yâqût merely quote from him).

It is probable that a parallel way led to the coast, as it does now, by the large and important ruin-field of Meshhed to Do'an, Pliny's city of the Toani, and Ptolemy's Doan, and thence by the route taken by von Wrede in 1843 from Khuraibah in Wâdi Do'an to meet the 'Amd route in Wâdi Ḥajar: here the ruins of Ubne corroborate the geographic arguments in favour of the ancient highway.¹⁷ (82) Von Wrede is no authority for the Wâdi 'Amd, where all his statements are incorrect, but seems excellent for the piece between Do'an and the sea, which he alone has travelled. The Van den Meulen party travelled from 'Amd to the sea, but in too harassed a manner for historical research. The argument that, from Do'an, the route went S.W. to Cana rather than S.E. to Makalla is strengthened by the fact that there seem to be no Himyaritic ruins between Do'an (or Wâdi Thiqbe close by),¹⁶ (56) and Makalla; and Makalla itself cannot be traced back beyond a mention by Ibn Mujâwir in the 13th century, and an unconfirmed remark by Hirsch, that it was founded in 1033 A.D. by a Yafi'î Ahmad bin Mejîm el Kesad.¹⁸ (12)

It is likely therefore, that caravans went from Cana north either by 'Amd or Do'an as they do now, while another route N.W. from Cana led by the ruins of Naqb al-Ḥajar and Maifa'a either into 'Amd along the W. Jardân or direct to Shabwa across the highlands of Madhij. These three routes, by which all the traffic from Cana must have travelled, have never been properly investigated. The actual site of Cana itself is not located. The bay of Bir 'Alî fits with the description of the *Periplus*;⁵ (32, 116) but Col. Lake, one of the few people who have actually visited the region, suggests a natural harbour slightly further east, nearer Râsal-Kalb. The place is, at any rate, in this immediate neighbourhood.

This important 'market town by the shore,' the Kane Emporium of Ptolemy, unfortunately lies in country as unhealthy now as ever it used to be when the frankincense "was gathered by the King's slaves and those who are sent to this service for punishment. For these places are very unhealthy, and pestilential even to those sailing along the coast"⁵ (33) and this fact, and the uncertain temper of the tribes, has hitherto prevented research.

We now come to the frankincense land itself.

At this time it included the lands of Ḥaḍramaut and Shihṛ⁵ (117) as well as the modern incense regions of Dhufar. Indeed the Chatramotitæ, the Ḥaḍramautis, are the only people shown in the incense lands of Arabia on Eratosthenes' map, 220 B.C.

Incense still grows in the Ḥaḍramaut valleys: I found it used all over the country, both in small earthenware braziers, or floating on drinking water 'to make it pure,' and always locally grown; and the Bents and M. van den Meulen both found it: but the volume of trade declined with the substitution of burial for cremation and the disuse of sacrificial fires, and there is now no export west of Saihut, though Maqdisi,⁸⁷ Maqrizi,²¹ (28) Marco Polo, and Niebuhr in the 18th century,²⁶ (202) still mention the export of frankincense from Shihṛ. Its great value when the trade was flourishing, must have ensured its cultivation wherever it would grow, and the Ḥaḍramaut seems to have been one of the best incense regions, second only to that of the Ḥabashî in Dhufar.

The first king of Ḥaḍramaut we hear of is a relative of the Minean Abi-Yadi'a Yatu.⁴ (102) Inscriptions are rare; most of them probably await discovery round Shabwa, the capital. The early spelling of the country is HDRMT (the omission of the waw does away with the favourite Arab etymology of Ḥaḍramaut from *maut*, death). It is the Hazar-maveth of Genesis, (x), the Atramitæ of Pliny and Chatramotitæ of Strabo, Eratosthenes, and Stephanus of Byzantium. It must have been this incense that the Romans referred to when Aelius Gallus turned back 'two days from the incense land,'—an understatement in any case.²⁰ (12) Pliny, (xii, 30), says: "Almost in the very centre of that (frankincense) region are the Atramitæ, a community of the Sabaci, the capital of whose kingdom is Sabota, a place situate on a lofty mountain (The cliffs of these wâdis are referred to as 'mountains' by other writers also). At a distance of eight stations from this is the incense-bearing region. . . . inaccessible because of rocks on every side, while it is bounded on the right by the sea, from which it is shut out by tremendously high cliffs. The forests extend 80 miles in length and 40 in breadth."

This description fits the Wâdi Ḥaḍramaut far better than Dhufar. The incense was probably in the gullies of the Jol as it is to-day; it would take a few days to bring into the wâdi, and four days from Shibam to Shabwa, so that eight

days altogether is reasonable. About the end of the first century B.C., when the Ḥabashî migrated to found Abyssinia, Ḥaḍramaut took over their lands of Mahra, Socotra, etc., and became 'King of the Incense Country' in its entirety as far as Arabia is concerned,⁵ (119) until by the 3rd century A.D. it was engulfed in the Ḥimyaritic kingdom of Saba.⁴ (114)

With so rich a traffic in its borders, it is not surprising that the Wâdi Ḥaḍramaut should be strewn with ancient ruins throughout its inhabited length. The places where such ruins can be found branching off the main valley are probably the lines of old routes to the coast. Two such may be looked for east of W. Kasr-Do'an; one in the Wâdi bin 'Alî, where the Bents found inscribed stones, incense still flourishing in the gullies, many villages, and a track "much used and apparently ancient," leading across to the Wâdi 'Amd:¹⁵ (161-9) and the other in the Wâdi 'Amd itself, where there are the important ruins of Sûne, visited by the Van den Meulen party.¹⁶ (145) Two inscriptions from there were kindly given to me by Sayyid Abû Bekr al-Kaf and are now in the Ashmolean. These ruins are on the present main way to Tarim from Shihr on the coast: their existence and the ease of the route itself suggest an ancient outlet to the sea, though no evidence of this has come to light at Shihr.

The town of Shihr replaced Cana in the Middle Ages. Marco Polo mentions it, and so does Ibn Baṭṭah. Though it has an easy inland route behind it, it is an open beach with no natural protection or facility for landing, and its unimportance is easy to understand in the days when Cana was flourishing and safe. Shihr (the same word as Sâhil—coast), presents many difficulties, for the name was used by the writers of Islam indiscriminately for the town, for the sea-coast of Ḥaḍramaut, and as a synonym for that and Mahra together.²² We have to deal with this when we come to the problem of routes between Ḥaḍramaut and Dhufar, the most difficult part of all the Incense Road to trace.

That there was a close connection between Ḥaḍramaut and Dhufar is obvious from the necessities of the incense trade and from the scattered evidence: but in what proportion the intercourse was carried on by land, and by what route, is far more difficult to gauge. So far as I know, no pre-Islamic inscriptions have yet been found in Dhufar: of the only two investigators, Mr. Bertram Thomas²³ does not corroborate the Sabaeen findings of the Bents¹⁵ (240 ff) who preceded him. That some trace of the ancient empires must exist there, is

practically certain, but for the present the earliest historical evidence we have is that of classic times.

The Saphar of Genesis, 'the Mountain of the East,' mentioned with Hazarmaveth and Hadoram, may well be Dhufar rather than the Tzafar of Himyar. The Periplus⁶ (33, 133) tells us of a fort and storehouse for frankincense at Râs Fartak, and then brings us to the port of Moscha, in eastern Dhufar (p. 140), the 'harbour of the Abaseni of Stephenus of Byzantium and Abyssapolis of Ptolemy. Frankincense 'lies in heaps' over all this country and can be loaded on shipboard only by the King's orders. This state of things continued through the Middle Ages; it is described by Marco Polo, who mentions the Prince's profits on the sale of white incense as 600 per cent. According to the *Marâsid al-Ittilâ'*, a geographical dictionary of this period, incense could be taken only to Dhufar.⁵ (144) All this points to sea-borne traffic along the Arabian coast. Throughout the Middle Ages, Dhufar was a port for Indian merchants, who were well treated and encouraged (Ibn Baṭṭah). It is mentioned as a good port by Varthema in the 16th century.¹ It had a fleet of its own, used in the piratical raids to the Aden coast which led to the Rasûlid conquest in the 14th century.²²

A road along the actual coast is described by Ibn Mujâwir,³ (144) but the journey was probably mostly done by sea. Ibn Baṭṭah (1-94) merely says that it took a month to go to Aden's 'over desert'—which suggests an inland way. The coast seems to have been difficult and full of obstacles (as anyone who now looks at it from the sea can well imagine): the Rasûlid advancing army in 1276 A.D. found it so,¹¹ (III-3, 208 ff) and the coast-road to Oman on the East was just as bad.²² Ships probably touched at Moscha (Dhufar), Syagrus (Râs Fartak), and Cana, and left a wild country in between, much as now—or as when Ibn Baṭṭah, speaking of Dhufar, mentions it as 'a city in a desert' with no villages near. The Bents give a vague rumour of an inscription near Mosaina'a and an equally vague legend that the basalt coast of Qosair is built up 'of the ashes of infidel towns';¹⁵ (215-6) but they found 'no ancient trace along the coast' as far as they went:¹⁵ (91) the land route to Ḥadramaut probably passed behind the coastal ranges and declined with the decline of trade and the general wildness of the Mahra tribes. When the Bents visited the Qara hills, they declared that there was no communication with the interior.¹⁵ (270)

Hirsch mentions a land way from Dhufar to Ḥaḍramaut, but gives no details.¹⁸ (80) The evidence for such a route in mediæval and modern times is meagre enough. Ibn Mujâwir gives the stages between Shibam and Dhufar: they follow the Wâdi Masîlah from Tarim to Qabr Hûd, and then become mere names denoting palm-trees, ravines, and the fact that the last bit of the way at that time (13th century) was well-watered but little populated (Fol. 128 B, B. Mus. MSS.). The incense regions, he says, are 20 farsakh (80 miles) from Dhufar. There are still many ancient traces as far east as Qabr Hûd,¹⁶ (152) and the ruins of a dam further down the wâdi, known by the people of Ḥaḍramaut and marked in Squadron-Leader Rickard's map from the air. Mr. and Mrs. Ingrams, who are the only Europeans to have followed the wâdi to its estuary at Saihut, saw no further traces of ruins: this however is not conclusive evidence against the existence of the ancient route, for the lower wâdi is much silted up, and we have seen in any case that the Incense Road took long uninhabited stretches in its stride.

The Mediæval writers become tantalisingly reticent and vague when they reach the stretch Ḥaḍramaut-Dhufar. Bakrî, from his Jarimah in Ḥaḍramaut makes it "three days through a sandy desert inhabited by Mahras to Ashfah on the sea-border of Oman, and then Raisût."¹⁹ (140) During the Rasûlid invasion from Yaman, one division marched from San'a and reached Raisût in five months time, fighting all the way; the conqueror of Dhufar then made his way to Shibam, taking one month about it,—but again with no details of the route.²² Ibn Baṭûṭah remarks that Qabr Hûd is in the Ahqâf, 'half a day (*sic*) from Dhufar (I, 197),' an absurd underestimating of the distance; but it rather suggests that people were in the habit of making the journey, as the Arabs would otherwise have told Ibn Baṭûṭah that it was months away and inaccessible. Ibn Khordâdhbah and Qodama make the coast-road Oman-Mekka go inland from "Shihr to the Incense-land and Kinda, (i.e., Ḥaḍramaut)," and then through Madhij to the coast at 'Aden.³ (141) Kindî (*Bib. Geog. Ar.* I, 27) says: "The people of Ḥaḍramaut and Mahra traverse the whole of their country until they reach the road between 'Aden and Mekka, and their distance is between 20 and 50 stages." The difference of 30 stages between Ḥaḍramaut and Dhufar is reasonable if it is all overland, and this statement has about it a less vague appearance than most.

Our troubles are much increased by the fact that the words *Shihr* and *Mahra* are interchangeable and used in the vaguest way, *Shihr* being as we have seen,²² either the town itself, or that part of the coast which corresponds to *Ḥaḍramaut* north of it, or the whole of the *Ḥaḍramaut* and *Mahra* coasts to *Oman*; while on the other hand *Mahra* can be extended west to include "Asar, a port of places in *Wâdi Do'an*" (*Ḥamdânî*). The quotation from *Kindî* given above, however, mentions 30 stages between its western and eastern points of departure; the journey from *Ḥaḍramaut* to *Dhufar* as done now, by the *W. Masilah* to *Saihût* and then by sea, takes 16 days,³ (143) and this is what *Ptolemy* gives: we may take it that if *Kindî* is correct at all, he is speaking of a longer overland route through the mountains, which takes 50 days from *Dhufar* and 20 from *Shabwa* to reach the *Mekka* road,—a reasonable estimate.

Another clue is given by *Ibn Mujâwir* (Fol. 129-B, B. Mus. MSS.), when he describes the terraces to which the ancient *Adites* used to migrate in spring. These terraces, he says, "with their fire places still well preserved," lie, "between *Ḥaḍramaut* and the borders of 'Omân, both along the coast and in the hills." He was told of them in *Mekka* by a man from *Marab*, a place half way between *Ḥaḍramaut* and *Dhufar*, along the land-route quoted from him above.

So much for this route. The evidence, meagre as it is, must be taken in conjunction with the geography of the country and the requirements of the ancient trade; when this practically unexplored region is better known, traces of old stations may yet be found making for *Dhufar* from somewhere in the *Wâdi Masilah* between *Qabr Hûd* and the sea.

There is evidence of another inland route which, in the Middle Ages, went direct from *Oman* to *Mecca*, to the north both of *Dhufar* and *Ḥaḍramaut*. This route is almost impracticable now. *Burkhardt* mentions it as long ago abandoned, but *Sprenger* had heard of it,³ (14) and *Palgrave* met two *Beduins* who crossed from *Oman* to *Najrân* by oases of wild palms, mostly uninhabited. *Miles* heard of a *Najdî* who crossed from *Najrân* to *Abû Thabi* on the *Persian Gulf* in 56 slow stages. *Wyman Bury*¹⁹ (143) also heard of caravans crossing from the eastern sea by the desert. This may have been the old track found by *Mr. Thomas* in lat. 18, 45N, 52, 30'E.²⁷ (162) It was unpopular because of its want of water even in the early Middle Ages, when it is given by

Maqdisî and the *Jihân-Nâmah* as 21 stages to Mekka, 8 of them waterless.³ (147) Ḥamdânî (p. 165), describing the land between Yabrin and Ḥaḍramaut calls it 'a broad country, not to be crossed.' But the Ūqail tribe ranged over it²⁴ (I-7) and reached Mahra by a one and a half month's journey "where no other tribes dwelt." Even now the south of these sands are traversed. Mr. Thomas found "never a man in my escorts who had not raided into Ḥaḍramaut:" the Se'ar and others used a way along the edge of the southern desert for their raids; and in his camp at Shanna, guests appear "on their way home to the steppes N.E. of Ḥaḍramaut." The route has probably become more difficult in modern times. Mr. Thomas says very truly: "This tradition of ancient trade routes should not lightly be dismissed as impossible. South Arabia is held never to have had an ice age, and this very different pluvial climate may have long persisted and made possible a very early civilisation."²⁷

It must also be remembered that it is far more the amount of profit at the end of the way than the discomforts of the journey itself which determine the use of a trade route. When Baghdad was worth going to, the desert was crossed continually, both from Baraqish (ancient Yatil) in Yaman by Yamâmah—by the *Tarîq Radhradh* still used in A.H. 649,¹⁴ (IV-99)—and from Raisût in Dhufar, where a built-up causeway took the Indian trade to 'Irâq and Beduin, in A.H. 616 brought horses twice a year (Ibn Muj. Fol. 132 B). This route went by Yabrin, where it must have crossed the Oman, Mekka track. The trade in horses, which were shipped from Dhufar to India, must have kept open the desert routes to the North.²² Distance and difficulty indeed seem to have been extraordinarily little thought of: Ibn Mujâwir mentions the tanning industry in Yaman which used to deal with skins from Kermân and send them back to Transoxiana.³ (150) It seems probable from what evidence we have, that the desert route Oman-Mekka, under better climatic conditions and more frequented than now, might be open to travellers from Dhufar: but it is not likely that, with a populous and easy region to the south of it, the regular trade can ever have followed that more difficult way: the main traffic must have gone into the Wâdi Ḥaḍramaut overland or—most probably—gone to Cana by sea.

To the close connection between Ḥaḍramaut and Dhufar we have many references. Even now the Qara mountain people call themselves Hakalai and derive their origin from

Ḥaḍramaut whither, they say, their ancestors came by sea.²³ The bonds with Ḥaḍramaut appear to be closer than those with Oman; the fashion of ornamented roofs, a very ancient fashion, is that of Ḥaḍramaut and not of Oman,—and the Omanis call the tribes of Dhufar, whose language is an old South Arabian dialect, Ahl al-Ḥaḍhârah,²³ just as the Ḥaḍramîs were called Ḥaḍhârîm by the northern Arabs after the coming of Islam. The contact between the two incense-bearing regions of East and West must have been intimate and prolonged: the routes by which it was maintained may come to light when the inland country between the W. Masilah and the Qara is explored.

FREYA STARK.

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ISLAM'S SOLUTION OF THE BASIC ECONOMIC PROBLEMS

THE POSITION OF LABOUR

THERE is an innate contradiction in *Laissez-faire* Economics, consisting in a conflict between social welfare and individual welfare in the majority of cases. For individuals acting freely (from purely economic motives) for their private gain cannot be assumed to sacrifice their private gain for general welfare as only too often becomes necessary.*

Moreover *laissez-faire* Economics errs in assuming equal or adequate competing power in case of each factor of production. Under "organized production" the working class does not have sufficient power to insist on claiming remuneration equal to its "specific production." The supply of labour cannot be withheld to an appreciable degree for any length of time, that of land on the other hand cannot be increased at all considerably. The two agents possess very unequal competing power, and economic freedom will very soon destroy the *laissez-faire* assumptions even if the conditions are perfect to start with.

The non-fulfilment of these assumptions is chiefly to the disadvantage of the working classes which constitute the majority of mankind. As soon as the conditions become unfavourable to them their condition begins to grow worse. The effect is cumulative; they are reduced to utter poverty. The exploiters grow overrich.

Laissez-faire has been the rule of the world through the ages, and through the ages poverty like a tragic spectre has haunted the ceaselessly toiling humanity in ironic contrast with the riches of the leisured few. Free operation of this system renders one part of mankind "not in a position," and another "not in a mood" to attend to any thing other than wealth. From time to time religion and statecraft have

* See Pigou's "*Economics of Welfare*," Chapter IX.

revolted against such a condition. Islam embodies one such revolt. And it is at this point that religion first touches the Science of Economics.

Religion has to promise and secure something more than mere subsistence for its followers and those to whom it is addressed before it can be properly attended to. Islam proceeds to secure this by a new economic system. It declares destitution or utter poverty as unthinkable in human society. Our Prophet defined the poor man as one "who finds not the wherewithal to make himself independent" (economically); and the Islamic State guaranteed subsistence to this class (removing thus the intrinsic weakness of labour). On this point I shall dwell later. But extreme and widespread poverty comes to exist by the side of excessive and concentrated riches because, as I said, private gains (from a purely Economic point of view) are only too often inconsistent with maximum social welfare. And the method which makes private gains maximum, namely, private enterprise, makes impossible the method which maximises the social welfare arising from a given output namely, equal distribution of wealth.

Economic thought has constantly emphasised the one method or the other. The novelty of Islam's contribution to Economics consists in an adjustment of the two in a way which eliminates the defects of both and combines their virtues. Thus Islam gives an economic system that (1) is automatic, which is what the purely equalitarian or socialistic systems are not (2) tends to equalise distribution which the *laissez-faire* system cannot (3) provides a method of production which leads to maximum output with minimum disutility which the equalitarian systems do not (4) provides stable business and industrial conditions which the *laissez-faire* economics cannot (5) and maximises both the national dividend and the social welfare arising from it to a degree which neither of the two can. In it private enterprise does not interfere with increasing equality of distribution; rather each promotes the other.

We shall now consider some features of this system which reveal its essential nature and have a direct bearing on our basic economic problems.

In the first place the Islamic system guarantees ample subsistence to the poor. Religion cannot make a complete case for itself unless it brings deliverance from economic anxieties and leisure for other things. According to Islam, it is for God to provide livelihood to every creature and so

His law specifically contains the provision for it. God has ordered: "Slay not your Children, fearing a fall to poverty, We shall provide for them and for you,"¹ Again "We have apportioned among them their livelihood in the life of the world."² And "We have given you power in the earth and appointed you therein a livelihood. Little give ye thanks."³ So in Islamic economics the State undertakes to fulfil this guarantee on behalf of God through the institution of *Zakât* or "Growth"-tax.

This is a tax on all property owned beyond a certain maximum and is meant, as the Prophet said; "to be taken from the rich among them in order to be given to their poor."

"*Zakât* literally means growth and increase, and according to some purity. The tax has been named *Zakât* with respect to the first meaning because its giving leads to an increase of prosperity in this world and growth of religious merit in the next."⁴

There are two important divisions of this growth-tax, *Şadaqah* and Tithe. The one takes away a large portion of actual or potential interest arising from capital goods and the other of the surplus produce arising from agricultural land.

The cause of *Şadaqah* being due is "the possession in full ownership of a productive *Nisab* (minimum) of property; and its rate is $2\frac{1}{2}$ of the value of possessions other than land."

The Tithe is a growth-tax on the produce of the earth. It is a charge on economic rent. In the *Qur'ân* there are the verses, "And on the day of its harvest give its rights"; (*VI. 142*) and, "Bestow alms from the choice part of that which you have earned and that which we have made grow for you from the ground." (*II. 269.*) Its rate is determined by the Prophet's saying: "In what has been irrigated by Heaven one-tenth and in what has been watered with buckets or water-wheels, one-half of one-tenth" (*Mishkât*).

The growth-tax is quite separate from other financial taxes of the State and goes exclusively to the poor in such a way that the prayers do not derive any direct benefit from it.⁵

(1) *Qur'ân*, XVII, 31.

(2) *Qur'ân*, XIII, 32.

(3) *Qur'ân*, VII, 10.

(4) *Mohammedan Theories of Finance* by Aghuides, p. 203

(5) See *Majma'al Bahrevn*, p. 132.

It is because its beneficiaries are exhaustively enumerated in the Qur'ân. "The growth-tax is only for the poor and the needy and those who collect and those whose hearts are to be reconciled and to free the captives and the debtors, and for the cause of God, and for the wayfarer; a duty imposed by God."¹

The immediate purpose of this institution is to relieve the poor and to help them to grow in prosperity by giving them better resisting and competing power. The tax is collected in kind and distributed locally; so it is more economical and provides good quality of food to the poor. For the Qur'ân commands: "Bestow alms from the choice part of that which you have earned and that which we have made grow for you from the ground."² The tax in these two ways increases the productive efficiency of the workers and thereby the prosperity of the whole community. It is a kind of protection to the labourers, and gives them an opportunity to improve their condition.

The tax tends to guarantee subsistence and thus eliminates one intrinsic weakness of *laissez-faire* economics. It introduces an important modification into that system by enabling the workers to claim and secure a remuneration equal to their "Specific production." For if the labourers are exploited they can go on strike. The employers will have to yield. The institution takes away their absolute resting strength. It makes it uneconomical for them to try and defeat the workers by closing the works. The State will automatically tax them down if they try to defeat the workers by closing the works. For the tax being on the property owned, their property will begin to be taxed and distributed. So in practice they will readily give to the workers wages equal to their contribution to production.

Here we may also note how much emphasis the tax lays on production and productive employment of wealth. It regards all superfluous wealth as productive and taxes it as such, irrespective of whether it is so used or kept idle. It thus compels it to be so used. The Prophet once said "Are there those among you who are the guardians of orphans who possess property? Then let them trade with it and not leave it uninvested, so that the growth-taxes due on it do not swallow it up."³

(1) Qur'ân, IX, 16.

(2) Qur'ân, II, 269.

(3) *At Tirmidhi*.

Lastly it needs to be pointed out how fundamental this institution is in Islam. It is Islam's solution of a vital social problem and is of the essence of the religion. It is a cardinal principle next in importance only to belief in God and offering prayers. Many a time does the Qur'ân repeat "establish worship and pay the growth-tax." No rich man can be or remain a Muslim without paying the growth-tax. It is an ordinance ("Fard").

But the growth-tax is only a second best thing. It is repulsive to human dignity to take even State aid. Moreover, the emphasis that Islam lays on an earned livelihood necessarily implies the undesirability of living constantly on State aid. Also, Islam gives, as we shall see, a technique of production which, if adopted, would lead to so much increase of output and to so good a distribution as to make the institution of the growth-tax obsolete except as a potential measure. The Prophet said "Give Şadaqah for a time is to come when people will offer Şadaqah and there will be no-one to take it."*

So the permanent importance of the institution is as a potential measure of guarantee against the falling of workers below or even down to the subsistence-level so long as there are people with "superfluous" wealth around.

II

THE CAPITALISTIC INSTITUTIONS

Another feature of Islamic economics is that, though it provides the greatest initiative to production by recognizing private enterprise, private property, the institution of the family, inheritance, and a high standard of living, it yet contrives completely to eliminate the harmful influences of each of these. Thus it solves the economic problems connected with these institutions. Under a "Let alone" policy private enterprise makes impossible any approach towards an equal distribution of wealth; and family affection, supported by inheritance provisions, blinds men to other considerations, and leads to an exploitation of labour by the other agents of production. Communistic economics therefore has revolted against these institutions blaming them for the accumulation of riches in the hands of the few and the consequent destitution of the many.

* *Mishkât.*

But the abolition of these institutions would kill individual initiative; and the disutility of producing a scientifically determined amount under State compulsion in an impersonal way may be enormous. Any scheme of arbitrarily distributing the wealth in equal amounts to maximise the welfare arising from a given output is bound to kill the incentive to production and thus decrease the amount of output. We cannot, therefore, be sure that by the abolition of these institutions the social welfare will increase. One thing is certain: the disutility incurred in producing a given amount will be very much increased.

Moreover, much of the innocent joy and charm of life, much of the education in gentler sentiments will be gone with the institution of the family, as also much of the brave endeavour and brave sacrifices of man. And with Private ownership will be gone the moral development which the exercise of personal choice in connection with private property makes possible.

All this will react on the psychology of man and through it on his productive efficiency. The communistic system only emphasises distribution. It neglects production. Islamic economics, having them both in view, finds itself unable to sacrifice these institutions. It approves them with limitations.

In Islam God has appointed the institution of the family, "And He it is Who hath created man from water, and hath appointed for him kindred by blood and kindred by marriage."¹ And God counts it as of value to man, "We aided you with wealth and children."² And they have rights over him, "Give the kinsman his dues."³ And their rights are prior, "And those who are akin are nearer one to another in the ordinance of God."⁴ Yet family affections are a partial value and a subordinate value. Devotion to family should never blind man to the ultimate values. There are vigorous limitations, as we shall see later.

Concerning private property, the Prophet declared: "Verily your blood and your wealth and your property are sacred (and inviolable)." But its value is emphatically as a means.

(1) *Qur'ân*, XXV 54.

(2) *Qur'ân*, XXII, 6.

(3) *Qur'ân*, VII, 26.

(4) *Qur'ân*, VIII, 175.

Then Islam also approves private enterprise in business, the reward of which the *Qur'ân* constantly calls the "the bounty of Allah." The permission is plain. "Allah permitteth trading and forbiddeth usury."¹ Yet there are serious injunctions to honesty in business. "Give full measure and be not of those who give less (than due), and weigh with the true balance. Wrong not people in respect of their goods."² And further see the chapter entitled "Defrauding." They are more elaborate in the sayings of the Prophet. From these the Muslim jurists have derived a large body of market laws.

Islam also appoints inheritance, "And unto each we have appointed heirs of that which parents and near kindred leave."³ "Unto the men of a family belongeth a share of that which parents and near kindred leave, and unto the women a share of that which parents and near kindred leave, whether it be little or much. . . . a legal share." Yet the shares in inheritance are so many that far from leading to accumulation of big fortunes they cause a dispersal of wealth and tend to equalise it. They provide capital to more and more people and so give chances to others. In spite of property rights the individual cannot, by will, bestow more than one-third of his property on anyone except the State or the Cause of God.

The incentive to production is further increased by the religion's injunction to a better standard of living. Here Islam had to raise its voice against the ascetic in the contemporary religions and strongly to assert the values of this world. "Say: who hath forbidden the adornment of Allah which He hath brought forth for His bondmen, and the good things of His providing."⁴

Again, "O ye who believe! forbid not the good things which God hath made lawful for you," Yet the high standard of living has also its limits; extravagance is reproached. "Lo! He loveth not the prodigals."⁵ These institutions thus modified are retained and supplemented by the growth-tax to promote economic welfare.

(1) *Qur'ân*, II, 275.

(2) *Qur'ân*, XXVI.

(3) *Qur'ân*, IV, 33.

(4) *Qur'ân*, VII, 32.

(5) *Qur'ân*, VII, 33.

III

INDUSTRIAL FLUCTUATIONS

Within the above limits, Islam allows full-fledged private enterprise. How then would it solve the technical problem of industrial fluctuations which has arisen from "private-enterprise-economics" in the 19th and 20th centuries and so greatly affects the welfare of communities.

The most important feature of Islamic economics is that its operation eliminates these fluctuations altogether. The fundamental cause of them, as advanced by many writers, is that prices are pegged high and not allowed to fall by the same percentage as the increasing supply would require if it were all to be consumed. The causes for the initial rise in prices are not themselves so disturbing. Even climatic causes such as the various astronomical, meteorological, and physical cycles do not cause much disturbance; they partially tend to cancel each other, and with economic speculation, storage, and specially with the growth of the world market they would sink into insignificance if not aggravated by other factors. Whatever the cause of the initial rise in prices, it is these aggravating factors that work the havoc. They are:—

- (1) Lending of capital on interest.
- (2) Overproduction and underconsumption.
- (3) Increasing inequality.
- (4) Overspeculation.

The most important of them is the institution of lending on interest. With a good harvest or any other initial cause such as increased supply of gold or governmental inflation, industrial prices rise, bringing more profits to the entrepreneurs. People begin to produce more with borrowed money and to start new concerns, again with borrowed money. For a time there are profits. A wave of optimism spreads. Lending institutions become overconfident and lend more and more to the speculators and to the less competent enterprisers coming into business. Very soon the credit bubble expands to its full capacity. More money gets involved in production and comparatively little is left with the consumers, so there is a shortage of purchasing-power and pressure on the prices to go down. We shall see later that this situation is brought about in some measure by the other factors too, and it always causes fluctuation. But the fluctuations are enormous only when the entrepreneurs or the merchants are running

their business with borrowed money, and money borrowed at interest. They find themselves in a fix. They cannot withhold supply for they have debts to discharge and they cannot lower the prices to be able to sell more, because a slight fall in prices leads to a considerable increase of the rate of interest and of the amount of principle in terms of goods. As Prof. Fisher has said the very effort to pay the debts increases the debts. Moreover, they can sell comparatively less goods at this time for they have no discharge labour, which act further shortens the purchasing-power of the consumers. To sell more, prices will have to be considerably reduced, which means an enormous increase in the real value of debts. They begin to be unable to discharge their obligations.

Here the essential duality of interests between the money-lenders and the borrowers for productive purposes comes into open conflict and with it the inherent weakness of an industry based on this institution becomes obvious. Just when the vital interests of the *entrepreneurs* demand that they should have financial resources to cope with the situation, the interests of the lending class demand a payment of the loans and are against their renewal. As a consequence, the entrepreneurs are deprived of their resisting strength; they cannot withhold supply. Distress selling results with a cumulative effect, leading to bankruptcies and bank failures. The institution of lending on interest causes the whole trouble. It makes the lowering of prices so harmful and withholding of supply impossible. This institution is responsible for the fluctuations in a number of ways. On the one hand it facilitates the investment of much unjustified capital in an industry; and on the other hand, as Marshall says, "the danger of not being able to renew his borrowings just at the time when he wants them most, puts him (the borrower) at a disadvantage relatively to those who use only their own capital much greater than is represented by the mere interest on his borrowing. And the failure of this renewal," as Marshall again says, "may cause him to succumb to what would have been a passing misfortune if he had been using no capital but his own."* It causes a slight rise in prices in any industry to lead to a great demand for the products of constructive industry and so it connects the fluctuations in the particular industries with the fluctuations in the constructive industry which by the nature of the commodities it produces fluctuates much more violently. And lastly, through bank failures, it

* *Principles of Economics*, Book IV, Chapter XII.

spreads the distress of one industry to all the others and thus brings about a total breakdown in more serious cases. Thus the trade depression on the crisis and its resultant troubles are mostly due to this institution and the socialists have wrongly attributed it to capitalism. Mr. Jawahar Lal, for instance, says in "*Whither India*" "This is the crisis of capitalism. . . . And the disease seems to be of the essence of capitalism." The disease is only of the essence of the institution of lending on interest. Islamic capitalistic economy eliminates lending on interest but retains capitalism and thus gets rid of all crises.

The institution means a duality of interest in business. It causes an intrinsic weakness in industry and not only leads to a total breakdown of industry when a point of maladjustment of purchasing-power is reached, but is the fundamental instrument in helping the industry to reach that point. It is the only instrument which makes overspeculation possible. The prosperity that it brings comes quickly but goes quickly too. Islam considers this prosperity as sham and warns against it. "Although interest brings increase," said the Prophet, "Yet its end tends to scarcity."¹ And the Qur'ân says, "That which ye give on interest in order that it may increase on other people's wealth hath no increase with God; but that which ye give in "growth-tax" seeking God's countenance hath increase manifold" (XXX. 39). The Prophet positively said that it was destructive: "Avoid the seven destructive things," he said, and the third he mentioned was "interest." (*Bukhâri, Muslim and Abu Daud.*)

The great part played by the institution in causing industrial fluctuations has been clearly shown by Pigou, Fisher, and some other economists. Yet its justification has so far been taken for granted.

IV

A DIGRESSION ON INTEREST

There is a tendency to regard interest as of the same nature as the shares of the other factors of production, i.e., the reward for a service rendered. It is never examined how doubtful is this service. "They say trade is just like interest-taking; whereas God permitteth trading and forbiddeth interest."² Islam tends to be highly in favour of joint stock companies;

(1) *Ibn Majah.*

(2) *Qur'ân, II, 275.*

only the debenture-holders and commercial loans are ruled out as destructive. Partnerships were very popular in the days of the Prophet and were even extended to agriculture. If you have spare money you can become a partner or purchase a share and partake of both positive and negative profits. You are not allowed to give a blow to the entrepreneur in his worst moment and destroy his resisting power and not only ruin him but create social havoc. There is the huge injustice in the institution of interest and the strong tendency to get out of control.

In fact there is no argument for interest. If you say that you charge it because the borrower makes a profit out of it, then you should charge it only when the borrower makes a profit out of it. And the poorer his success or his chances of success the less should be the rate of interest charged. Contrary to modern Economics it should vary inversely with the risks. The productivity argument leads to a commercial heresy.

The point is this; either you have nothing to do with the fortune of the borrower or you have a share in it. You cannot share his fortune and leave him his woes. The bargain is loaded with iniquity, and we have seen its harms. According to Islam you can only become a partner.

Islam secures the capitalistic enterpriser and rules out the pure capitalist (if we may so call the money-lender) thus providing a very sound footing for industry, the growth of whose prosperity, although somewhat slow at first, is very rapid afterwards, and very sure and stable throughout.

Regarding the nature of interest, Professor Marshall very well begins by identifying saving with "the habit of distinctly realizing the future and providing for it" and correctly emphasizes that "men labour and save chiefly for the sake of their families, although sometimes they save from an acquired habit." The difference is here: Islam does not allow the separation of the functions of saving or waiting and risk-bearing. It does not allow a separate abstinence theory of interest. It is strictly what may be called the "Investment theory of interest." In the sense of an income from an investment in an enterprise interest is both necessary and legitimate. In this sense it is a sound inducement for accumulation of capital on which all progress depends. In the sense of a reward for mere lending it is a different thing. The elimination of such interest will not hinder accumulation of

capital in the least while it will contribute to the stability, simplicity and morality of business. For, as Clark says, men save for a definite future income, "The Standard of living which needs to be maintained is the all important element in the case." Prohibition of lending on interest will only compel people to depend for this future income on direct investment.

V

A DIGRESSION ON AGRICULTURE

Abolition of lending on interest may not appear so beneficial in the case of agriculture. The resources of the tenants are scanty, the fruition of their enterprise takes a long time. Without loans many of them cannot carry on production.

Yet it is in agriculture that the benefits of this abolition will reach farthest. For the institution is itself the cause of what it is supposed to remedy. But for this, people had not depended on those small holdings by working on which their labour is remunerated at less than half its worth. But for this, methods of production had taken an entirely different form in agriculture, and insufficiency of working capital had led to the development of joint-stock companies in agriculture.

Than joint-stock companies in agriculture no simpler solution is possible for our agrarian and humanitarian problems.

In them shares may be made to consist of areas of land as well as of sums of money, and the land-shares may be classified according to the quality of land. (Even this classification of land-shares, as I propose to show in a separate article, need only be a transitional measure).

The advantages of such companies will be very great, and I shall discuss them in a separate article for the matter is likely to raise some controversy. A few points however, may be mentioned in passing.

1. The agriculturist will no longer be kept tied to his land. Better mobility of labour will be secured.

2. With the development of "Land Exchanges" perfect transferability of land will be achieved. A world market for land will grow up and equality of prices be secured.

3. All the resources in land which cannot be utilized by individuals will be brought under the tractor. Food and raw materials will become much cheaper.

4. The universal handicaps of the agriculturists regarding finance and marketing would be very easily removed.

5. Employment of powerful machines and adequate chemical manures may overcome Nature's resistance, and indefinitely postpone the operation of the law of diminishing returns.

6. Joint-stock companies in agriculture will be the missing link between the present form of agriculture and the "factory farms" or "chemical manufacture of food" and will have an optimistic bearing on the population question.

7. Large numbers will be freed from their uncertain, irregular employment and, by becoming workers in other industries, may make possible three-hours shifts in manufactures. What Hobson calls the "social surplus" and which in our case will be much greater because no deductions will be necessary for interest, may now be devoted to providing leisure to workers by employing larger numbers for shorter hours and on adequate wages.

8. With proper education this leisure will spell "life." Only thus can man become master of the machines: Only thus can open the way for a humane civilization from the stagnation we are in.

It is easy to see how much these benefits exceed those promised by the familiar innumerable partial solutions of agrarian problems.

This development in agriculture will overcome many of the caprices of nature; and it will more thoroughly balance the good against the bad harvests and so eliminate an important initial cause of business fluctuations.

The science of Biology is developing man's control over soil, seed and season. Chemical manures, Mendel's law, vernalization processes are all there to help agriculture. Physics is also aiding with such inventions as photo-periodism. An industrial counterpart is needed and we shall not have to wait long for it.

Highly mechanized farming aided by the above and similar inventions will ultimately conquer the differences in fertility of soil and with the consequent even distribution of population one result would be the disappearance of Rent.

(This point too will be further dealt in a separate article). Only two factors would remain to share the national dividend: labour and investment.

Overinvestment, increasing inequality, changes in the value of money and inventions are some of the other factors which, combined with the institution of lending on interest, bring about a crisis in much the same way. With the abolition of this institution their harmful effects will very much diminish. They will have even then some power to cause unstable conditions. Islamic economics therefore eliminates them.

Overinvestment, oversaving, or overproduction is almost the same factor which in connection with the recent crisis has been described by the Pollak institute scholars, Foster and Catchings, as the shortening of purchasing-power by more and more of money being devoted to productive enterprise and less being given out to society to purchase the output. This is brought about by either not spending sufficiently on consumption-goods or by not paying enough in wages. This tendency may be called the second factor.

By emphasising the just and prompt payment of wages and by establishing the institution of the growth-tax, Islam has strengthened the position of the workers. It has made it possible for them to claim and have adequate remuneration. Unduly low wages are rendered more or less impossible, and so one of the causes of the shortage of purchasing-power is eliminated.

Secondly, Islam plainly saw that the efficiency of the everyday business of mankind depends upon the everyday habits of men, and it went on to emphasise spending. The religion expresses much contempt for miserliness and accumulation for its own sake. This prevents the critical situation that might have resulted from its emphasis on production. Wealth miserly accumulated can either be kept hoarded which means a wastage of productive resources and has been heavily taxed in Islam, or it may (to the neglect of consumption) be devoted entirely to production which will cause maladjustment of purchasing-power and may bring about a serious crisis. Islam rules this danger out too by emphasising spending.

In Islam two broad divisions of spending are on self and in charitable ways. For the present problem both have the same advantage; they help to increase the demand for industrial produce and prevent maladjustment of purchasing-power. The Qur'ân warns, "Spend your wealth in the way

of God, and be not cast by your own hands to ruin." (II. 795.) All that was said about Islam's emphasis on a better standard of living is a plea for spending on consumption-goods. The great and repeated emphasis in the Qur'ân on spending in charitable ways, the institution of the growth-tax, and the warning against accumulation—all these in effect combine to keep the purchasing-power of the community intact.

Against accumulation and oversaving it has been plainly said, "Let not those who hoard up that which God has bestowed upon them of His bounty think that it is better for them. Nay, it is worse for them."¹ And hoarding and miserliness are again and again rebuked. "And let not thy hand be chained to thy neck. . . . lest thou sit down rebuked."² The emphasis on spending against a lust for hoarding, along with the emphasis on production and "work," constitutes ample provision for an economic distribution of purchasing-power to be steadily maintained. This eliminates the second factor.

A third factor that may cause fluctuations is a tendency towards increasing inequality of wealth. It was pointed out that this tendency is inevitable in *laissez-faire* economics. For under that régime the worker's position is intrinsically weak. For this reason people at the top of the concerns begin taking progressively greater proportions of the national dividend. This fact is clearly established by a study of the causes of the recent crisis, especially in America and Professor Thompson regards it as a very important cause. Islamic economy especially eliminates this tendency through a modification of the inheritance-provisions and some other measures, as we shall presently see.

The tendency is harmful in three more ways (1) The people who begin to grow rich generally develop a greed for money. They cannot spend their wealth. They want it to multiply. So they overproduce. (2) Those who inherit large fortunes often spend on luxuries, diverting the community's resources to less stable industries. (3) Those who know that they are to inherit a large fortune very often come to lack ability and industriousness. When the business comes into their hands it generally fails. This also disturbs economic stability.

As we have seen, Islam, by emphasising spending and providing competing strength to workers, exercises the first

(1) *Qur'ân*, III. 180.

(2) *Qur'ân*, XVII, 29.

danger. It condemns the outlook that leads to overproduction. For bringing the two ends of society nearer together it has three means. The first is the institution of the growth-tax. It assigns a part of the economic rent and of the interest (actual or potential) arising from the ownership of capital goods exclusively to the poor. This improves their condition and thereby helps them to improve it further and so to move towards the upper end. As the velocity of money in the poorer classes is very great, the effect of this transference is very considerable.

Somewhat similar in nature are the *rikaz* and the *kharaj* taxes. *Laissez-faire* economics gives the land-owner a monopoly and excessive advantage. All the economic rent, and often more, goes to him. According to Islam, land is a free gift for all. Yet all cannot own land. Its ownership is left to free competition, the rent arising from it is however distributed to all. The land is not socialised, the rent is. The growth-tax, the *rikaz* tax, and the *kharaj* tax, are the instruments to socialise rent. The *rikaz* tax assigns one-fifth of the output of mines exclusively to the poor. The *kharaj* is a levy of about $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent on the output of land. It is due irrespective of whether or not the owner cultivates the land. It is devoted to general welfare. Thus though all cannot share in the ownership of land, all share in the use of rent. This too removes the weakness of the labouring class and improves their condition.

The third means which Islam uses to eliminate increasing inequality is the Islamic law of inheritance, which distributes the big accumulations amongst a large number of close or even distant relations.* This gives them a chance and stimulates their initiative. Thus, it not only brings the upper end of society nearer the lower, but also leads to a stimulation of enterprise and increase of prosperity. Now the business comes to be owned by a number of partners. So there is less risk of its being spoiled through incompetence and idleness.

It is easy to see that the general prosperity resulting from these arrangements should have a cumulative effect.

The fourth factor causing fluctuations is overspeculation. Abolition of commercial lending gives a death-blow to this.

Another cause of fluctuations is the introduction of new inventions themselves which account for all progress. Professor Pigou has pointed out that it takes capital to make

* *Qur'ân*, IV, 7, 8, 11, 12 and 77.

inventions practical. He argues that they are put in use only when capital is available, i.e., when credit is expanding. So he considers that they do not cause fluctuations but only aggravate them. Under Islamic Economics there is no such thing as expanding credit. So inventions are possible only when there is "expanding prosperity" and so when society is really best able to bear the slight disturbance caused by their introduction.

Another factor that causes or accentuates crises is changes in the value of money. These, however, assume social importance only in connection with loans on interest. Islam disallows such loans and so they lose their significance.

Islam thus eliminates fluctuations and with it the anxiety of the workers due to the uncertainty of employment.

VI

SOME OTHER QUESTIONS

In one more way Islam tends to eliminate unemployment. For unemployment, in some measure, is also due to the unequal distribution of leisure. Islam, by assigning a limited value to the ordinary business of life, by providing prosperity and by emphasising a fuller life and specially a life in the interest of the Hereafter, diverts people's attention to other uses of time—learning, prayer, service—and makes them compete for leisure.

There is no use in quoting verses on this point. It is enough to remind ourselves that Islam is a religion and not an economic organization.

Another feature of Islamic Economics which goes to solve our problems is that it eliminates the central defect of *laissez-faire* Economics by prohibiting all economic practices which yield a "private net product" at the cost of the "social net product." For instance our Prophet said, "Do not sell singing slave-girls nor buy them."¹ He also said, "Whoever holds goods for excessive prices is a sinner."² We have already seen how Islam has forbidden false measures and weights, hoarding and interest. It also forbids other socially harmful practices such as begging, stealing and indolence. It lays down the general principle disallowing even the cases that are at the margin.

(1) *Mishkât.*

(2) *Ibid.*

Islamic Economics of production thus takes a definite position between *laissez-faire* and socialism and so gets rid of most of the problems attached to them.

A last feature to be noted in this connection is that Islam is a great movement towards internationalism. The unity of religion is far greater than the unity of class, colour, or country. Muslims, the world over, tend to form one State. There does not arise the question of national self-sufficiency. Perfect territorial division of industries is possible. Nothing could further augment production.

VII

ECONOMICS OF DISTRIBUTION

Islam's Economics of distribution, then, maximises the welfare arising from this output by bringing about, as we have seen, a more equal distribution of wealth. The professional money-lender is eliminated. Rent is socialised. The only claimants to national dividend left are the entrepreneurs and the workers. Islamic distribution is conspicuous by the absence of the so-called "parasitic classes." But to maximise welfare complete equality is not the means. Theoretically it may maximise the welfare arising from a given output: in practice it leads to a diminution in that output. There will be loss of initiative if unequal labour is equally rewarded, and loss of efficiency if it is standardised at a low level.

Complete equalisation thus destroys its own purpose, and fails to maximise social welfare. The correct position seems to be to move towards equality only so far as it is consistent with maximum social welfare, and to retain inequality to some extent as a reward for greater service and a price for liberty. This is exactly the position in Islam.

The Islamic plan of distribution has appeared communistic to some who have, perhaps, been misled by the operation of the institution of the growth-tax on a large scale under the Caliphs, because the growth-tax distributes wealth according to needs. Thus Von Kremer remarks "Omar's communistic theocratic system of politics is one of the most remarked phenomena of history.....All Muslims were to enjoy perfect equality of rights, the entire State income as well as the conquered land was to be the common property of the Muslim community and every member of the brotherhood of Islam was to receive a fixed annuity from the State chest,"* and

* *Contributions to the History of Islamic Civilization.*

Mr. Khuda Bukhsh has assigned a decisively democratic and socialistic conception to the "original Islam."¹

Yet the Islamic system is neither communistic nor socialistic. The Islamic formula of distribution seems to be: to the poor according to their needs, to the rich according to their services. More useful economic talents are higher placed and better rewarded. God himself makes this arrangement and guarantees the Economic hierarchy: "We have apportioned among men their livelihood in the life of this world, and raised some above others in rank so that some of them may take labour from others."² And "He enlargeth the providence for whom He will and straiteneth (it for whom He will)."

Yet Economic ranks and occupations do not affect the position of the individual in society. "The believers are nought else than brothers."³ The classes are just a matter of economic division of labour. They do not denote the value of men. Islam, destroying the money-illusion, substitutes an altogether different standard of distinction and valuation. This brings us to the fundamental feature of Islam, which controls the "ordinary business of life," declaring that it is a limited value subordinate in importance to love and altruism and thus strikes at the fundamental problem which is the fountain-head of all economic troubles. According to Islam "God has set a measure for all things,"⁴ and the way of the growth of the individual personality is in adhering to that measure. A disproportionate devotion to any one value injures its growth. A study of what this measure is with regard to some values closely connected with economic problems clearly reveals that, if it is adhered to, some of the basic economic problems would be easily solved.

In spite of all that was said in praise of family and riches, they are only a part of the values of this world and not very much in themselves. "The comfort of the life of the world is but little as compared to the Hereafter."⁵

Their value is more as means than as ends in themselves. They do not figure in the ultimate valuation. "The day when wealth and sons avail not (any man) save him who brings

(1) "Orient under the Caliphs."

(2) *Qur'ân*, XLII.

(3) *Qur'ân*, XLIX, 10.

(4) *Qur'ân*, LXV, 3.

(5) *Qur'ân*, IX, 38.

unto God a whole heart." They serve their purpose in this world. They help or harm the man. Islam completely disillusioned man concerning family and riches. The Qur'ân says, "O ye who believe, lo! among your wives and your children are enemies for you, therefore beware of them." "Let not your wealth nor your children distract you from remembrance of God. Those who do so, they are the losers."² "They who hoard gold and silver and spend it not in the way of God, unto them give tidings of a painful doom."³

This must be enough to destroy a disproportionate devotion to family and to cure money-madness.

In the ultimate valuation only the deeds figure. "Every soul is a pledge for its own deeds."⁴ And the good deeds which endure are better in thy Lord's sight for reward and better for resort."⁵

Islam completely destroys the idea that wealth is an end and is of intrinsic worth. Hence its possession in itself confers no distinction. Instead, the distinction goes to those who do good and useful deeds. "Lo those who believe and do good works are the best of created beings."⁶ "And the pious deed doth He exalt."⁷ The Prophet said, "And the best of you is he who is best among you to his people." (At-Tirmidhî and Abû Dâ'ûd).

The beneficial effect of substituting such a constructive standard of distinction is obvious. It is by such education that Islam solves the central economic problem to which Prof. Keynes refers as follows: "At any rate to me it seems clearer every day that the moral problem of our age is concerned with the love of money, with the habitual appeal to money motives in nine-tenths of the activities of life, with the universal striving for the individual economic security, the social approbation of money as the measure of constructive success, and with the social appeal to the hoarding instinct as the foundation for the necessary provision for the family and for the failure."⁸

- (1) *Qur'ân*, XXVI, 89.
- (2) LXIII, 9.
- (3) IX, 34.
- (4) *Qur'ân*, LXXIV, 33.
- (5) *Qur'ân*, XIX, 27.
- (6) *Qur'ân*, XCVIII, 7.
- (7) XXXV, 10.
- (8) *A short view of Russia*.

And it is by such education that Islam fulfils the hope. . . .
"A revolution in our ways of thinking and feeling about money may become the growing purpose of contemporary embodiments of the ideal."*

These are some of the features of Islam's Economic system whose simplicity, so long, concealed is profoundness. The world to-day is in a better position to appreciate them. After costly experiments it has found out the inadequacy of Socialism and *laissez-faire*. *Laissez-faire* has come to a complete end. In the war and post-war period all the countries of Europe have, one by one, given up the idea. The U.S.A. has suddenly gone in for wholesale Planning. The same change is noticeable in China. Thus Article 17 of the Provisional Constitution for the period of Tutelage, adopted on May 15th, 1931, states that the exercise of the right of ownership of private property, in so far as it does not conflict with public interest, shall be protected by law. The Fascist movement, on the other hand, has arisen as a demand for moderation of scientific socialism. Both for its life and efficiency it depends upon its sense of limit.

Economic History has plainly demonstrated that both *laissez-faire* and Socialism are untenable extremes. For efficient and equitable Economics the elimination of their defects and a proper balance of the two, such as Islam offers, seems well worth considering.

M. HAMDULLAH.

* *A short view of Russia.*

HAIDARABAD AND GOLKONDA IN 1750 AS SEEN THROUGH FRENCH EYES

(From the unpublished diary of a French officer of Bussy's army, preserved in the Bibliotheque Nationals, Paris)

HAIDARABAD: SITUATION AND ROADS

- 17 THE city of Haiderabad is the capital of the kingdom of Golkonda. This city is large and beautiful. It is nearly two leagues in circumference, has very large walls, and occupies a very great height at the foot of which flows a very beautiful river, which rises very high when the waters descend, but is
18 fordable when they retire. This city is very unclean within; summer and winter alike it is always full of mud. When it rains the roads are covered ankle-deep with water. The inhabitants are Musalmans and Hindus: there are some white like the Europeans; they are very affable and most courteous.

There are other fine buildings in it, but they have no fine approach from the outside. In a blind lane or in a small and very narrow road full of excrement is found some very beautiful mansion which has a very small door for entrance. In all the houses, large or small, there are always a courtyard, a reservoir and a fountain.

GRAND MOSQUES

The principal buildings are two grand mosques of extreme largeness and height, entirely built of large free stones and smooth as ice. They have a number of small partition walls within for the convenience of those who wish to offer their prayers in privacy. In front or in the outer court of these mosques is a reservoir with a fountain of water for laving and purification. There is at every corner a very grand tower, which by far surpasses in height all the body of the building: on the top of the towers are a sort of lances of gilt copper, which glitter in the sun and which can be distinguished from a great distance outside the city. In the middle of the dome are two pyramids, which are not quite so high as the aforesaid

19 towers, at the end of which (pyramids) are two demi-lunes (crescents), also of gilt copper, which gives a very beautiful effect (*coup d'oeil*). Within these mosques there is nothing but the name of God written in golden letters in the Moor language—Arabic and Persian,—all around the wall.

In every mosque there resides a *faqir* or 'monk of the canon law,' who at 5 o'clock in the morning, at one hour after noon, and at 7 o'clock in the evening, stopping up both his ears with his two thumbs, invokes the name of God in a loud voice, as vigorously as he can cry out but very slowly,—and that during a good minute,—and prays thus: '*Bismillah-ir Rahman-ir Rahim, Allah bagi La Ilah-illallah, Muhammad Rasul-ullah.*' This ceremony is also observed in the army.

PALACE OF SALABAT JUNG

The other or second building is the mansion of the Nawab, which is made up of three blocks of residences. The entrance opens into the road of the *Chauk*: it is a vaulted gateway; above it are the drums, large and small, the large trumpets and the bagpipes (*musettes*).

After going through this gate one enters a medium-sized place of arms, which is oval. It has two other entrances, or (rather) outlets: on the right and the left, facing the (main) gateway, there is another (door) for entering the Nawab's house: one ordinarily sees at this place numbers of elephants, horses and *garis* (carriages) belonging to the Muslim chiefs and the Hindu Banias and shrofs, who have business to transact with the Nawab. One enters next by the aforesaid door, which is *double* and crosswise.*

20 We here see a reservoir, very narrow, but by way of compensation very long also, in the midst of which are more than 50 small jets of water. The garden and the reservoir lead up to a large courtyard, which is very neat, circular and very vast.

In the midst of this court is the first apartment, which is a large carpeted hall, one storeyed; its ceiling is supported by a number of small wooden pillars each of a single piece. In that hall are assembled all the Muslim and Hindu chiefs who have business here, and while waiting for the hour of speaking to the Nawab they sit here on their haunches in a circle and

* *Double et en travers*, i.e., across the entire breadth of the building. Littré explains *double* as "chose semblable on symétriquement pareille" i.e., what is called *jawāb* in Persian Architecture.

talk among themselves about the affairs which bring them there. They remain in that posture for 3 or 4 hours.

It is necessary next to pass by one other door, similarly double and crosswise, from which is seen a very fine garden full of all sorts of flowers: on the right and left are two beautiful gardens—I mean paths—covered with sand; on the two sides are two fine gardens of fruit-trees such as the orange, the jack, the mango, the guava, the banana, the pomegranate, the citron, etc. In the rear are two beautiful vines. At the end of these two paths and gardens, which extend more than one musket-shot in length, is to be seen a fine square reservoir, in the middle of which is an extremely beautiful jet of water, then a fine space crosswise, which is also covered with sand.

- 21 The second block of houses is also a great hall of which the ceiling is supported by a number of wooden pillars, each of a single piece like the preceding one: it is carpeted and one-storeyed. Above the carpet is a white cloth, very tightly stretched. On each line of pillars are long curtains, at the two ends and across (the hall) in the middle. In the centre of this hall is the Nawab's throne between four pillars, where he receives the ambassadors, decides the affairs of his realm with the chiefs, and takes the salam of everyone. During this ceremony of salam, there is a herald there [for *heros* read *héraut*] who cries out at the top of his voice and in his language,—when some chief presents himself to make his salam—*salam baaderelij** (*sic, salam bahadur-i-ala?*), which means “the salute of a warrior.”

The Nawab also receives here the horsemen, who are made to caracole before him. He here gives and receives presents.

On the other side of this apartment is a magnificent garden with all sorts of flowers and a very fine circular reservoir, in the centre of which is a fine and very high garden. Around the reservoir are a number of pots of fragrant flowers.

As for the third block of houses, it lies to the left as you enter the preceding hall. Here are two houses facing each other, between which is a fruit garden with a square medium-sized reservoir and a small fountain. In the house on the right is a large screen, and it is there that the Nawab dines and sleeps with his concubines.

It is as well to say that all these halls are open on all sides, so that one cannot take shelter there, and that the rain sweeps

* Is it *Salam ba-darbar-i-ala*? If so, the French officer has mis-translated it.

them from one end to the other. Such is the apartment of Nawab Salabat Jung, which, when examined well, is not found to be a grand thing.

HOURS STRUCK ON CONGS

- 22 It is necessary to mention that the Muslims and the Hindus divide the day into four quarters and the night into four watches, of three hours each, like the ancient Romans, namely thus:—from 6 to 9 o'clock in the morning they strike seven blows with a small wooden mallet on a copper plate and that once; and after a short pause they strike one, and this is the first quarter. From 9 o'clock to 12, they strike 8 twice (*par 2 fois*) and that rapidly, and after a short pause 2 slowly. These are the four quarters of the day. The night is divided like the day; but this thing changes according as the days and nights are long in the climate where they happen to be.

The drums, large and small, the trumpets and the bagpipes begin to play from 8-30 in the morning to 10 o'clock, from 11-30 up to one o'clock, from 2-30 up to 4; from 5-30 up to 7 o'clock.

- At 9 o'clock in the morning, at noon, at 3 in the afternoon and at 6 in the evening, a big drum is beaten with the others; but it is distinguished above all and it is this that directly marks the quarter of the day. The same rule is observed during the night, except that at 9 o'clock in the evening and 3 a.m. the drums, trumpets and bagpipes are not beaten or sounded; and this is done in order to let all the camp understand if the halt is sounded after 9 p.m. up to 10; and if the kettledrum is beaten from 3 to 5 a.m. (it is a notice for marching, *some words obliterated in the MS. here*);—because if the kettledrum is beaten or the halt sounded at any other hour, it is due to some extraordinary or unexpected affair.

The horologues of the Muslims are sand-glasses like ours, with this difference that they do not mark the exact half hour; they have only (periods of) $22\frac{1}{2}$ minutes, so that when they sound six o'clock in the morning, it is scarcely 5 with us. The Muslims beat the drums, play on the pipes and sound the trumpets; but the Hindus sound the hours and watch the hourglasses, because they are far more faithful (=accurate).

MANSION OF SAYYID LASHKAR KHAN

The residence of Sayyid Lashkar Khan is in certain ways more beautiful and more commodious than that of the Nawab; it is true that it is not so large, but in spite of its smallness it

has a far more beautiful approach. Before entering within it, there is a very fine long place of arms; next we pass through a beautiful gateway and enter a fine garden which stretches on the right and left; in the centre is a beautiful but narrow reservoir, in which are about 30 fine jets of water, with broad sandy paths on both sides of the reservoir; at the end of it is a block of houses in the square form, of which the entrance is a grand carpeted hall, one-storeyed. Above the carpet is a white sheet very (tightly) stretched. In the centre is a throne
 24 between four pillars. This hall is open on all sides. Its ceiling, which is painted with beautiful flowers of all colours of gold, is supported by a number of small pillars of wood, each of one single piece, and varnished red. This hall is only for receiving the visits which are made to him. At the back is his residence, where he eats and sleeps, as also do his wives and concubines, everyone of them in her small chamber, so that there are more than 30 cabinets in that apartment, without counting the other conveniences [i.e., rooms like lavatories.]

It should be noted that all the chiefs of the greatest distinction, such as Sayyid Lashkar Khan, who is highly respected because he is of the family of the Great Mughal and has had many kings among his kingsfolk in different kingdoms [meaning *subahs*],—the diwan who is the second person in the realm, Mons. de Bussy, the old Nawab of Burhampur who has to be carried about in a litter, Yamin-ud-daulah Khan and others,—all the chiefs, I say, have everyone his throne at his house, like Nawab Salabat Jung.

There are in this city many other houses which are very old: that in which Mons. de Bussy resides is very much out of order (*ramassé*) and seems to have been very beautiful (once), being still glazed with pots of flowers of porcelain; in it are three houses, with many chambers and cabinets, above and below. The one in which Mons. de Merinville lodges, has a block of houses built on vaults, which lead to the house of the Nawab who sometimes comes incognito (informally) to visit Mons. de Bussy. Although all these houses and others which
 25 I pass over in silence, are extremely old and are falling into ruin,—yet there are nevertheless to be seen also some beautiful remains of their grandeur.

RUINS IN OLD GOLKONDA

But that which is most remarkable here is an old structure named Old Golkonda. It is an ancient monument of which the antiquity has been forgotten by the Muslims and the

Hindus. It is more than one league in circumference; here are still to be seen many old towers of excessive height and some remains of many palaces and throne (*sic*) which are to be found in all that city and of which the ruins are only long arches of which even now as many as six, one above another, are visible; their centres are formed by single pieces of stone, which are up to three fathoms in width. All that old mass is crumbled down to the ground, so that one cannot see the ground floor, which ordinarily is very neat and very large. All the buildings have only gates, windows and arches [left], and I think that there must be still others under that terrace, because they are very high and steep.

CHARMAHAL

But the fairest, the largest and the chief of all the houses of this city is named the Charmahal, which is where the French have made their residence. It is surrounded by a wall which encloses nearly half a league in circumference. In the midst is a tank, divided into equal parts by a curtain,—in which are small jets of water placed all around at distances of 26 six feet by six. This tank is very large; about 300 jets of water are counted here, and it has a house on each face of it: the most beautiful and the largest is the one where Mons de Bussy, our other gentlemen and the corps of the troops have made their residence; a thousand men can lodge here. This house is extremely large and high, from above the *argamasse** all the city can be seen.

It is composed of living rooms, above and below, and is full of gates and windows—above which are Arabic writings in golden letters. All the huge body of the house is supported by beams of an extreme bulkiness and height.

The house which faces this one and which stands on the other side of the tank, serves as the magazine of powder, balls, bombs and bullets; it also serves as a hall of arms, and is three-quarter smaller than the preceding one which has 2 faces, while this one has only one face. It has only one large and long hall, which, however, is very narrow, with 8 small cabinets,—while the other, besides the two large halls, above and below, has 50 cabinets. It has, in the same manner as the large (one), two galleries which run right and left from the side of the tank, but they are smaller by far.

As for the body of the house, it lies on the left of the aforesaid tank and it faces the grand gate by which one enters the Charmahal,—because it has two others, one small which

**Argamasse* is a Malayalam compound word, meaning 'earth-shaped,' i.e., globular.

leads to the tourniquet (*pani chakki?*) and the other which, in passing the river that washes the foot of the walls of that city, leads to the Goshamahal (of which we shall speak in its proper place).

- 27 The other apartment is that in which the (French) volunteers lodge with their officers, our dragoons or hussars, the artillery adjutants, the drums, pipes and trumpets of Mons. de Bussy, the blacksmiths and the carpenters. In this house are the gun carriages, the limber, the cushions and sights of the cannon, as also the munition carriages. This house is octagonal and has living rooms above and below with a gallery in the second storey which turns all around it, with about a hundred small cabinets (*=hujras*) above and below. Above the building is a very beautiful *argamasse* from which one can see all the city, and there is a wooden parapet, three feet in height, which crowns this work.

The other block of houses which faces this one and which is similarly on the other side of the tank is the lodging of the major of the troops, the artillery officers, and others with their companies. It is built on the same model as the preceding one. At the back is to be seen a *courtine* (curtain) wherein there are cascades at regular intervals which fall into the tank. All the remainder of the Charmahal is a tract of land very fit to form a magnificent garden, but the Musalmans, lazy by nature, do not clear it.

THE CHAUK BAZAR

- In order to go to the Chauk or grand bazar, after issuing by the main gate of the Charmahal, we have to pass by a small road which forms the letter S and which is always full of dirt, and so narrow that an elephant can with difficulty turn in it. At the end of this road is a height, where we reach an old building exposed to the four winds, which faces the four roads. In the centre of it is a reservoir of free stone, above it are extremely high pyramids, which can be seen from very
28 far outside the city. On the opposite side is a road full of shops, on the right and left, containing all kinds of merchandise, such as drugs of all sorts, every kind of spices, books, paper, paste-board (*cartons*), ink, pens, gingham, white cloth, silk fabrics and yarn of all sorts of colours, swords and bows, arrows and quivers, knives and scissors, spoons and forks, thimbles and dice, needles large and small, gems fine and false,—in short, all that one may desire. At the beginning

and the end of this road are a number of large shops of confectioners, bakers and fruit-sellers. Next we enter a circular place which is the Chauk Bazar. In the morning here are sold cattle, horses, camels, sheep, poultry and eggs. In the evening, from 5 to 9 o'clock, the Chauk is held; they sell there the same goods which are in the shops of which I have spoken, except the sword-dealers who keep them entirely bare displayed on the carpets before them. Those who wish to sell their arms,—be it matchlocks, sabres, large pointed knives, *kataris* and poniards,—those, I say, stir about with the bared swords in their hands; and sometimes it so happend that we Europeans who were not accustomed to seeing this, thought them at first to be men who were scuffling; but in the end we went there.

GATES, BRIDGES, AND GROVES

- 29 From the Chauk up to the main gate of the city,—which is called the Golkonda Gate, is a long and wide road, but very full of dirt, leading up to that gate, which is very beautiful, large and arched. This city has three gates, of which the two principal ones are this of Golkonda and the other of Masulipatam. Next we pass over a bridge which is very beautiful for these countries. It is tolerably long and wide, paved with free stone, and has some 30 arches. When one is outside the city, one may say that there are here nothing but groves, and except for the grand mosque of which one can see the towers and the four pyramids of which I have spoken before—and were it not for the walls the gate and the bridge—one might take the city for a tope. I have been assured by the Musalmans and the Hindus that the city of Haidarabad furnishes to Salabat Jung 25 lakhs of rupees as annual revenue.

THE GOSHAMAHAL

A cannon-shot from the city is a house which surpasses in beauty, largeness and magnificence and above all in workmanship, all those of the city: it is named the Goshamahall. This building is surrounded by a road about a league forming a square, in the midst of which is a tank, also square, and cut in the rock. It has more the look of a lake than that of a tank, by reason of its large size. It is surrounded by a curtain (=facade with pavilions) resembling that of the tank of Charmahal, except that there is no fountain here. The banks of this tank, as well as the curtain, are built of large and long free stones, 10 to 15 feet in length and 5 to 6 feet in width.

30 The principal block of the building is a large house with two faces, of which the chief one is towards the interior and in two storeys, at the foot of which are three long vaults which traverse the body of the building and which serve as kitchen and stable. We next climb a staircase of free stone, with some 20 steps, and then arrive at a sanded flowerbed, in the midst of which is an *argamassé* reservoir with a small but pretty jet of water. Below this place are two cascades, with a long but narrow basin at the end of each, which fall into the tank that waters a garden on the right and left by many channels which are delivered into it.

For returning to the body of the building, one ascends a small staircase of about a dozen steps, and arrives under a beautiful *argamassé* corridor, in the midst of which rises above the great tank a round throne, which is painted all over and covered by a dome of painted wood, supported by pillars of the same material, and the whole is varnished with flowers. Above it is an old dais of *doublé* chintz cloth.

Within the house is a long hall, in the midst of which stands the site of a throne which issues in the form of a circle from the body of the house on the other face. The Charmahal is similar to this above and below. At each end of this hall is another crosswise. At the back are two parapets which border a beautiful corridor. In the walls of that hall are many
31 small cabinets [niches]. In front is a gallery on each side, in which are chambers and cabinets. The second storey resembles the first, except that it is more painted in all sorts of colour and also in gold in many places. On the walls are groves and leaves painted above and also carved with a number of beautiful and large flowers.

Above the second storey is a gallery at each end, containing halls and cabinets. On the final height of this block of buildings is a very beautiful *argamassé* from which one can see the entire city and [the country] up to the fort of Golkonda. It is surrounded by a very large wooden parapet, coated with plaster and lime, adorned with thick balls of the same material. From this *argamassé* hangs a great wind-screen (or pent-house) in front of the house, which is supported from a base by beams of extraordinary thickness, with many smaller ones which support the other portions of that building, which is very ancient. All the buildings of this species are only made up of gates and windows and built more of wood than of stone. They are found to be of an excessive height and

thickness. There are only six feet of wall separating one door from another on this wall. There are two stone beds and one thick beam. In short, more wood has been used in building this house than would suffice for constructing a magnificent chateau; and if fire catches it there would be a grand conflagration. It is very surprising that in all these houses which are only made of wood and the others of straw, 23 fire breaks out very rarely, and that, on the contrary in our houses in Europe, which do not contain a hundredth part of the timber these houses have, it is very seldom that one does not hear it said any day in a city that a fire has broken out in such a quarter and that in so many of the houses women and children have been burnt.

Musalmans and Hindus have told us that the great Nizam-ul-mulk (Asaf Jah I) when about to depart for Delhi-Agra in order to succour the Great Mughal named Ahmad Shah (*cor.* Muhammad Shah) who was engaged with Tahmasp Quli Khan (i.e., Nadir Shah) and was hard pressed by the latter,—stripped this mansion,—which was entirely adorned with silver plates in its sculptures and the throne covered with plates of gold; he thus took 14 lakhs of rupees, and that was in fear lest the Marathas should make an incursion and take away that money. Whether that was true or not, I cannot say. This house can easily lodge 3000 men.

GARDENS

On the other side of the tank is another block of buildings which is nothing in comparison with this one, but which can, however, accommodate more than 600 men. All the rest of the surroundings is only a large garden where there are two beautiful vines, rows of mango-trees, date-palms, cocoanuts, fig-trees, bananas, oranges, citrons, with some yew-trees; but 33 they are planted in confusion and form many petty topes. There are also squares of turnips, carrots, French turnips, cabbages, peas, lentils and other vegetables, with paddy, spiked millet and *chóllu* (*cynosurus corocanus*),* and two large cisterns on the right and left, which water by means of channels all this large garden, the avenues and the topes.

This block of buildings is the pleasure-house of the Great Mughal. He has one similar in all the large cities of the kingdom of Golkonda, the Deccan and Hindustan. There

* The French MS. reads *nesly*, *cam bou* and *chollon*. *Nesly* in Tamil *nelli* or paddy. *Cam bou* is Telugu for *bajra*. *Chóllu* is Telugu for *cynosurus corocanus*.

are many more superb buildings with beautiful gardens outside this city; but they are extremely distant. I cannot speak of them, having never seen them.

Since our departure from Pondicherry (15th January 1750) up to now, all the principal Muhammadan chiefs of the army, in the same way as the Nawab Hedayet Muhiuddin Khan during his life-time gave us from time to time some rupees as reward,—Salabat Jung and his diwan have been accustomed to send food for our officers and troops. These dishes consist of bread made *à la manteque* [butter, *ghee*], stew, liver of fowls and kids, very well dressed, *pilao* which is rice boiled with quantities of butter, fowls and kids, with all sorts of spices; besides these, many sorts of spicery, I mean to say sweatmeats. All these came for our officers; but the chiefs sent them on to us. Those which came for the troops consisted of bread, stew and *pilao*, all with the meat of kids, which we found to be very good, and which refreshed us
 34 greatly because we were new in that army and had great difficulty in making ourselves understood.

But this did not continue long. A large number of foreigner deserters, who came from (different) countries, being utterly naked and overcome by poverty—such as the Portuguese, English, Scots, Irish, Germans, Ostendmen and Dutch, who came to join us and who were distributed among our companies,—that of *Sieur Masse* is almost entirely composed of *tapases* (=half castes);—all these men, I say, on receiving Rs. 30 a month and being fully dressed anew, believed that they had poverty no longer. They began to despise these dishes and to give the bread to their oxen. This did not fail to be reported to the chiefs by the spies who were not wanting in that army. They discontinued sending us meals; only the Nawab always, and his diwan sometimes, continued the practice. These foodstuffs came in flat wide baskets (? *rikab*) and in warming-pans of copper, enclosed in bags of chintz which were sealed with the seals of each chief, as still come those of the Nawab and the diwan.

ROAD FROM HAIDARABAD TO GOLKONDA

There is only one road, long, very narrow, dirty, ill-paved and uneven,—on which the houses are not laid out in line at all: some are of brick or stone, others only big cottages. There is a large number of small shops of foodstuffs and of workmen. This road begins at the foot of the city and leads up to two cannon-shot of the fort of Golkonda, which is two good leagues distant from the city. At the end of that road

- 35 is a large number of mosques, large and small, with magnificent mausoleums and tombs. Next one passes over a small badly built bridge, when one finds a long and broad embankment which leads up to the gate of the fort, which is under a large bastion on the right. On the left of this embankment are fields of paddy, bajra and toddy-palm.* This fortification contains only the outside (of Golkonda) and is a large and strong wall, adorned with good bastions and demi-lunes to the number of nearly 200, where at every embrasure are good pieces of cannon and on each bastion a good cavalier with heavy pieces. At the foot of this wall is a good double ditch cut in the rock, full of water in winter and dry in summer. The fort is three leagues in circumference. The walls, bastions, demi-lunes and cavaliers are built of good thick and long free stones of a black colour, [trap rock or basalt?].

GATES OF GOLKONDA

- To return to the gate of the fort of Golkonda, which terminates the causeway. It is *doublé* and *en travers*. On the right and left hands are two beautiful ramps (slopes) by which one ascends to the bastions which are similarly paved. When we entered here for the first time with the Nawab, they made a sacrifice by cutting the throat of a buffalo and staining with its blood the feet of the elephant on which Salabat Jung was mounted. After this ceremony, we filed through a long and very dirty road, where there is a number of godowns, containing an infinite number of cannon of all calibres, lying on the ground, such as those of brass alloy, copper and iron.
- 36 We there saw two other species than the usual,—the one discharges two and the other thirteen volleys (at a time). The latter is constructed thus: its breech encloses thirteen volleys, so that all the thirteen volleys issue simultaneously. Its calibre is of six pounds of powder for each piece. The shot of the middle (one) is of 12 lbs. (weight).

At the end of that road is another *doublé* gate, similarly *en travers*, above which are two pieces of cannon which command the entire length of this road. They made here the same sacrifice and the same ceremony as at the first gate. After passing through it we filed through the same road which consists of a long bit of road, and we continued our march on the left and followed a road so narrow that an elephant can hardly turn in it.

* The French MS. reads *nesly, cambou et callou*. The last word is either *chollou* (*cynosurus corocanus*) or Telugu *Kallu*, meaning the fermented juice of the toddy-palm.

We passed before one of the treasuries of Golkonda, because there are many such here from which the late Nasir Jung had taken away all the gold, so that only the silver now remained. The treasury is arranged like a veritable market-place with a number of arches under each of which is a large heap of sacks of leather with Rs. 6,000 in each, which is a bullock's load; these bags are piled up one above another.

Towards the middle of this road we turned to the right and entered another still narrower than the former; I mean, it is narrow at the beginning but expands towards its end, where stands the mansion of the Nawab. They made the same sacrifice and the same ceremony here as at the first (gate),—that is, for the third time. Salabat Jung entered his house and rested there for a day and a half. We were given for our food bread and viands, pilao, legumes and *thaize*.* This mansion is very pretty. Its gate is very beautiful; the entrance is through a garden of fruit trees. In the centre is a reservoir which forms a cross, with a fine jet of water. Next one enters a carpeted hall of one storey; in the middle of it is the Nawab's throne; on the right and left are cabinets. On the right of this hall, as you enter, is a bent door (*fousse porte*) by which Salabat Jung enters into his seraglio, which forms another private apartment.

During the time that I could ramble in Golkonda, I found there nothing but old ruins. I wished to approach the hill which is directly at the centre of the fort, but they did not let me ascend it. This mountain is arranged thus: it is crowned on the summit by a pleasure-house not yet completed; from the top to the base there are at distances many fortifications which surround it. Towards the middle and on the road is a gate to each fortification (wall). On the right and left of that gate are two guardrooms with sepoy's for guarding the passage to the interior. It is absolutely necessary to pass through this gate, because there is no other way. But everyone cannot enter who wishes. The gates, as those of the fort, are closed about 7 o'clock in the evening and are not opened till 9 to 10 o'clock in the morning or still later, and that too not without the order of the governor. In rambling around this hill, I perceived a large cavity, in which were some Musalmans, very old and seeming to be of high birth, who told me that the great Nizam-ul-mulk (Asaf Jah I) had buried in these cavities 17 krores of rupees, each krur being 100 lakhs and each lakh 100,000 rupees.

**Thai* is a Malayalam word, meaning any young plant, especially the cocoanut.

IMMENSE ARTILLERY IN GOLKONDA ARSENAL

We found on all these works fine pieces of cannon, and counted on the bastions, cavaliers, fortifications and in the godowns of the fort nearly 3000 pieces of artillery (in all).

We had taken here 20 to 24 pieces, namely eight of French casting,—4 of 8 lb. powder each, and 4 of 6 lb. charge,—all decorated with *fleurs de lis*, marked with the letter L [Louis XV] crowned, having two dolphins to serve as handles, and a small chameleon raising its head in the air to serve as the sight. As for the remaining pieces, they are only of 3 to 4 lb. (charge) for serving the pieces with munition.

Outside this fort are many beautiful mosques of extreme grandeur and neatness,—having only the name of God written in large letters of gold above their gates and windows. There are similarly some other buildings on the two sides, but they are all open like the magazines, and do not excite the desire of describing them. Monsieur de Bussy alone on his elephant made the tour of this fort, which is situated in a great plain and is encircled by mountains.

3 May, 1750, we departed from the city of Haidarabad.

JADUNATH SARKAR.

*THE IRÂB OF THIRTY SÛRAHS BY IBN
KHÂLAWEYH*

I BELIEVE every Muslim who can read possesses one or more copies, in manuscript or print, of the Holy Qur'ân and all copies in use agree in their readings. This may cause the universal opinion, that this has been always so, which since the publication of the authorized text by the Caliph 'Uthmân is true to a certain extent only.

A Tradition of the Prophet, recorded through various channels, states that the Holy Writ was sent down in seven *Harfs*, an expression which has led to numerous interpretations into which I do not wish to go here. For if the statement or doctrine of a Prophet may be simple, the theologians of succeeding generations, in accordance with their own views, give interpretations which were never intended by the original utterances.

Though doubtlessly some of the Companions had written down portions of the *Revelation*, the axiom was that it should not be perpetuated by writing on paper or other material, but engraved in the memory and the hearts of the faithful believers and it is well known that the Caliph 'Uthmân was urged in the first instance to have the Sûrahs collected on account of the many men, who knew them by heart, having fallen in the battles of the conquests.

Though Tradition goes that already Abû Bakr and 'Umar had made a collection and that copies were in the possession of the latter's daughter Ḥafṣa, we have no definite particulars as to the *scope* of such copies.

We are therefore for the present bound by the official text as issued by the Caliph 'Uthmân, copies of which were sent to the seven chief cities, Mecca, Al-Medina, Basra, Kûfa,

Damascus, Fuṣṭāṭ (Cairo did not exist as yet) and Jerusalem. As it by a conspiracy *all* the original copies appear to have been lost or destroyed and we do not have any indication as to their appearance.¹

There exist besides fragments of ancient *Kūfic* Qur'āns² a number of copies, often beautifully written of *Kūfic* fragments which are claimed to have been written by the Imāms 'Alī, al-Ḥasan and al-Ḥuseyn themselves. All these are stupid forgeries. The writers of these fragments had not the slightest idea of the script of the first century of the Hijrah. I assert and am willing to retract in case the contrary can be satisfactorily proved, that the official Muṣḥafs issued by the Caliph 'Uthmān were most likely *not in Kūfic script at all*. Whatever documents of the first century of the Hijrah have come to light so far, both in Egypt and recently in Turkistān, are all written in, *what I call, the Meccan Arabic script* which is the parent of the Naskhī of all succeeding generations.

We must bear in mind that the art of writing was a rare accomplishment. Ibn Sa'd tells us in the biographies of the

(1) They certainly were *not* in the form of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥaf, otherwise there would have been no need for him to order the *collecting* of the text.

(2) Since none of the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥafs have come to light and there was always a desire to ascertain and to possess authentic ancient copies, a field was left for the forger who was encouraged by the pious credulity of circles who in their zeal wished to be duped. My suspicion has been awakened in this field by a strange communication by the learned Mujtahid Abū 'Abd Allāh Zinjānī. He mentioned in one of his articles published in the Baghdad journal *Loghat al-'Arab* that he possessed a manuscript of the Fihrist of Ibn an-Nadīm. As Prof. Fuck is preparing a new edition of this important work, the old edition by Flugel being very faulty, I asked the learned Mujtahid, who is always ready to give help, for information about his copy which he kindly supplied. His copy is one taken from a manuscript preserved in Najaf. It was for this reason important to get further news about the Najaf manuscript because Zinjānī in his letter to me made the statement that his copy contained an account of the arrangement of the Sūrahs in the *Muṣḥaf of the Imām 'Alī* which is missing in the printed edition and in all other known copies in manuscript. My enquiries proved that there is *no ancient copy* of the Fihrist in Najaf. About 25 to 30 years ago a young scholar made *two* copies of Flugel's edition, one of which may be the original from which Zinjānī's copy was taken and if it contains an account of the arrangement of the Sūrahs in the Imām 'Alī's recension this must have been added by some overzealous person wishing to prove the existence of a Muṣḥaf of 'Alī.

Companions each time one of them was capable of writing that he could write, and adds, that writing was a rare art in those times.

We can also form some judgment that a few of the points were used for distinguishing similar forms of letters from others. *Vocalisation did not exist at all* and came gradually at a much later date.

We also know from historical accounts that because scribes were scarce, both in Syria and in the 'Irâq, foreigners, or rather non-Muslims, were employed almost exclusively in the government offices. These people were men, who, as Christians, had been accustomed to write in Syriac script, a distant relative of the Meccan writing, and it was *they* who modelled the new Arabic script, generally known as Kûfic. These very Kâtibs, whether converted or not, were probably employed to make copies of the Holy Book. We have no definite record about this, but the spread of copies in Kûfic script makes me believe that this was the case.

A very important point, overlooked by the forgers of Kûfic Qur'âns,¹ is that they were too late in date to have a knowledge of the material upon which the 'Ulmânî Muṣḥafs *must* have been written. With the conquest of Egypt by 'Amr ibn al-'Âs the Muslims became the sole proprietors of the most valuable writing material of those times, papyrus, which was exclusively used in official documents of the first century of the Hijrah as is evidenced by the large amount of documents which have come to light. The loss of this writing material was keenly felt in the Roman Empire and the trade with it flourished for a long time, even caused diplomatical remonstrances from Byzantium, because the rolls contained the Shahâdah on the end of the rolls, which was objectionable to the Greeks.² During all this period papyrus was considered *a far more valuable writing-material* than parchment. For

(1) The most ancient fragments of Kûfic Muṣḥafs are on parchment which is *very hard* and apparently treated with some kind of lime, while the later ones are written on pliable parchment as is the case with those attributed to the Imâms 'Alî and al-Huseyn which may be dated in the early fourth century of the Hijrah at a time when during the Buweyhi rule there may have been a demand for such copies.

(2) Such rolls of papyrus have been preserved and anyone wishing can inspect one in the British Museum.

this reason I am convinced that the 'Uthmānī Muṣḥafs also were written on papyrus and the perishable nature of this material may account to a great extent for the disappearance of the early copies of the Holy Writ.¹

The scarcity of punctuation of the original copies gave rise to variances in reading the text, though a certain uniformity was aimed at. But as will be seen from a Fetwâ of the learned grammarian and Mufasssir Abû Ḥayyân, which I give in translation later, a really final settlement of the text was not accomplished till about the middle of the fourth century of the Hijrah, and then it remains very uncertain whether this text was adopted in far distant parts of the Muslim world like Spain and the Maghrib.

Before a complete punctuation of the Holy Writ was introduced some scholars began to fix this in special works and foremost among these was the Kûfî grammarian Al-Farrâ' who probably only dealt with certain difficult readings—he died in 207 A.H. at the age of 63 years.² His pupil was

(1) I have been told that in Al-Madīnah at least one Muṣḥaf on papyrus is still preserved, but this requires confirmation and, if true, deserves close examination.

Some of the original Muṣḥafs of 'Uthmān must have existed till the fourth century of the Hijrah. On special State occasions the Caliph sat with the Muṣḥaf on his lap, especially at the investiture of the Amīr al-Umara'. The ancient script did not mark the Maddah, nor the Hamzah nor the Waṣl. In such cases later for the Maddah a small

مد was written over the letter and in a similar way for the Waṣl a small صل was written over the Alif. A curious reading, which I mentioned only for this reason is recorded by Sīrāfī in his History of the Basrian grammarians. The poet Ru'ba read in the verse فاما الزبد فيذهب جفاً (Sûrat al-Ra'd 13 v. 18), where the official text has فاما الزبد فيذهب جفاً the word جفاً. The Muṣḥaf had simply جفا with perhaps no points on either ج nor ف. Such a reading has no other authority than that of the amendment of a lexicographer.

(2) The work of Al-Farrâ' has been preserved and a copy has recently been discovered in Istanbul. Biographies of him are found in Yâqût's *Irshâd*, VII, 276; Khatīb, *Târikh Baghdâd* XIV, 149; Ibn Khallikân, ed. Cairo 1310, II, 229 and many other works.

As-Simmari¹ who, besides being a Traditionist, was principally responsible for the perpetuation of the works of Al-Farrâ' and his statements on the reading of the Qur'ân.

His principal pupil was Ibn Mujâhid² who was the first who made a collection of the various readings in accordance with the *seven* Readers and his work, now lost, is the basis of all later works on the subject. He died 324 A.H. It was high time that the various readings used by Readers should be checked as many readings were current which caused scandal among the more orthodox scholars. The reign of the Caliph Ar-Râqlî saw the power of the central authority slipping away in every direction, the Qarmatians in Central Arabia, the Bweyhîs in Persia, the Banû Hamdân in Syria and the 'Ubeydîs in Africa were all Shî'ahs and openly or secretly bent upon the destruction of the 'Abbâsî Caliphate. The dishonesty of the ministers of State, chief among them Ibn al-Furât and Ibn Muqla, robbed the public treasury of, to us, incredible sums which contributed largely to the general discontent of the populace, and the masses were only too eager for any impostor to be followed as a kind of relief from the nervous strain of the times. It is during this time that the scandal of Ibn Shunbûdh happened.

In Rabî' al-Awwal 323 A.H. the wazîr Abû 'Alî ibn Muqla learned that a man named Ibn Shunbûdh was altering words in the Qur'ân and he had him called before him as well as the Qâdî Abû'l-Huseyn 'Umar b. Muḥammad and Abû

(1) *As-Simmari*. Abû 'Abd Allâh Muhammad ibn al-Jahm ibn-Hârûn as-Simmari studied under Ya'lâ ibn 'Ubeyd at-Tanâfisî, 'Abd al-Wahhâb ibn 'Atâ, Yazîd ibn Hârûn and others. He transmitted the works of Al-Farrâ' and was the last of the pupils of this author. Among his pupils were Ibn Mujâhid, Niftawcylî, Abû Bakr ash-Shâfi'î and others. He died on Sunday the last day of Jumâda II, 277 A.H. at the age of 89 years.

(*Muntazam*, V, 25-v; *Târikh Baghdâd*, II, 161; Yâqût, *Irshâd* IV, 471).

(2) *Ibn Mujahid Abû Bakr Ahmad ibn Mûsa ibn al-'Abbâs*.—

He was born in Rabî' II, 245 A.H. and was the Sheykh of the Qur'â' (Qur'ân-readers) of his time and took precedence before all of them. He transmitted Traditions after a large number of Sheykhhs and among his pupils was the celebrated Traditionist Dâraqutnî. He resided on the eastern side of Baghdâd. The grammarian Tha'lab used to say: There remains in our time none more learned concerning the Book of God than Abû Bakr ibn Mujâhid. He died on Wednesday afternoon the 19th of Sha'ban 324 A.H. and was buried in the cemetery of the Bâb al-Bustân and left a handsome fortune.

(*Muntazam* fol. 217; *Târikh Baghdâd* V, p. 144.)

Bakr ibn Mujāhid and he was examined before the wazīr when he used strong words in the disputation. Then he was beaten between the *الهمارين* (al-Habbârîn)¹ seven strokes with the birch and 'Alī ibn Muqla demanded that his hand be cut off and that he be utterly ruined. Then the words which he used in his readings were put to him and he denied those which were outrageous, but as regards the others he said that the people were using those readings like: "Then go to the mention of God" and "who takes every *suitable* ship by force" and "like *fluffed wool*."² They asked him to repent and he gave his written undertaking to that effect. Then he was taken to Al-Madâ'in during the night to stay there for a while and then come to his home secretly and not to appear in public for fear that he might be killed by the common folk. It is said that he was banished to Al-Baṣra then to Al-Aḥwâz and died there.

A second account is found in his obituary notice under the year 328 A.H.

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyûb b. as-Salt, the Qur'ân-reader, known as Ibn Shunbûdh, transmitted Traditions after Abû Muslim al-Kajjî Bishr ibn Mûsâ and many other of the people of Syria and Egypt. He made it a practice to select for himself uncommon readings of the Qur'ân and read them in public; Abû Bakr al-Anbârî and others wrote books refuting him. Al-Qazzâz informed me after the Khatîb after Ibrâhîm ibn Makhlad after Ismâ'il ibn 'Alī al-Khutabî: In Baghdâd became notorious a man named Ibn Shunbûdh who taught people the reading of the Qur'ân and used to read in the Mîhrâb readings which were not in accordance with the Muṣṣhaf (i.e., the official recension of the Holy Writ as issued by the Caliph 'Uthmân) readings such as are recorded after Ibn Mas'ûd and Ubeyy and others which were read before the collection of the Muṣṣhafs collected by 'Uthmân. He followed these readings and recited them till the affair became momentous and a scandal and the people found fault. Then the Government sent and had him arrested on Saturday the

(1) So here, while in the second account and in the Târikh Baghdâd we read the other strange reading Al-Hinbâzîn. Perhaps it was a Mahalla in Baghdâd, not recorded by geographers.

(2) *ياخذ كل سفينة صالحة غصبا* and *فاسعوا* instead of *فامضوا الى ذكر الله* adding *كالصوف المنفوش* and *صالحة* instead of *كالهين*.

(Muntaẓam, fol. 326; Târikh Baghdâd, vol. I, p. 280.)

sixth of Rabī' II, 323 A.H. He was brought to the house of the wazīr Muḥammad ibn 'Alī ibn Muqla, who summoned the Qādīs and jurists and the wazīr examined him in their presence and it was proved what was alleged against him. He supported him. The wazīr asked him to recant, but he refused to recant or retract from the reading of these uncommon disapproved readings which added to the Muṣḥaf or varied from it. All present in the assembly disapproved of them and advised his punishment and his being dealt with in such manner as would make him recant. He therefore commanded him to be stripped and placed between the هَبَاز (Hinhâz) and to be birched severely upon the back of his head. He could not bear this and cried for mercy and submitted to recantation and said that he was repentant. He was then released and his garments given back to him and he was asked to repent publicly; and his written statement was taken that he repented.¹ Ibn Shunbûdh died on Monday the third of Safar in 328 A.H.

It is during this period that Ibn Khâlawayhî wrote his works upon the correct reading of the Thirty short Sûrahs, i.e., the Fâtihah and the 29 last chapters of the Holy Book. Though a pupil of the Sunnī Ibn Mujâhid, he was certainly a Shī'ah, as is evidenced from many passages in his I'râb of the Thirty Sûrahs. One is amazed that a scholar of his reputation should record such a stupid tale as that of the Prophet eating a quince, the scent of which he could smell on the

(1) The actual wording of the recantation of Ibn Shunbûdh is preserved in the portion of the *Kitâb al-Aurâq* of As-Sûlî recently published by Heyworth Dunne (*Akhbâr ar-Râqî wal Muttaqî*, p. 63). He was given a document of the following tenor:—

"Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyûb known as Ibn Shunbûdh says: I have been reading words (Hûrûf) which are contrary to that which is found in the Muṣḥaf attributed to 'Uthmân (upon whom God have mercy) upon which reading the Companions of the Messenger of God (whom God bless) are in agreement. Then it became clear to me that it was a fault, so I repent about it and I retract and I am innocent before Allah, since the Muṣḥaf of 'Uthmân is the true one, from which to differ is not allowable."

He wrote at the foot of this document with his own hand:

"Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Ayyûb says: What is in this document is correct and that is my statement and belief and I invoke Allah as witness for it as also those present. I have written this with my own hand and whenever I act contrary to it or anything else become evident about me, the Commander of the Believers, whom God preserve, can shed my blood and be innocent about it."

shoulder of his daughter Fâtîmah. His method of fixing the correct reading of the text is to indicate in a rather monotonous way for *each word* its grammatical position in the sentence. But of more importance are really the various readings which he cites at the end of each grammatical discourse. Here we find real curiosities. Why should he give a reading of the *Prophet himself* when it is not adopted in the *textus receptum*? Why cite the poet Ru'ba (died circa 145 A.H.) who could be of no better authority, than that he liked to differ? If we consider the merits of the various readings, due entirely to the fact that the earliest copies of the Holy Writ had no vocalisation and even the punctuation of letters was irregular and at first only denoted by dots, often of different colours. Readers had to rely entirely upon the orally transmitted readings of experts. These were *not always the most learned Muslims* and instead of giving my own views it will be best to give the opinion of the learned Andalusian Abû Ḥayyân, who himself is the author of a large commentary of the Qur'ân. He says:*

The Imâm Abû Ḥayyân Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf, the Qur'ân-reader and grammarian was asked as follows: "What does the learned Sheykh and doctor, the sheykh of his time, the unique one of the age, he in whom are united various virtues, the adornment of this time Athîr ad-Dîn Abû Ḥayyân (may God prolong his life and may the Muslims benefit by his blessing and duration of life) say concerning what is in the Teysîr and Shâtibîyyah and whether these contain the seven readings of the Holy Writ to which the Prophet (whom God bless) refers, or are they only some of the seven; also concerning the ten (readings) whether it is permitted to read according to them or not; also whether these (latter) were read in the centres (Amṣâr) and whether the people accepted them or not."

He replied in the following terms and it is from his own handwriting that I have copied them: "The Teysîr of Abû 'Amr ad-Dânî and the Sâhtibîyyah of Ibn Ferro do *not* contain all the readings of the seven but are only a small portion of the readings of the seven and whoever has given attention to the science of Qur'ân-reading and has studied what the doctors of Islâm have written about the Readings knows this of a truth. The reason is that our country, the peninsula of Spain, was not from ancient times a land where

* Ibn al-Jazarî, *Munjid*, ed. Cairo, 1350, p. 25-27.

the seven were read on account of the great distance from the (other) lands of Islâm and on account of the isolation of the Muslims in it. For the purpose of performing the rites of the Pilgrimage a few people from there passed through Egypt and stored in their memory from the Readers who were there some trifles. The Readers who in those days were in Egypt did not possess extensive Traditions, nor did they travel to other lands, where more extensive Traditions existed. Such were Abû't-Ṭayyib ibn Ghalbûn, his son Abû'l-Ḥasan Ṭâhir, Abû'l-Faṭḥ ibn Aḥmad, his son 'Abd al-Bâqî and Abû'l 'Abbâs ibn Nafis. There was also Abû Aḥmad as-Simarri who possessed the highest *Isnâd* among them. The reason of the scarcity of Tradition and science in the lands of Egypt was on account of the Ismâ'îlîs being in power and because the kings of the latter killed the learned men. Of the ancients of our doctors who performed the Pilgrimage was Abû 'Amr at-Ṭalamanki, the author of the work called "Ar-Rauḍa." He learned in Egypt a little of the Readings of the Seven. From Qairawân had travelled for the purpose of the Pilgrimage Abû Muḥammad Makkî ibn Abî Ṭâlib and he studied under Ibn Kuday and Abû't-Ṭayyib ibn Ghalbûn a little of the Ḥarfs of the Seven. Other travellers were Abû'l-Qâsim 'Abd ar-Raḥmân ibn al-Ḥasan al-Khazrajî, known as al-Ustâdh (the master), the author of the book "*Al-Qâsid*," then Abû 'Amr 'Uthmân ibn Sa'îd al-Qurtubî known as Ad-Dânî, on account of his long residence in the town of Dâniya. He took his knowledge from Ibn Khâqân, Fâris ibn Aḥmad, Ṭâhir ibn Ghalbûn and composed the book "At-Taysîr" and others. Now At-Ṭalamanki stayed in the West of Spain reading as teacher his book "Ar-Rauḍa," Makkî ibn Abî Ṭâlib came to Spain and stayed at Cordoba and taught his book "At-Tabṣîrah" which he had composed, while Ad-Dânî stayed in the east of Spain teaching his book "At-Taysîr" and the author of the book "*Al-Maqâsid*" stayed in Cordoba and taught the people. So the people studied under them and they travelled to hear their teachings and there was no-one in their land to compare with them and they became celebrated in Spain, as well as these their works. They, however, contained differences, but neither doctors nor judges of Islâm found fault with them and they transmitted what they had transmitted.

"Then followed others who made the Pilgrimage like Abû 'Abd Allâh ibn Shureyḥ, the author of the book *al-Kâfi*, Abû'l-Ḥasan Yaḥyâ ibn Abî Zeyd known as ibn al-Bayyâr, Abû Bakr Muḥammad ibn al-Mufrih al-Anṣârî and others

who read in Egypt; so also Abû Muḥammad ‘Abd al-Waḥḥâb the author of the book “Al-Miftâḥ.” Some of these went to Syria and studied under Al-Aḥwâzî, others travelled to Harrân and Baghdâd and their Riwâyât became somewhat more extensive. Also Abdûl-Qâsim Yûsuf ibn Jabâra al-Andalûsî travelled and went to great trouble collecting the material of the East and West and composed the book called “*Al-Kâmil*” in which he says: “The reading of the Qur’ân is taught according to the readings of Ya’qûb by Abû ‘Amr Ad-Dânî which he had read in Egypt. Then someone revised it who read with other readings than those of the Seven.” He continues: “All this selection proves the extensiveness of the Tradition among the people outside our country and that what is contained in the *Teyṣîr*, the *Tabṣîrah* and the *Kâfî* and other works of the compositions of our country is only a little of much, a drop out of the Ocean. A proof is that in these books is the Riwâyah of Nâfi’ after Warsh and Qâlûn, yet the people transmit the readings of Nâfi’ through the medium of others than Warsh and Qâlûn, among them can be named Ismâ’îl ibn Ja’far al-Madanî, Abû Khuleyd, Ibn Jammâz, al-Aṣma’î al-Musayyabî and others. Among these are men who were *more learned and more trustworthy* than either Warsh or Qâlûn. Then our scholars transmit the Riwâyah of Warsh after Abû Ya’qûb after al-Azraq, but they do not go so far as to include in their books the Riwâyah of Yûnus ibn ‘Abdul-‘Alâ’, Dâ’ûd ibn Abî Ṭaiba, Abûl Azhar ‘Abd aṣ-Ṣamad ibn ‘Abd Ar-Raḥmân and Abu Bakr al-Isbahânî (after his Sheykh) after Warsh. All these studied the reading under Warsh and among them are men who were *more learned and more trustworthy* than Warsh (himself). This is the essence what our scholars transmit in their books and the same is the way with every Qur’ân-reader and all the fourteen transmitters which our scholars include in their books. As regards the modes of Reading of the Seven which the *Teyṣîr* of Abû ‘Amr Ad-Dânî contains that they should be the seven concerning which it is reported about the Prophet (whom God bless) that he has said: *The Qur’ân was sent down according to seven Harfs if not so* and to explain the Tradition that it concerns the Seven readings, is a very bad mistake and ignorance on the part of those who make such a statement. The seven readings were *not* distinguished from others till the fourth century, when Abû Bakr ibn Mujâhid collected them. He had *not* at his disposal extensive Riwâyahs nor did he travel like others who travelled far more extensively and had collected more Riwâyahs.

"As regards the readings of the ten whether they may be read and whether these readings were used in the centres of the Muslims (I say): Yes this is permissible and they were read in the centres of the Muslims and we do not know that anyone of the Muslims made a bar against the readings of these three additional ones. They are the readings of Ya'qûb, the selection of Khalaf and the readings of Abû Ja'far Yazîd ibn al-Qa'qa'. As regards the readings of Ya'qûb these were read by Sahâm at-Tawîl, who had also read under Abû 'Amr ibn al-'Alâ'; so Salâm was like one who read under Abû'l-'Alâ', and similarly Abû Muḥammad al-Yazîdî and others. Salâm read also under 'Āsim ibn Abî-Najûd. So Salâm is like one who has read under 'Āsim like Abû Bakr ibn 'Ayyâsh and others. As regards the selection of Khalaf, though they differ from those of Hamza, they agree with the readings of one of the (other) six. As regards Abû Ja'far Yazîd ibn al-Qa'qa' they transmit after him the readings of one of the seven readers namely Nâfi' ibn 'Abd ar-Raḥmân and with this reading he taught the Qur'ân and many transmitted it through him among them Qâlûn. Abû Ja'far had submitted the Qur'ân to the doctor of the congregation 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs (may God be satisfied with both); 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Abbâs submitted it to Ubeyy ibn Ka'b and Ubeyy ibn Ka'b submitted it to the Prophet (whom God bless). The revered of the Muslims 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar put forward Abû Ja'far Yazîd ibn al-Qa'qa' to act as Imâm in the Ka'bah and 'Abd Allâh ibn 'Umar prayed behind him."

This is the statement of Abû Ḥayyân Muḥammad ibn Yûsuf ibn 'Alî ibn Ḥayyân al-Andalusî.

It will become evident that works like the I'râb of the thirty short Sûrahs by Ibn Khâlawayhî show us how before the, now customary, vocalisation of the Holy Writ an exact theory of the correct pronunciation was aimed at without the use of such vowels and the publication of works of this kind is most desirable.

That they will bring anything new to upset the Traditional readings I do not believe for one moment; and I do not share the opinion of the late Professor Bergstrasser who speaks of the fulness and richness of the Arabic language in ancient times. All divergent readings had their origin in the correct or incorrect interpretation of the naked skeleton of consonants. In some cases ignorance or even stupidity may have contributed in augmenting the variants recorded. The Fetwâ of

Abû Hayyân speaks clearly of people existing contemporarily with the Readers who were more learned. If we at the distance of over twelve hundred years were to attempt to select what may have been the original readings we are bound to fail. Perhaps the choice of the readings of 'Āsim in the official Egyptian edition was a good step into the right direction. Readings of a scholar like Al-Kisâ'i, who was dishonest in matters of grammatical discussion, cannot be considered equivalent to those who are irreproachable in other paths of scientific studies.

My own personal view is that I cannot see much profit in collecting minute variations, even in a book of such immense importance as the Holy Qur'ân, as no *reasonable* readings make any alteration in the purpose and meaning of the Book. Any readings which do this will upon examination be found to be due to ignorance or, what is worse, intentional stupidity.

F. KRENKOW.

CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIAEVAL PERSIA

(Continued)

WITH the establishment of the Buwayhid power at Baghdâd, the relations between the Caliphate and the Sâ mânîds could not have been the same as they were before. The Sâ mânîds were well aware of the fact that, as the political rivals of the Buwayhids in Persia, they would be required continuously to wage war against them over the possession of Rayy, Jibal, Tabaristân and even Khurâsân; and that the Caliph, being a puppet in the hands of the Buwayhids, was a mere instrument to serve their ends. Therefore any orders of the Caliph affecting the political position of the Sâ mânîds in Persia could not very well be obeyed. To send any tribute or even presents to the Caliphate¹ under such circumstances was to fill the coffers of the Buwayhids, and it would be used against the Sâ mânîds themselves.² Even realizing all these factors, the Sâ mânîds did not hesitate to recognize the Caliph Mutî' who was set up by the Buwayhids after their most insulting deposition of the Caliph Mustakfî on the occasion of a grand assembly which was held in honour of the reception given to the Khurâsânî ambassador.³ This humiliating treatment meted out to the Caliph coupled with the insult done to their own ambassador should have been a sufficient cause for the Sâ mânîds to break off all relations with the Caliphate by not recognising the Caliph Mutî', who by means of an intrigue against the late Caliph Mustakfî and currying favour with the Buwayhids, was raised to the Caliphate⁴. But the Sâ mânîds waited till their own political interests were in jeopardy. For about two years they continued to recognize

(1) Misk., II, p. 307-308; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 330; Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 456.

(2) Miskawayh, II, p. 143-144; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 151. In 341/952 on the occasion of the invasion of Rayy by the Khurâsânîs, Rukn al-Daulah received a million dirhems on demand from Mu'izz al-Daulah in addition to other help given in the shape of forces.

(3) Miskawayh, II, p. 86; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 90.

(4) Cf. p. 44 above.

the Caliph Mutî¹ but afterwards they ceased to pay homage to him. There is no definite historical evidence to show the real cause that led the Sāmānids to take this abrupt step. Most probably it was the outcome of the rebellion of Abû 'Alî Ibn Muhtâj, the commander of the Khurâsânî forces, instigated by the Buwayhids² in alliances with Ibrâhîm, the Hamânîd at Mausil. In 334/945, Abû 'Alî invited Ibrâhîm b. Ahmad to Khurâsân informing him that he (Abû 'Alî) had appointed him sovereign and obtained allegiance for him from his followers. Ibrâhîm was also supported by Nâsir al-Daulah who sent him robes of honour and tied a banner for him in the name of the Caliph Mutî.³ Rayy was evacuated by Abû 'Alî Ibn Muhtâj for Rukn al-Daulah who also occupied Jibal in the year 335/946. The same year Nûh was routed by the combined forces of the opposition, and Abû 'Alî and Ibrâhîm entered Bukhâra where they captured the stores and treasures that were there, and had homage paid to Ibrâhîm. On this occasion Abû 'Alî, communicating the joyful intelligence to 'Imâd al-Daulah, asked the latter to secure a deed of investiture with the government of Khurâsân for Ibrâhîm.⁴ It was perhaps to nullify the importance of such deeds that Nûh decided on this action, and continued not to recognize the Caliph Mutî⁵ for full nine years.

The position in which the Sāmānids, who were staunch Sunnîs, now found themselves was most embarrassing. As a

(1) Misk., II, p. 156-157; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 167; Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 381: Both the above historians state that the Caliph Mutî was not recognized by the Sāmānids from the time of his accession to the Caliphate, and Ibn Muhtâj was the first to introduce his name in the khutbah in 343/954 in Khurâsân. But in view of the fact that there exists a coin No. 359 minted at Bukhârâ in the year 355 A.H. bearing the name of the Caliph Mutî, it becomes difficult to accept their statement. Cf. Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 98.

(2) Misk., II, p. 100-101; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 106.

One of the conditions of peace between Rukn al-Daulah and Nûh was that 'Imâd al-Daulah would help the former against Abû 'Alî. 'Imâd al-Daulah at the same time instigated Abû 'Alî by sending him a missive that he ('Imâd al-Daulah) remained constant in his attachment and alliance with him and warned him against the treachery of Nûh.

(3) Misk., II, p. 101; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 107. Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 344.

(4) Misk., II, p. 101-102; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 107-108.

(5) Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 99-102. All the coins minted from 336 to 344 A.H. in the territories of the Sāmānids bear the name of the Caliph Mustakfi who was deposed and blinded by the Buwayhids in 334/945.

religious institution of the Sunnî community the 'Abbâsid Caliphate had to be recognized by mentioning the name of the Caliph in the khutbah on Fridays and other ceremonial occasions, and by having the name of the Caliph inscribed on the coinage current in their dominion; and they had in return to secure the renewal of the deed of investiture on the demise of every Amîr in order to legalise their administration. Since Nûh b. Naşr held the deed from the late Caliph Mustakfî, he could very well afford not to recognize the Caliph Mutî' set up by the Buwayhids. In order to fulfil the other obligations, i.e., the offering of the prayers in the name of the 'Abbasid Caliph and inscribing his name on the coinage, the Amîr hit on the ingenious device of continuing to mention the name of the late Caliph in the khutbah and inscribing it on the coinage as well. But the position became ridiculous when the deposed and blinded Caliph died in 338/949,¹ and the Sâmânids continued to put his name on the coinage till 344/955. This was the first occasion when political necessity compelled the rulers to devise such an expedient by which they could ignore the orders of the Caliphs but at the same time could satisfy the public sentiment by putting the name of the dead Caliph in the khutbah and on the coinage;² thus recognizing the necessity of the institution and yet disregarding the sacrilegious moves of wire-pullers. It was this example, first set by the Sâmânids, that was followed later on, though in modified form, by the Mongols who, when converted to Islâm, needed such an expedient.³

The period between 336/947 and 344/955 when the Sâmânids did not recognize the Caliph Mutî' was full of political rivalry between them and Rukn al-Daulah who,

(1) Ibn Athîr, VIII, p. 338.

(2) *Ibid* 341. As a temporary expedient Nâsir al-Daulah also adopted the same line of action. While at war with Mu'izz al-Daulah in 334/945 he prohibited any transaction with the coins bearing the name of the Caliph Mutî', and had the new coins struck with the die bearing the name of the Caliph Muttaqî.

(3) For political reasons, the Mongols, when converted to Islâm, did not want to recognize the Egyptian Caliphate but at the same time they wanted to satisfy their own consciences as well as those of the public by mentioning the name of some Caliph in the khutbah and coinage. Consequently they hit on another novel device by giving this honour to the first four Caliphs or, if Shî'as, to the twelve Imams whom they considered the only lawful Caliphs. Cf. Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, pp. 47-48. (Coins of the Mongols, vol. VI) Vassaf, p. 506.

actuated by the disturbed political condition, was bent upon carving out as big an independent State as possible. Ever since the death of Mardawij in 323/934, and later on of Makan in 329/940, there had been a scramble for power between various claimants amongst whom the Sāmānids and Rukn al-Daulah played an important part by encouraging and welcoming each other's rivals to gain their own political ends. It was therefore natural for the Sāmānids to discontinue their recognition of Mutī' who was made to issue various orders against the Sāmānids during this period. Rukn al-Daulah went so far as to ask his brother Mu'izz al-Daulah to obtain a deed of investiture for him for the government of Khurāsān in 337/948 which was actually done by the latter.¹ Rukn al-Daulah donned his robes of honour and appeared in public to convince them of his rightful claims; and recited his deed of investiture with the government of Khurāsān in the presence of the judges, military commanders and notables.² Again in 343/954 Abū 'Alī Ibn Muhtāj when dismissed by the Sāmānid ruler Nūh b. Naṣr, raised the standard of revolt against the Khurāsānī government, sought the help of Rukn al-Daulah and asked him to secure a deed from the Caliph. Mu'izz al-Daulah received the envoy of Abū 'Alī with great honour and introduced him to the Caliph Mutī', who issued a deed of investiture to Abū 'Alī in place of Nūh b. Naṣr. Mu'izz al-Daulah also despatched Abū Mansūr Lashkarwaz to reinforce Abū 'Alī. The latter omitted the name of the ruler of Khurāsān from the khutbah at Nishāpur in the year 343/954 and inserted that of the Caliph Mutī'.³ But such actions had no effect on the minds of the public who knew very well the abject position of the Caliph, and that he was a mere tool in the hands of the Buwayhids; and were persuaded also of the validity of the claims of the Sāmānids, who had ceased to recognize that Caliph. Nor did the Sāmānids, under the circumstances, have any scruples in disobeying these orders. The new Amīr 'Abd al-Malik who succeeded Nūh in 343/954 marched against Nishāpur and, after expelling Abū 'Alī, took possession of it. Abū 'Alī fled to Rukn al-Daulah but soon after died with his son. In the following year, the Khurāsānī army marched towards Rayy and took possession of Isfahān. The Sāmānid general grew so bold after this victory that he

(1) Misk., II, p. 118; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 122.

(2) *Ibid*, 119; *Ibid*, p. 123.

(3) Miskawayh, II, pp. 156-157; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 167.

pursued the son of Rukn al-Daulah and plundered his belongings; only the skill and courage of Ibnu'l-Amîd, Rukn al-Daulah's wazîr, saved him from complete annihilation.¹

But the new ruler of Khurâsân, 'Abd al-Malik although recognized as *de facto* Amîr, did not hold any legal title to his territories from any of the 'Abbâsid Caliphs. He was, in consequence, anxious to come to terms with Rukn al-Daulah in order to obtain a deed of investiture from the Caliph, without which the appointment of Qâdis and other religious officials was not considered valid. Besides being a religious obligation, it was also a political necessity. How much importance the rulers attached to the securing of a deed from the Caliph even during this period can well be seen from the reply of Nâsir al-Daulah, the Hamdânid to his employee, Ibrâhîm b. Ahmad, the uncle of Nûh. When the latter, on an invitation of Abû 'Alî in 334/945 to dethrone Nûh, the Sâmânid, asked the permission of his master, Nâsir al-Daulah, the latter replied in the following words, "We are just about to start for Baghdâd, so wait till we enter it, when the Caliph will invest, give you a robe of honour from his place, and tie a banner for you; this will add to your glory and strengthen your cause."²

After making peace in 344/955 with Rukn al-Daulah, on condition that the latter should have Rayy and Jibal on payment of a certain sum of money to the ruler of Khurâsân,³ 'Abd al-Malik, sent his sister's son along with a representative of Rukn al-Daulah to the Caliph Mutî', requesting the latter to grant him ('Abd al-Malik) the deed of investiture for the government of Khurâsân.⁴ The Caliph delivered the robes of honour to the envoy for 'Abd al-Malik and tied the banner for him. He added to the robes of a governor those of a messmate; and presented him with a horse.⁵

Another and final breach was brought about in their relations with the Buwayhids which led the Sâmânids not to recognize at all the Caliph Qâdir set up by them. This was over the deposition of the Caliph Tai in 381/991 by Behâ al-Daulah who, actuated by his greed for the supposed wealth

(1) Ibn Athîr, VIII, pp. 383-384.

(2) Miskawayh, II, p. 101; *Eclipse*, V, p. 107, as noted above, p. 62. Nâsir al-Daulah actually sent him the robes of honour and tied a banner for him in the name of the Caliph Mutî'.

(3) Misk., II, p. 161; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 172.

(4) *Ibid.* *Ibid.* p. 172.

(5) Misk., II, p. 161; *Eclipse*, trans. V, p. 173.

of the Caliph, deposed him without any fault of his.¹ Again as in the previous case, the Sāmānids continued to offer prayers for the deposed Caliph Tai and, as their coinage shows, to inscribe his name on the coins,² refusing to recognize the new Caliph Qādir in spite of the efforts which he made through the pilgrims whom he addressed on this subject in 383/993. The Khurāsānīs undertook to bear a message and letters to the Sāmānid ruler, but nothing came of it.³

These two incidents show very well the attitude of the Sāmānids towards the recognition of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. In fact, their ties with the institution were loosening day by day. The last two Sāmānid rulers Manṣūr (387/997-389/999) and 'Abd al-Malik, who ruled for a few months, carried on the government without obtaining any legal title, but the putting of the names of the deposed Caliphs of the 'Abbāsīd house in the khutbah and coinage gives proof of their loyalty to the cause of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate. That the Sāmānids were genuinely devoted to the institution can be known also by the fact that they not only recognized it throughout their régime, but also considered it as one of their duties to get it recognized by the Buwayhids. In 373/983 after the death of Muayyāl al-Daulah and the establishment of Fakhr al-Daulah in his place, Ibn Sa'dan, his wazīr, tried to bring about a reconciliation between him and Samsām al-Daulah. Amongst other things, he wrote to the former about the arrival of an envoy from Khurāsān conveying the terms of peace, of which the first condition was to be submission to the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate (a religious obligation and a qualification for worldly success).⁴

The Sāmānids had a great regard for the institution of the Caliphate and it was chiefly due to this that, in spite of the fact that their rivals, the Buwayhids, were arrogating to themselves high-sounding and flattering titles irrespective of whether they were bestowed upon them or not, they on their part never assumed any such titles, and were content with 'Wālī of the commander of the Faithful'—a title which was

(1) *Ibid.* III, p. 201; *Ibid.* VI, p. 213, Athīr, IX, p. 55.

(2) Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 114.

(3) Misk., III, p. 250; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, pp. 265-266. Ibn Athīr, IX, p. 103. As late as the year 388 A.H. the name of the Caliph Tai appears on a coin minted at Herāt. Cf. Art. 297 of 1929, *Indian Numismatic Supplement*, published from the Proceedings of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal.

(4) Miskawayh, III, p. 98; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 101.

granted to them by the Caliphate itself.¹ No doubt they granted high-sounding titles to their subordinates, but such titles were not considered so respectable as those granted by the Caliphate. How much importance was attached to the latter can be seen from the fact that one of the conditions of peace of Abû 'Alî Simjuri with the Sâ mânid Amîr was that the former should be granted the same title which they (the Sâ mânids) themselves had from the Caliphate;² although he had already received from Nûh, the Sâ mânid, a much more high-sounding title, i.e., 'Divinely aided Amîr of Amîrs.'³

In compliance with the conditions laid down in the deed of investiture, the Sâ mânids, like other Sunnî governors, were expected to rule their territories in accordance with the laws of the Sharî'ah; and this explains the organisation of their government on the same model as that of the Caliphate itself. The Caliphs had no hand from the very beginning of their rule in the appointment of the Sâ mânid Amîrs beyond sanctioning it by issuing a deed after their accession to the throne. Hereditary succession was the general rule. Like most of the Caliphs, the Sâ mânids used to nominate their successors and some of them designated two or three successors in succession.⁴ In the absence of such nomination, the notables and religious heads chose the successor from amongst the members of the family.⁵ As in the case of the Caliphs, so in the case of the Sâ mânids, an oath of allegiance was taken by the electors and 'bâ'yat' was done by all the people afterwards. Practically the same system was in vogue as in the case of the election of a Caliph with one exception that in the case of Amîrs, even minors might succeed without any difficulty.⁶

Though the Sâ mânids were aristocrats by origin, they never figured as autocrats in their rule. They bound themselves by the laws of Sharî'ah and thus did not hold themselves above the law. Most of them were pious Muslims, easy of access to the public and noted for their justice, equity and moderation. For the administration of justice there was a

(1) Narshakhy, p. 160. The epithet 'Malik' often appears on the coinage of the Sâ mânids. Cf. Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*.

(2) Narshakhy, p. 160.

(3) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 253.

(4) Gardizî, p. 39.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 25.

(6) Gardizî, p. 25. Amîr Naşr was only eight years old when he succeeded to the throne.

Qâdi of Qâdis with various subordinates under him.¹ Like most of the Caliphs, some of the Amîrs or a member of a royal family hold the court of *Mazâlim* to investigate legal disputes especially complaints of oppression on the part of officials.² The learned and the theologians enjoyed great honour in the Sâmânid dominions. Once, in order to show respect to a learned and pious man, Ismâ'il moved seven steps backwards.³ The most learned and worthy man was selected from amongst the Faqîhs of the Hanafi School at Bukhâra and important matters were decided according to his instructions.⁴ There was also in existence an office corresponding to the office of a Muftî or Shaykh al-Islâm of later times; the holder of which bore the title of Ustâd.⁵ There was also the post of the Muhtasib which was entrusted to an influential person who treated cases without any partiality or fear. His duty was the same as under the Caliphate, i.e., to punish all those who openly violated the Sacred Law, attempted to cheat a customer or failed to pay the established taxes.⁶ In matters of weights and measures such strictness was observed that when Ismâ'il heard that certain measures with which the corn for *kharaj* used to be weighed were heavier than they ought to have been, he sent for them to Bukhâra and cut the additional weight; and made it a punishable offence.⁶

The model of government being the same, it is not surprising to find that the Sâmânids were in the long run to meet the same fate at the hands of their governors as the Caliphate met at their own hands. In both cases, with the decline of the central authority, the provincial governors assumed independence and only kept up a semblance of unity by putting the name of their overlords in the khutbah and on the coinage. In the absence of any national movement in mediæval times, the Sâmânids, in spite of their good government, could not rally any national support to their cause against either the Qarakhânids or Mahmûd of Ghazna who divided their territories between themselves and put an end to the first independent Persian dynasty. When the Sâmânid possessions were threatened in 390/1000 by the Qarakhânids,

(1) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 232.

(2) *Siyasatnama*, p. 17.

(3) Mîr Khwand, p. 715.

(4) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 232; quoted from *Bib. Geog. Arab.* III, p. 339.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 232.

(6) Barthold, *Turkestan*, p. 231.

(7) Mîr Khwand, p. 716; Ibn Khaldûn, III, p. 334-335.

the Sāmānid preachers in Bukhāra ascended the mosque pulpits calling on the people to enlist, and saying in the name of the Sāmānids:¹ "You are aware how well we have conducted ourselves and how cordial have been the relations between us. This enemy now menaces us, and it is your manifest duty to help us and fight on our behalf. So ask God's grace in succouring our cause." When the common people heard this, instead of listening to the appeals of the Sāmānid agents and helping them in their hour of need, they consulted the Muslim jurists on the subject of fighting. The latter dissuaded them, saying: "If the Khāns' followers were at variance with you on religion, it would be a duty to fight them. But where the object of dispute is temporal, no Muslim has a right to risk his life and expose himself to bloodshed. These persons (i.e., the enemy) are well-conducted, and orthodox; it is better to keep away from the fray."² "This," says the historian, "was one of the chief causes of the victory of the Khānites, of the rout of the Sāmānids, and the extinction of their empire."³

In Persia proper, the Sāmānid possessions were conquered by Amīr Mahmūd of Ghazna, whose relations with the 'Abbāsīd Caliphate it now falls to us to trace.

With the disappearance of the Sāmānids as rulers, the legal title by which they were authorized to rule the country also ended and it reverted to its grantor, i.e., the Central Government which was the sovereign *de jure*. Likewise the authority delegated to the Sāmānids by the Caliphate to appoint Qādis and other religious officials lapsed, and the mandates of the Qādis were in theory annulled until the new ruler was lawfully established. Mahmūd of Ghazna, after his victory over the Sāmānids, required a legal title to hold the country which he had already conquered; and must have the delegated authority from the Caliphate to carry on the administration of justice in accordance with the Shari'ah.⁴ Hence it follows that

(1) Misk., III, p. 373; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 400. The above historian holds that most of the people of Bukhāra as also of Transoxiana were bearers of arms.

(2 & 3) *Ibid.* III, p. 373; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 400.

(4) It would be a mistake to think that the Caliphate only in its position of a religious head was considered to bestow any part of the Islamic empire on anybody it chose. Most writers have completely ignored the other aspect of the question, i.e., that the Caliphate was the custodian of the sovereignty *de jure* which it never parted with, and went on renewing both on the change of the Caliph and the ruler. Of course it was chiefly due to the position of the Caliphate as the religious head that the Muslim rulers respected that right.

Mahmûd in his relations with the Caliphate was guided by political as well as religious motives.

The very fact that he recognized Qâdir instead of the deposed Caliph Tai who was still recognized by the Sâmânids and whom Mahmûd himself had recognized while serving them,¹ at once shows his motive. It was not because he considered the Caliph Qâdir as the rightly elected Caliph that he recognized him in preference to the deposed Caliph Tai, but because otherwise he could obtain neither the legal title to rule the country nor the delegated authority to administer justice in accordance with the laws of the Shari'ah.

The first thing which Mahmûd, after his victory over the Sâmânids in 389/999, did was to draft a petition² to the Caliph Qâdir in the most humble terms, calling himself and his brother slaves of the Commander of the Faithful, and heaping prayers on him, ascribing every possible virtue to him. He states in this petition that the sole cause of his fighting against the Sâmânids was that, in spite of every exhortation on his part, they would not recognize the Caliph. "I appealed to Mansûr b. Nûh, and urged him with my utmost strength thereunto, only he would not listen to dutiful admonition, nor attend to enlightening exhortation."³ He then describes the course of the war in detail and speaks of his victory and the steps subsequently taken by him in the following words: "And now when I write this letter, God has opened to the Commander of the Faithful all the territory of Khurâsân, and caused its pulpits to rival one another in mention of his name; in him the cause of right triumphs, and desires vic in embracing his side. Further I have taken no steps so as to bind or loose, ratify or annul, till I should obtain from him some exalted order which should serve as a basis for my building, as a call for me to follow, by God's grace and favour."⁴ After describing his victory as the victory of the Commander of the Faithful Mahmûd makes out his case for the Amîrate of Khurâsân and outlying provinces already

(1) Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, II, p. 131. On a gold coin minted at Nishâpur in 385 A.H. appear the names of the Caliph Tai and Nûh b. Mansur on the reverse side, and that of Mahmûd on the obverse side.

(2) The petition of Mahmûd to the Caliph Qâdir is printed and translated in Misk., III, pp. 341-345, and *Eclipse*, trans. VI, pp. 366-370, respectively.

(3) Misk., III, p. 342; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 367.

(4) Misk., III, p. 344; *Eclipse*, trans. p. 369.

conquered by him in the following words, "And if our Lord and master the Commander of the Faithful think meet to design to peruse this letter and employ his slave on his orders and prohibitions, let him do so if God will."¹

On receiving the petition of Mahmûd, the Caliph Qâdir granted him a patent of sovereignty and a crown, and confirmed him in all the possessions which he had already acquired. The Caliph also bestowed upon him the title of Yamîn al-Daulah wa Amîn al-Millah.² As shown by the above petition Mahmûd had already ordered the Caliph's name to be mentioned in the khutbah all over his territories; but on the Caliph's asking him to recognize the right of his son, Ghâlib, by conjoining his surname with that of the Caliph in the khutbah, he made it a matter of obligation, and on all days of festivals and congregations caused the khutbah to be read with these two surnames.³ The name of Ghâlib was also put on the coinage minted at Nîshâpur.⁴

Besides serving his own political ends Mahmûd, by recognizing the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, helped its cause a great deal, raised its prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world and revived its authority in Persia. The acceptance of a deed of investiture by Mahmûd in 389/999 and another diploma in 417/1026 confirming him in possessions newly conquered⁵ re-established not only the religious but also the political supremacy of the Caliphate, which had broken down at the end of the Sâmânid period. Mahmûd's successor, Mas'ûd (421-432/1030-1040) also asked for and received deeds of investiture both on his accession to the throne,⁶ and on the death of the Caliph Qâdir in 422/1031.⁷ The renewal of the deed of investiture to the Ghaznevîds bound them with formidable oaths to abide by the conditions laid down therein,⁸ and necessitated the despatch of large sums of money and

(1) *Ibid.*

(2) Utbi, p. 234.

(3) *Ibid.*

(4) Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 133. It is only the coins minted at Nîshâpur which bear the name of Ghâlib, son of the Caliph Qâdir.

(5) Gardizî, pp. 87-88.

(6) Bayhaqî, pp. 45-46.

(7) *Ibid.* p. 86.

(8) Bayhaqî, pp. 384-389. There is a copy of an oath of allegiance taken by Mas'ûd to the Caliph. The chief obligations are that he should rule his territory strictly in accordance with the laws of the Sharî'ah, and render unconditional obedience to the Caliph.

numerous gifts to the Caliph and his officials on such occasions.¹

According to Mâwardî's classification of Amîrs, the Ghaznevids also fall within the third category, i.e., 'Amîrs by force.' And it will be interesting to see how far the seven conditions² laid down by Mâwardî for such Amîrs, were complied with in actual practice by Mahmûd and his successor, Mas'ûd, in their relations with the 'Abbâsid Caliphate.

I

Both Mahmûd and his son Mas'ûd maintained a respectful attitude towards the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, and always considered the Caliph as their supreme religious head. In 391/1001, Wâthiqî, a descendant of the Caliph Wâthiq, after conspiring with the jurist Abû'l Fadl Tamîmî, forged a letter in the name of the Caliph Qâdir appointing Wâthiqî to the succession. Hârûn b. Ilak Bughra Khaqan, being convinced of his claims, warmly supported him and ordered that prayers should be offered for him throughout his dominions after the name of the Caliph. This action of Bughra Khaqan created great uneasiness at the Caliph's court and led the Caliph Qâdir to repudiate Wâthiqî's claims and to appoint his own son, Abû'l Fadl (Ghâlib) his successor. On this occasion, Mahmûd not only recognized the claims of Ghâlib by putting his name in the khutbah and on the coinage, but when Wâthiqî came to Khurâsân to invoke Mahmûd's help, the latter had him arrested and sent him as a prisoner to a fortress where he remained till his death.³ But the greatest service that was rendered by the Ghaznevids to the 'Abbâsid cause was in counteracting the active propaganda of the rival Fâtimid Caliphate;⁴ and it was only through Mahmûd's whole-hearted support of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate that the Fâtimids, in spite of all their efforts, could not secure a footing

(1) *Ibid.* p. 46: On the occasion of the renewal of the deed, a grand reception was given to the Caliph's ambassador; and everything was put into good order so that favourable reports should be communicated to the Caliph. Presents in kind and coins were despatched to the Caliph and his officials. Cf. Bayhaqî, p. 361.

(2) Whether this category was not explicitly designed to cover the position of Mahmûd?

(3) Misk., III, p. 393; *Eclipse*, trans. VI, p. 424.

(4) 'Utbi, p. 296; Reynolds, trans. pp. 439-440. Mahmûd commissioned spies to make investigations into the conduct of those who professed to adhere to the cause of the Fâtimid Caliphate. He uprooted and annihilated all of them. Most of them were impaled or stoned.

in Persia. When in 403/1012-13 Hâkim, the Fâtimid Caliph sent a letter to Maḥmūd, perhaps to procure his allegiance, the latter sent the letter to Baghdâd to be publicly burnt.¹ A little later in the same year Maḥmūd, on hearing of the arrival of an emissary Tahartî who was supposed to have been despatched by the Fâtimid Caliph to him with the same object in view, had him arrested; and set up a court of eminent Theologians to investigate into his conduct and deliver their judgment on him. In compliance with their decision, Maḥmūd ordered Tahartî to be put to death.²

II

As regards open religious submission to the Caliph, Maḥmūd tried his utmost to maintain a compromising attitude. Although in some cases where personal interests were involved it was difficult to obey the orders of the Commander of the Faithful, yet Maḥmūd overcame this difficulty by adopting a conciliatory attitude. The case of Abû 'Alî Hasan commonly known as Hasnak is a good example of Maḥmūd's attitude of mind in such intricate cases. In 414/1023 Hasnak, while on his way back from his pilgrimage to Mecca, received a Khil'at from the Fâtimid Caliph Az-Zâhir. This greatly annoyed the 'Abbâsid Caliph Qâdir, who naturally suspecting that it was done with the knowledge and consent of Maḥmūd, addressed a strongly worded letter to the latter in which he charged Hasnak with Qarmatian beliefs and demanded his execution. Much correspondence passed about the matter, and Maḥmūd, being greatly annoyed and vexed, said one day, "Write to this doting old Caliph, that out of regard to the 'Abbâsids, I have meddled with all the world; I am hunting for the Qarmatians, and whenever one is found who is proved to be one he is impaled. If it were established that Hasnak is a Qarmatian, the Commander of the Faithful would soon learn what had happened to him. But I have brought him up and he stands on an equality with my sons and brothers. If he is a Qarmatian so am I also." After much consideration it was decided that the robe of honour which Hasnak had received, and the presents which the Egyptian Caliph had sent to Maḥmūd should be sent with a messenger to Baghdâd to be publicly burnt.³ If, on the other hand, under the guise of the orders of the Commander of the Faithful, some ulterior

(1) Nâzim, *Sultân Maḥmūd*, p. 164.

(2) 'Utbi, pp. 296-299; Gardizi, p. 71.

(3) Bayhaqî, pp. 212-213; trans. Elliot & Dowson, vol. II, p. 93.

motive of the ruler could be served, such outward importance was attached to it. The same Hasnak was stoned to death by the order of Mas'ûd, who bore a grudge to him on account of his arrogant behaviour and opposition to Mas'ûd's succession to the throne.¹ In order to remove him, the old charge of heresy was brought up against him once again on behalf of the Caliph; and to make the people believe in its truth, two men were dressed up as messengers coming from Baghdâd, bearing a letter from the Caliph to the effect that Hasnak being a Qarmatian should be executed and stoned to death, so that no-one else in defiance of the Caliph, might dare to accept the *khil'at* of the Egyptian Caliph. When Hasnak was being executed, the following message from Mas'ûd was delivered to him, "This is your own wish, for you desired me to bring you to the scaffold whenever I became king. I wished to have mercy on you, but the Commander of the Faithful has written that you have become a Qarmatian and by his order you are led to the scaffold."²

III

As long as their own personal interests were not affected both Mahmûd and his son Mas'ûd remained on good terms with the Caliph, and always tried to render him assistance in all common matters of Islâm. Both of them obliged the Caliph to grant them the deeds of investiture of countries which had not yet been conquered by them;³ and both of

(1) Bayhaqî, p. 208, 210. So great was Hasnak's power during the time of Mahmûd that he occasionally offended and sometimes insulted Mas'ûd with impunity.

(2) Bayhaqî, pp. 217-218; trans. Elliot & Dowson, vol. II, pp. 97-98.

(3) Haig, Art. On Mahmûd in *Encycl. of Islam*. Habib, *Sultan Mahmud of Ghaznin*, p. 33. In 403/1012-13, Mahmûd compelled the Caliph Qâdir, to hand over to him the districts of Khurâsân which were still in his hands; Muhammad Habib relates that the Caliph stoutly refused Mahmûd's further demand that Samarkand should also be given to him. "I will do no such thing," he replied, "and if you take possession of Samarkand without my permission, I will disgrace you before the whole world." Mahmûd was furious, "Do you wish me to come to the Capital of the Caliphate with a thousand elephants," he threatened the Caliph's ambassador, "in order to lay it waste and bring its earth on the backs of my elephants to Ghaznin?" (I am not aware of the source of the story). But in the words of Muhammad Habib, "The policy of plundering the centres of Muslim and Hindu civilization simultaneously was too bold even for Mahmûd, and he had to apologize humbly to the power which, even in its hour of weakness, could have shattered the moral foundation of the Ghaznevid kingdom."

Mas'ûd also insisted on the inclusion of certain provinces in the deed of investiture before he accepted it. Cf. Bayhaqî, p. 359.

them entered into a treaty with the Caliph by which the latter bound himself not to enter into direct relations with the Qarakhânids.¹ Any title or robe of honour granted to the latter was to be bestowed through the agency of the Ghaznevids. So emphatic was Mahmûd in this matter that Abû'l-'Abbas Mâmûn, the Khwârazmshâh, out of regard for the sentiments of Mahmûd, did not openly accept the robes of honour sent by the Caliph nor did he assume the title granted to him.² To serve their own purposes sometimes the help of the Caliph was also invoked. When Mahmûd, displeased with Mas'ûd, wished to nominate another son, Muhammad, in preference to Mas'ûd, he asked the Caliph to give precedence to his name over that of Mas'ûd in official correspondence.³ When Mas'ûd heard of the order of the Caliph giving preference to Muhammad over him, he declared, "The sword is a truer authority than any writing."⁴

But as soon as he heard the news of his father's death in 421/1030 he most courteously replied to the Caliph's letter interceding for the ruler of Isfahân, 'Alâ al-Daulah b. Kakawayh, which had till then lain unanswered; and pleaded his cause for the bestowal of a deed of investiture,⁵ which was, as a matter of course, granted to him.

As regards helping the Caliph in all common matters of Islâm, since both the Ghaznevids and the Caliph belonged to the Sunnî sect, their religious interests coincided and therefore no difficulty was encountered in this respect. The persecution of the Qarmatians, Bâtinis and Mu'tazilîs, which was in accordance with the wish of the Caliph, also served the political motives of the Amîrs in rooting out all these elements which were endangering the peace and safety of the country. Mahmûd was particularly ruthless in his persecution of the Bâtinîs. Thousands of them were gibbeted, stoned to death, or carried in chains to Ghazna. A hundred camel-loads of books dealing with their heretical beliefs were cast into the flames.⁶ The imperialistic policy pursued by Mahmûd likewise served his double purpose. In the eyes of the Caliph and

(1) Bayhaqî, p. 359.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 838-839.

(3) *Ibid.* pp. 258-259.

(4) Jurjâni, *Tabaqât-i-Nâsiri*, trans. Raverty, p. 92.

(5) Bayhaqî, pp. 14-17; Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 279. When Mas'ûd after his conquest of Rayy proceeded to complete the conquest of Hamadân and Isfahân, he put 'Alâ al-Daulah to flight and occupied both places. Thereupon the latter prevailed on the Caliph, through his kinsman, Jalâl al-Daulah to ask Mas'ûd to let him remain his deputy at Isfahân.

(6) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 262.

the Muslim public he figured as a champion of the Islamic faith, when he waged wars against the infidels of Hindustân. In fact the wars to which he had given this religious colour were the outcome of his insatiable greed for money, and the necessity of providing the funds required to maintain the magnificence of his court. The policy of Mahmûd in this respect has been well described by Professor Muhammad Habîb in the following words: "His persecution of the heretics, apart from the pressing demand of the orthodox may have been due to his conviction that their immoral doctrines would shake the foundations on which Muslim society was based, and a greed for money and power, not an enlightened desire for the spread of Islâm, was the motive of his Indian campaigns."¹ However, he gratified the Caliph by notifying² his victories over the infidels, but here too he achieved his other object, the enhancement of his prestige in the eyes of the Buwayhids, his political rivals at Baghdâd. On the other hand, the prestige of the Caliphate was raised also and they now began to feel more secure than before under the bonds of the Buwayhids. About the close of his reign, Mahmûd seems to have resolved to rid the Caliphate of the Buwayhids. Mas'ûd, when left at Rayy in 420/1029, was instructed to conquer Isfahân and then to release the Caliph from the bondage of the Buwayhids, but before Mahmûd's plans could materialise, he died.³ Both Mahmûd and Mas'ûd provided facilities for the pilgrims. Mahmûd offered large sums to the Beduins to let the caravans pass unmolested,⁴ and Mas'ûd likewise held himself responsible for the safety of the pilgrims' caravans. In 423/1032 he drew the attention of the Caliph's messenger who had been sent for the renewal of the deed on the death of the Caliph Qâdir, to the point that he should convey a warning to the Buwayhids to provide similar facilities.⁵

(1) Habîb, *Sultân Mahmûd of Ghaznin*, p. 19.

(2) Victories of Mahmûd were officially notified to the Caliph. Cf. *Sibt*. Ibnu'l Jawzî, F. 204-b. Gardizî, pp. 87-88. When the news of the Somnath victory reached the Caliphate, the Caliph heaped titles and honours on Mahmûd, his sons and his brother, Mahmûd received the title of Kahf-al-Daulah wa'l-Islâm.

(3) Bayhaqî, p. 83, 359.

(4) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 229.

(5) Bayhaqî, p. 360. The Caliph sent Mas'ûd a satisfactory answer saying that he had drawn the attention of the Buwayhids, and arrangements were being made to render the route of the pilgrims safe. Cf. Bayhaqî, p. 441.

In order to maintain religious rights, Qâdis chosen from among Muftîs and Faqîhs of established reputation for learning and character were appointed all over the kingdom.⁴ There was a Qâdi for every town and a Qâdi al-Qudât or Chief Qâdi for every province.²

The Qâdis received handsome salaries and, according to Nizâm al-Mulk, were removed only for grave misconduct in the discharge of their duties.³ Besides the administration of justice the Qâdis had various other duties to perform.⁴ The Qâdi's position was very important and he was said to have 'power over the life and property of the Muslims.' His orders were executed with the help of the local governors, and defaulters were severely punished.⁵

V

Little is known in detail of the financial system of the Ghaznevids, but it was doubtless the case that the main sources of revenue were the same as those of the Caliphs; the chief permanent sources being the land-revenue, the Zakât (i.e., two and a half per cent. tax on property of the Muslims), tribute and presents from the dependent princes, the produce of gold and silver mines,⁶ and the duties levied on articles of import and export that passed through the frontiers of the Ghazna kingdom. Whether any of the other illegal taxes called by the jurists *Mukus* were levied in the Ghaznevid kingdom seems not to be known. In any case this income was supplemented by the huge amount of booty that was captured during Mahmûd's successful wars in India. But his continuous raids, though they brought rich booty for himself and his guards and soldiers, proved ruinous to his subjects. He devoted most of the money he brought from India to magnificent buildings in order to give an impress of dignity to his court, and consequently he was in constant need of money to carry on his Indian campaigns. Before one of his campaigns Mahmûd ordered the indispensable sum to be collected within two days, which was actually achieved from the

(1) Nâzim, *Sultân Mahmûd*, p. 148.

(2) Bayhaqî, p. 246; Nâzim, p. 147.

(3) Nizâm al-Mulk, pp. 38; 77.

(4) *Sulûk al-Mulûk*, Fol. 42-a. The various duties of a Qâdi are given.

(5) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 40.

(6) Nâzim, p. 133.

officials, who, in the words of the court historian, 'Utbi, were 'fleeced like sheep.'¹ It goes without saying that those officials must have realized from the poor more than they paid to the Amîr. In consequence of heavy taxation "the agricultural districts were to a great degree deserted, and the irrigation works in some places had fallen into decay, in others had ceased altogether."² During the reign of Mas'ûd, the people had to suffer all the more. Even the peace that prevailed during the previous reign disappeared³ with the removal of the powerful personality of Mahmûd. Abû'l Fadl Sûrî, the civil governor of Khurâsân, from whom the Amîr received large presents, shared the spoils of the robbers who quietly continued their activities and robbed the people to their fill. The population was reduced to despair and the aristocracy began to invoke the help of the 'Leaders of the Turks' in Transoxiana.³ Hence the second part of Mâwardî's fifth stipulation was certainly not scrupulously observed. However, genuine complaints of the people were sometimes listened to by the Amîrs and in times of unforeseen calamity their sufferings were, to a certain extent, alleviated. When, for the upkeep of his magnificent garden, Mahmûd imposed an extra tax, the people remonstrated and stopped him in one of the streets of Balkh, and Mahmûd had to yield to their complaints and remit the heavy obligation.⁴ In 401/1011, when crops failed owing to early frosts, the wazîr remitted the land-revenue, and issued loans to the cultivators to enable them to buy seed and cattle.⁵

VI

For the administration of criminal law, the court of Mazâlim was held by the Amîrs daily, and impartial criminal justice was dealt out to high and low alike. Besides, all the princes, wazîrs, commanders of provincial armies and other high officials held their courts and decided such cases as did not involve intricate questions requiring expert knowledge of the law, or were connected with their own departments.⁶ Amîr Mahmûd had a strong sense of justice and in order to keep himself informed of the doings of the State officials and provincial governors, he employed spies and newswriters

(1) Barthold, *Turkestân*, p. 293.

(2 & 3) Barthold, *Turkestân*, p. 293.

(4) Hâfiz Abrû, F., 184; Awfi, f. 173.

(5) 'Utbi, p. 247.

(6) Bayhaqî, pp. 40, 181.

throughout the whole empire. Nobody could plead rank or birth as an excuse for leniency or special treatment before Mahmûd,¹ who enforced respect for law by all the means at his disposal. However, the cases that were tried by the Amîrs were few, and no general effort was made to suppress the robber chiefs whose castles blocked all intercommunication between the various parts of the empire.²

VII

Amîr Mahmûd and his successor Mas'ûd did not tolerate any deviation from belief in the orthodox Sunnî sect; and they protected the faith by rooting out all the heretical elements from their territories. A censorship of the religious beliefs of the Muslim subjects was instituted, and there was an officer appointed to punish heretics, Qarmatians, Bâtinîs and Mu'tazalîs,³ and all their literature dealing with heresy was ordered to be destroyed wherever found.⁴ This policy must have encouraged the faith to which they as well as the Caliph belonged. Though the Amîrs were not missionaries, and conversion was not their chief object, yet they were not devoid of missionary spirit altogether. We often find preachers in the wake of Mahmûd's army extending the invitation of Islâm to non-Muslims.⁵ Mahmûd also appointed teachers to instruct the converts in the 'rudiments of their new faith'⁶ and ordered mosques to be built all over the country. Very little is known about their private lives but it can be said that they lived more or less in accordance with the Muslim code of morality.⁷ They were quite punctilious in the performance of their religious obligations; offered the usual prayers regularly and read the Qur'ân; and also used to give Zakât.⁸ In addition to this they devoted large sums of money to giving alms to the poor, and settled handsome allowances on scholars and

(1) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 208. Even Prince Mas'ûd had to pay his debts when sued by a merchant of Ghazna. *Ibid.* p. 42. 'Alî Nushtigin, a high military officer, was stopped and lashed in public for open defiance of the Muslim law. The 'Amîr of Nishâpur, on the complaint of a woman whose property was seized by him, was flogged and dismissed. Cf. *Ibid.* p. 66.

(2) Habîb, p. 69.

(3) Nâzim, p. 160.

(4) Ibn Athîr, I, p. 262.

(5) Nâzim, p. 162.

(6) Gardizî, p. 72.

(7) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 262. Amîr Mahmûd did not exceed the prescribed limit with regard to number of wives.

(8) Nâzim, p. 330.

disabled persons.¹ However, they indulged in wine-drinking, but their bouts were limited to a select circle and their companions had to walk out sober for fear of being punished by the Muhtasibs.²

In conclusion one is forced to admit that both Mahmûd and Mas'ûd generally complied with Mâwardî's conditions to a much greater degree than the Buwayhids. They revived the 'Abbâsid Caliphate and raised its prestige in the eyes of the Muslim world.³ Like the Sâ mânids, they felt it their duty to see that the 'Abbâsid Caliphate should be respected and recognized by the Buwayhids.⁴ But, as compared with the first Sâ mânids, the Ghaznevîds were generally more overbearing in their dealings with the 'Abbâsid Caliphate though always ready to compromise in the end. They had acquired a sort of legal authority from the Caliph to conquer any lands they liked, and set up a sort of central agency through which the Caliphate was required to deal with other powers. Both of them assumed the title of Sultân, though out of religious regard for the Caliphate they did not put it on their coinage as it was not officially granted to them by the Caliphate⁵—a privilege which was first accorded to their political successors, the Saljûqs, whose relations with the Caliphate shall form the theme of the next chapter.

A. H. SIDDIQI.

(To be continued)

(1) Bayhaqî, p. 330.

(2) Nizâm al-Mulk, pp. 41-42.

(3) The victories of Mahmûd announced from the pulpits of the Caliphate must have raised the latter's prestige.

(4) Bayhaqî, pp. 359-360. In his letter to the Caliph Qâ'im in 423/1032, Mas'ûd wrote that the Buwayhids should make it a point to keep up the prestige of the Caliphate.

(5) Kremer, Art. On Sultân, in *Encycl. of Islâm*, says that according to Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 92, the title Sultân was granted to Mahmûd by the Caliphate but the actual words

وكان ابيه محمود اول من لقب بالسلطان ولم يلقب به من قبل

do not show that it was granted by the Caliphate.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN- ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued from our last issue)

غ

غالب (ghālib): "The majority." (Redhouse; and
جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

در غالب تا سیسات ایران نظر موسس کسب شهرت است.

In the majority of the Institutions of Persia the aim of the founder is to gain celebrity.

غبن (ghabn): See خیارانغبن.

فکر آزاد (gharaz-varz; adj.): "Self-seeking." (1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

میتوان چندین مقاله نوشت و مغز و دهان آن دسته غرض ورز * * خرد کرد.

One could write some paragraphs and (so) pound up the brains and mouths of that self-seeking set.

فکر آزادی (gharaz-varzī): "Self-interest." (1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 1).

نگذارند پارلمان داخل خط غرض ورزی شده موضوع را بتعویق انداخته
از میان برد.

They should not let the National Assembly enter the circuit of self-interest, postpone the matter, and bring it to naught.

غیر (ghair): "Another," or "others." (Redhouse; and میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 2).

شهرت دادن (shuhtrat), شهرت

حیات ایران (ghair-'amalī): "Impracticable." (1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 5).

بواسطه غیر عملی بودن پیشنهاد مستر بونار لا که در سال ۱۹۲۳ کرده بود در همان موقع رد شده.

Since the proposal of Mr. Bonar Law made in 1923 was impracticable, it was rejected at that same time.

غیا با (ghiyāban; adv.): "By default." (۱۹۲۴ میهن , No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

والا محکمه غیا با بد عوی رسیدگی نموده وحکم غیا بی خواهد داد.

Otherwise the Court will inquire into the case by default and give a decision in absence.

غیا بی (ghiyābī; adj.): (۱۹۲۴ میهن , No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

See under غیا با .

فابریک (Fr.): "Manufactory." (۱۹۲۷ طوفان , No. 191, p. 4, sub-col. 3).

طوفان (fāḵid; with gen.): "Wanting" (in). (۱۹۲۷ طوفان , 191, p. 4, col. 3).

هرگاه فاقد این علامت باشد علاوه بر این حقوق گمرکی صدی ده بطور جریه نیز دریافت میشود.

When (the goods) are wanting in this mark 10 per cent will be exacted as a fine in addition to the Customs due.

(را فاقد بودن or شدن (fāḵid būdan or shudan; with

"To want," i.e., "to be without." (۱۹۲۴ پیک , No. 18, p. 1, col. 4).

خلاصه تمدن امروزی اساس بزرگ خودش را فاقد میشد.

In short, present-day civilization, would be wanting in an essential basis.

فاکولته (Fr.): A "Faculty" or "Branch" (in a college or university). (۱۹۲۷ ایران , No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

فجایع (fajā'i; pl. of فجیعہ fajī'a): "Grievances, calamities." (۱۹۲۲ اتحاد , No. 215, p. 3, col. 3).

این مسئله برخلاف میل آتایان اشراف آری اشراف همان اشرافی که بسبب عمده این فجایع این رنجبران ادومی بوده اند واقع شده.

This proposition fell out contrary to the inclinations of the nobles—yea, the nobles—those same nobles who were the principal cause of the grievances of these labourers of Urūmīya.

فراغت

(farāghat yāftan; with از): “To have finished” (with). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

جوانی که از تحصیل در این شعبه فراغت می یابد برای پیروی تحصیلات عالیّه آماده است.

A young student who has finished with studying this branch (in the Middle School) is prepared for higher studies (in the High School).

فراهم

(farāham būdan; with برای): “To accrue” (to), “to be forthcoming” (for). (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

See under آن (ān), آنا فانا

(fard-fard; as adj.): “Individual, several.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 1).

با در نظر گرفتن منافع مخصوصه ایران نسبت بفرد فرد دول مختلفه ماده مربوطه بامور گمرکی تنظیم شود.

Whilst keeping in view the special interests of Persia in regard of the several different Governments, the business concerned with the Customs should be organized.

فرسنگ (farsakh): A “Persian league.” See also فرسنگ.

فرسنگی (farsakhī), preceded by a number, forms an abstract noun, which with a following genitive means “At a distance of so many leagues from.” The prep. در (dar) often precedes the number. (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 3).

شب دوشنبه چند نفر از پست هم اندازهای مشهد در قریه چاهش سه فرسنگی مشهد جلسه خصوصی داشته.

On Monday night several members of the "Mutual Helpers" of Mashhad had a special sitting in the village of Chāhish, three leagues from Mashhad.

فرسنگ (farsang): A "Persian league"; (a little more than $3\frac{1}{2}$ miles). (میمن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 4).

کوکب ایران (fiṭrī): "Natural, constitutional." (1917, No. 10).

فرورفتگی (farū-raftagī): A "low-lying land, a depression." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 4). See, under ایستگاه.

فرهندی (farhamandī): "Enlightenment." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2).

درخامه چنین گفت امیدوارم يك روح فره‌مندی در اروپا تولید گردد
وتنها بهمین وسیله ممکن است صالح وآسایش در دنیا مستقر گردد.

In conclusion, he said: I am hopeful that a spirit of enlightenment will arise in Europe, for only by this can peace and rest be established in the world.

فزيك دان (fizik-dān): A "physicist." (میمن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 4).

فشار (fishār): "Pressure, coercion." See, under بار (bār), "To bring a load."

ایران جوان (fa'ālīyat): "Effective force." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). See, under ادبی.

فعلا (fi'lan): "At present." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3). See, under عمل 'amal, بعمل آمدن.

[فعلا means properly 'in effect,' but is sometimes evidently a translation of the French "actuellement."]

فعلى

بصورت‌تعلی (ba-ṣūrat-e fi'lī): "In (its) actual form." (1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 1). See, under عرابه

فکر

فکر کردن (fikr kardan; with به): "To think (of).
(1344, 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

اگر عامل عوض خط مستقیم بدائرة فکر کند شاتول دور می زند.

If the agent instead of a straight line think of a circle, the plummet will revolve.

فلج

فلج متحرک (falj-e mutaharrik): "Palsy." (1344, 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2). See, under اختلاج

فمینیزم "Feminism." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 4).

فیمینست "Feminist." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

فنی (fannī): "Scientific." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

عملیات فنی ('amaliyāt-e fannī): "Scientific operations."

فوائد (pl. of فائده fā'ida).

وزارت فوائد عامه (vazārat-e favā'id-e 'amma): "The Ministry of Public Works." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

فودالیت (Fr.): "Feudalism." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 3).

فورم (Fr.): "Form." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 2).

فرمول "Formula." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 1).

فوریت (faurīyat): "Haste."

بفوریت "In haste." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2).

ق

قادر (kādir; with به): "Capable" (of), "able" (to). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 1).

اگر راهی که انتخاب می گردد خوب باشد ما بمقصد می رسم و مملکت ما نادر
بتا من سعادت و ترقی خود خواهد بود.

If the path chosen be good, we shall attain to our object, and our country will be able to secure its happiness and progress.

ترقی (*kāl-kāla*) : "Altercation, wrangling." (قال تاله 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 2).

وکیل الملک * * * پیشنهاد اصلاح عبارتی کردند و مخبر دفاع کرد و ذکا الملک اظهاراتی نمود که منتهی بقال تاله و زنگ شد.

Vakilu 'l-Mulk (and others) proposed the correction of an expression, and Mukhbir opposed; Zakā'u 'l-Mulk made some statements, and (the argument) ended in altercation and wrangling.

قانون

قانون گذاشتن (*qanūn guzāsh-tan*) : "To establish a law, regulation, or system." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 2).

چرا در مملکت ما قانن کا پیتولا سیون رامی گذارند.

Why do they establish the capitulation system in our country?

مجلس (*qānūn-guzārī*) : "Legislation." (قانون گذاری 1927, No. 55, p. 2, sub-col. 5).

بعضی از آقایانی که صندلی های مجلس مقدس را بنام وکالت و قانن گذاری اشغال فرموده اند (الخ)

Some of the gentlemen who occupy the seats of the (National) Assembly as Deputies and Legislators, (&c.).

قانونی (*qānūnī*) : "Constitutional." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

بعقیده ما اگر دولت موفق به استقرار تعرفه گمرکی قانونی نسبت بعموم دول شود برای مصالح ایران بهتر است.

We believe that if the Government succeeded in establishing a constitutional customs tariff with most other States it would be best for the interests of Persia.

قائل

قائل (*kā'il (būdan)*) ; often with برای (بودن) of person and acc. of thing) : "To claim." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

در صورتی که در ممالك مشرقی زمین قنصلوها برای خود سمت نمایندگی سیاسی قائل و در مسائل گمرکی و قضائی و مالیاتی از همان حقوق و مصونیتها و معافیتهاى مامورین سیاسى بهره مند میشوند .

Whilst in eastern countries the (European) consuls have been claiming the office of political Representative for themselves and in excise matters and in judicial, and financial questions have shared in the same rights, securities and immunities as political officials (such as Ambassadors, &c.).

————(with به or with or without را) “to allow, admit.” (پيك 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

وجود احساسات عاطفه و غفورا در مادهٔ احدى از مفسدین و خائنین قائل نبوده .

They should not allow feelings of grace or forgiveness to exist towards anyone of the mischievous disturbers or traitors.

————(with برای and accusative): “To admit, allow.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

او خارج از حزب کمونیست برای کسی حق حیات سیاسى قائل نیست .

Outside of the Communist Party he (Trotsky) does not admit of political life to anyone.

(را with به or with or without) قائل شدن (kā'il shudan):

نظر باینکه برای اجرای آن مالیات جدید استثنا و تبعیض نمی توان قائل شد
* * وزارت مالیه چنین عقیده دارد که مجلس شورای ملی تصویب فرماید (الخ)

(1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2). See, under عشریه , for rest of extract.

Seeing that they cannot admit of exceptions and partitions in the administration of these new taxes, the Financial Ministry thinks that the National Assembly should approve, (&c.).

قبلا (kāblan): “In advance,” (as thanks). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

از این مساعدت کارکنان آن روز نامه ملی قبلا عرض امتنانات مینماید .

Expressing my obligations in advance for this support of the Editor of the National Journal (the میهن).

قبول

کاوه (kabūl-e 'amma) : "Popularity." قبول عامه
1921, Apr. 10, p. 1).

قتل

طوفان (qatl-e nafs) : "Homicide, murder." قتل نفس
1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 1).

وبعضی اوقات از شدت غضب مرتکب اعمال ناشایسته گشته * * *

حتی قتل نفس و غیره نموده -

And sometimes through the violence of anger people are guilty of unworthy acts, extending even to homicide and other (heinous deeds).

قد

قدراست کردن (qadd rāst kardan) : "To gain in confidence, to become emboldened." ایران جوان (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

در نتیجه عدم موفقیت سیاست خارجی حکومت سویت قدراست کرده علنا

پروگرام مخالفت خوراتبلیغ می نمایند -

Gaining in confidence in consequence of the failure of the foreign policy of the Soviet Government, they are openly communicating their programme of opposition.

هر قدر که ممکن است (qadar). See

قدردان (qadr-dān).

قدردان بودن (qadr-dān būdan; with از) : "To be appreciative" (of). (1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 5). نکر آزاد

آیا تجار کسبه و طبقات زحمت کش مملکت * * از سردار سپه قدردان

نخواهند بود -

Will not the merchants, artisans, and working classes of the country be appreciative of the General Commanding-in-Chief?

قدم

قدم برداشتن (qadam bar dāshtan) : "To take a step." سارت (1922, No. 219, p. 1, cols. 2 and 3). See,

قرار

از قرار معلوم (az qarār-e ma'lūm): "According to what has been ascertained." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

از قرار معلوم چندین قراء و دهات خالصه بر حسب فرامین و اسناد ساختگی

برده شده -

According to what has been ascertained a number of the State townships and villages have been taken on the authority of forged rescripts and vouchers.

قرار

از قرار (az qarār; with gen.): "At the rate" (of). (مجموع 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3).

مجموع نقد و تیمت جنسی آن از قرار خرواری هفت تومان ۶۱۵۰ قران می شود -

The sum-total of the money and the value of the produce of it at the rate of seven tūmāns an ass-load amounts to 6155 krāns.

قرار

قرار بودن (qarār būdan): "To be agreed, understood." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

راجع بنهر جدیدی که قرار بود روسها از تازه حصار بارقی احداث نمایند فعلا

جلزگیری بعمل آمده -

With reference to the new canal which it was understood the Russians were to construct from Tāza Hīṣār to Artīk, hindrances have for the present occurred.

قرار دادن (qarār dādan): "To fix, establish" (Steingass), often used simply in sense of "to make." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

این گونه سوالات سفیهانه کرده بدیهیات را مورد بحث قرار میدهند -

They put foolish questions of this kind and make obvious matters subjects of discussion.

قسمت (kīsmat): A "part, a portion."

قسمت ادبی (kīsmat-e adabī): "The branch or faculty of arts." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

از بین بردن قسمت ادبی متوسط اندامی کودکانه بشمار رنجه (الخ)

To do away with the Arts branch of the Middle Schools will be reckoned a childish measure, (&c.).

تشوینی (kūshūni): "Military." (میمن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

تضاوت (kaṣāvat): "Authority to try as a judge." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

تصمیم ملوکانه به الغای قضاوت تنسولها و مزایای اتباع خارجه در ایران.

Resolution of the Shāh to abolish the authority of Consuls to try as judges, and the privileges of foreign subjects in Persia.

قضاوت

اتحاد (kaṣāvat kardan): "To judge." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 4, col. 2).

See, under موکول .

قضائی (kaṣā'ī): "Judicial;" (i.e., pertaining to a judge's functions). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2). See, under تائل (بودن) kā'il, تائل .

تطمع

تطمع بودن (kaṭ' būdan): "To be certain, to be as fixed." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 4).

یقین و تطمع است که این قرارداد برای انجام مقاصد تجارت در آتیه نتایج عمده مفیده را متضمن خواهد بود.

It is sure and certain that this agreement will involve important and profitable results in the future for the achievement of the merchant's objects.

تله (kaḷ'a): "Garrison"—, in "garrison-artillery," توپخانه تله (tūp-khāna-ye kaḷ'a). (میمن 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 1). See, under اکیدا

قوای (kuvā; pl. of قوت kūvat).

قوای روحیه (kuvā-ye rūhīya): The "moral" (of troops). (1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

و ضمناً قوای روحیه از دست رفته قشونهای خود را احیا و تجدید می نمودند

And incidentally they revived and restored the *moral* of their armies which had been lost.

قونسولگری (kūnsūlgārī): "Consulate"; (residence or office). (1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 1).

قونسولی (kūnsūlī): "Consular." (1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

تقهقری

تقهقری برگشتن (ba-ḡahḡarā bar gashtan): "To retrograde." (1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

اگر فرقههای موجوده مابین زن و مرد برداشته شود آیا بشریت ترقی خواهد کرد و یا بتقهقری برمی گردد.

If the differences between man and woman be removed will mankind progress or retrograde?

لا قید (ḡaid). See, قید.

قید

قید شدن (ḡaid shudan): "To be inscribed, to be recorded." (1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2). See, under تضمینات.

قیمت

قیمت در آمدن (ba-ḡīmat dar āmadan): "To be appraised or appraisable." (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2).

گفته اند این قدر الماس دارد که بقیمت در نمی آید.

They have said he has so many diamonds that they are not appraisable.

کار

کار کردن (kār kardan): "To be at work," (as a machine). (1927, No. 55, p. 2, sub-col. 5).

فقط دودستگاه از آنها توسط دو نفر عمه کار میگردند.

Only two of the looms, by means of two operatives, were at work.

کار

از کار بیرون آمدن (az kār bīrūn āmadan): "To be successful in its action." (وطن 1917, No. 40).

کار

بکار افتادن (ba-kār uftādan): "To begin to be at work," (e.g., a machine). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 1).

اهالی قزوین * همه روزه منتظرند که کی ماشین مزبور بکار خواهد افتاد

The inhabitants of Qazvīn are daily expectant of the above-mentioned machines beginning to be at work.

بکار انداختن (ba-kār andākhtan): "To use, to work," (as land). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 2).

دوم منافعی که از بابت بکار انداختن اراضی * با اشخاص می رسد -

Secondly, the profits that accrue from the working of land.

کار

بکار بودن (ba-kār būdan): "To be used, employed." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 3).

اگر برای بدکاران و خائنین بوطن مجازات بکار بود نصرت الدوله *

دوباره وکیل نشده -

If punishment had been used for evil-doers and traitors to their country, Nuṣratu 'd-Daula would not a second time have become a member of the National Assembly.

کارشکنی (kar-shikanī): "Obstruction." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 1).

See, under حکومتی.

کارگذاری (kār-guzārī): "Of the Foreign Office." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 4, col. 2).

اداره معارف پس از اطمینان کامل بوسیله اداره محترم کارگذاری

تقاضای عبور برای محصل خواهد نمود -

The Ministry of Education, after being fully assured (on these points) through the Foreign Office, will demand a passport for the student.

کارگری (kār-garī): "Labour," (as adj.). (1927, طرفان No. 191, p. 1, col. 2).

دولت شوروی و کارگری روسیه * * * حتی المقدور از تحمل چنین باری شانه خالی میکند.

The Soviet Labour Government of Russia, as far as possible, will avoid the bearing of such a burden.

کاریر (Fr.): "Career." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

کاستن (kāstan, v. a., with از of thing): "To decrease." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 2).

اگر پادشاه عاقل و صرفه جو است حتی المقدور از مخارج می کاهد.

If the King be intelligent and economical he will decrease the expenses so far as possible.

————(v. n., with از of thing): "To detract" (from). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). See, under ادبی (adabī), علوم ادبیه.

کاغذ (kāghaz): A "document." (Redhouse; and ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3). See کاغذ ساز.

کاغذ ساز (kāghaz-sāz): Used apparently in the sense of a "forger of documents." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 3).

کشف عملیات کاغذ سازها

از قرار معلوم چندین تراودهاست خالصه بر حسب فرامین و اسناد ساختگی برده شده.

Disclosure of the proceedings of the forgers of documents.

According to what has been ascertained a number of the royal townships and villages have been appropriated on the authority of false rescripts and vouchers.

کافی (kāfi; with gen.): "Capable" (of), "effective" (in). (کاوه 1921, Apr. 10, p. 5).

کافی اصلاح مملکت "Effective in reforming the realm."

کپیہ (Fr. *copié*, copied): Generally used in the sense of a "copy," or "(with a) copy (addressed to)." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4).

مجلس مقدس شورای ملی *** کپیہ مقام منبع ریاست وزیرای عظام کپیہ
وزارت جلیله عدلیه (الخ)

(A communication to) the National Assembly (with a) copy addressed to the Minister of Justice, (&c.).

کدورت (kudūrat): "Misunderstanding, unpleasantness." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 1).

ذره کدورت و تقاربین هیچ يك از دولتین یافت نشده است.

Not a particle of misunderstanding or contention is found in the relations between his Government and that of any other (neutral) State.

کرایه

مال الکرایه: "Rent to be paid for houses," (or money for hiring), مال الکرایه پرداختن (mālu 'l-kirāya pardakhtan): "To pay rent" (due for houses). Cf. Phillott under "Rent."

کسر

کسر صندوق (kasr-e šandūk): "A deficit, in accounts." کسر صندوق داشتن (kasr-e šandūk dāshtan): "To be responsible for a deficit." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4).

چون پول دزبور رئیس مالیه از حسن گرفته کسر صندوق داشته و
بصندوق مالیه داخل نموده و حسن بیچاره بعتبار دولت پول داده و جدانا
استدعای نمایم دولت حکم پرداخت آن بمالیه صادر فرمایند.

Since the (district) financial chief, having a deficit in his accounts, has taken the money from Hasan and placed it to the credit of the finances, and Hasan, poor man, gave it up in consideration for the State, we beg that as a matter of conscience the State will issue an order for the repayment of it.

کسر

کسر کردن (kasr kardan; with از): "To deduct" (from). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2). The active form of کسر شدن q. v. under سر بلندی.

کفالت (kafālat): "Being surety for responsibility." Sometimes used for کفیل as in کفالت حکومت the responsible agent of Government, the Governor.

کل

کل شدن (kull shudan): "To amount to, to cost," (Sh. Diary in Tisdall's Gram., p. 47). Cf. تمام شدن.

کلا (kullan): "Wholly." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 3).

هرگاه اجتماعات مزبوره کلا یا بعضاً مسلح باشند * * حاملین اسلحه توقیف.

Whenever the above-mentioned assemblies are armed, wholly or partially, the bearers of arms (shall be) arrested.

کلکسیون (F.).

کلکسیون نمودن (Collection namūdan): "To collect." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4).

کلی (kullī): "In wholesale, wholesale." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 4). See, under جزوی (جزئی).

کلشه (Fr.): "Cliché, stereotyped form." (نراقی 1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 4).

کا

کا اینکه (kamā īnki): "And so, so that." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

و پیش از این هم کسی از ایشان توقع نداشت که اینک ما در تمام آن مدت سکوت اختیار کرده بودیم.

And previously to this, no one expected it of him, so that during the whole of that period I chose to keep silence.

کک

اتحاد (kumak namūdan): "To help." (از حیث های حیث 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4). See, under

کونیست: "Communist." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

کیسر (Fr.): "Commissioner."

کیسر عالی (kumiser-e 'alī): "High Commissioner." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2 col. 2). Cf. مامور عالی.

کیسری "Commission." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 4).

در میتنگی که در کیسری صحیه تشکیل گردید * * * قطعاً مه ذیل صادر

شد.

In a meeting held at the Commission of the Board of Health the following decision was issued.

ایران جوان (Fr.): "Contract." (کنترات 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

ایران جوان (Fr., Pers.): "Under contract." (کنتراتی 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

و نیز چهار نفر از مستخدمین کنتراتی وزارت مالیه * * * * از کار منفصل شدند.

And also four of those employed under contract in the Financial Ministry have been dispensed from service.

تجدد (Fr.): "Examination, checking." (کنترول 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 2).

ایران جوان (Fr.): "Conference." (کنفرانس 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

(Fr.) کنفرانس.

زبان آزاد (Fr.): "To give a lecture." (کنفرانس دادن 1917, No. 28, p. 1).

ایران جوان (Fr.): "Congress." (گنگره 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 2).

کودتا “*Coup d'état*.” (میهن ۱۹۲۴، No. ۲۷، p. ۱، col. ۱).

که (ki): “*Whilst*.” (Two illustrations of this sense in مکرآزاد ۱۹۲۴، No. ۱۴۸، p. ۴، sub-col. ۱).

تا این اندازه هم میشود ساکت نشست که هر چه میخواهند بگویند و ناظر بود که هر چه میتوانند بکنند.

Can we sit silent so long whilst they say whatever they wish, and look on whilst they do whatever they can.

گ

گارد “*The Guards*,” (military). (میهن ۱۹۲۴، No. ۲۷، p. ۱، col. ۳).

ستاره ایران (gāv-mīrī): “*The cattle-plague*.” (ستاره ایران ۱۹۲۴، No. ۹، p. ۲، col. ۳).

گرمیری در بلرکات تروین و خمسه و شهریار و غیره رو با شتداد گزارد.

The cattle-plague in the districts of Qazvin, Khamsa, Shahriyār, &c., has increased in intensity.

گذران

گذران نمودن (guzarān namūdan): “*To pass one's life, to get along in a way*.” (محشر ۱۹۲۷، No. ۵۵، p. ۱، col. ۳).

در فکر رعایای قلوب صحرا و بیابان نشین رنجبر که دائماً در گرما و سرما گذران می نمایند * * * کیمت.

Who thinks of the unfortunate toiling peasants who in the wilds of the country pass their lives always in heat and cold?

گذرانیدن (guzarānīdan; causal verb): “*To pass*,” (as a law). (ایران جوان ۱۹۲۷، No. ۲۴، p. ۱۱، col. ۱).

مجلس اعیان انگلیس تا نونی گذرانیده است که بموجب آن کلیه انتصابات غیر تانونی مجازات خواهد شد.

The English House of Lords has passed a law by which all illegal strikes will be punished.

گذشتن (guzashtan; with از : "To be passed" by ;
(e.g., a measure by Parliament). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148,
p. 2, col. 1).

يك امر ديگر باقى و آن موضوع گذشتن قرارداد تجارى از پارلمان
است -

One other matter remains, and that is the subject of the
passing of the Commercial Agreement by Parliament.

طوفان (guzashta; as noun) : "The past." (گذشته
1927, No. 191, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

بايستى اصرار در حفظ وثايق و تا مينائى كه در گذشته اسباب اطمينان
خاطر بوده است داشته باشيم -

We should have to insist upon the keeping of the pledges
and securities which in the past have been the means of our
confidence.

گردانيدن

برگردانيدن (bar-gardānīdan) : "To restore" (to a
former condition). (ايران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

كلاسهاى آخر آنرا بصورت سابق خود * * * برگردانند -

To restore its highest classes to their previous form.

گرفته (شدن) [girifta (shudan)] : "To be held, to
take place," (e.g., a banquet). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148,
p. 3, col. 1).

بمناسبت عيد سعيد اخي جشن مفصل باشكوهى در قونسولگري افغانستان
گرو -

On the occasion of the blessed festival of Azhā a profuse
and splendid banquet (was) held at the Afghan Consulate's.

گرو

گرو گذاشتن (girau guzāshtan; with نزد of the person) :
"To pledge" (with). (ايران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4,
col. 4).

گمرک * واستقلال مملکت را نزد ا جانب گرو مى گذارند -

They pledge the customs, and the independence of the
country to foreigners.

گروه (girihi) : A measure of length of about 2½ inches.
(Redhouse).

ایران جوان (gushāda-bāzū): "Lavish." (پشم کلاه ریختن 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3). See, under

درموتع (gir uftādan, may be followed by کبر افتادن dar mauka'-e): "To be involved" (in).

گل (gul): A "curl" (in a lamb's fleece). (Taken from conversation).

کمرک

کمرک دادن (gumruk dādan): "To pay Custom-house duties." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 5).

تخم نوغانی که جعبه یک قران کمرک داده بودند جعبه یک شاهى صد دینار میفر وختند.

A box of silk-worm eggs on which a duty of one *qirān* had been paid was sold for one *shāhī* and a hundred *dīnārs*.

گو (gū): "Suppose," (Steingass). But generally followed by گواينکه (īnki); as, گواينکه "Granting that." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

گواينکه هنوز مدت نه ماه به انتضای مدت يك سال باقى مانده * * * مدت مزبور به پنج وجه زياد نيست.

Granting that 9 months remain to the expiration of the 12 months, such period is not too long (considering all the circumstances).

گويا (guyā): "It would appear." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 2).

از قرار مسموع گويا آنای طيب اعظم مدير دارالشفای قضيه آب اطلاع داشته مع هذا اورا معاينه نمى کند.

From what has been heard it would appear that the chief physician, the Director of the hospital, knew of the "water" incident, yet he did not examine (the patient).

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

NIẒĀMU'L-MULK'S VIẒIERATE

AT Malwa, on his way to Delhi, NiẒāmu'l-Mulk was joined by the zemindārs of Datia, Urcha and Chanderi with their troops. He made straight for Agra through Bundelkhand where Rāja Chattarsal Bundela, who had taken possession of some of the royal territories including the district of Kâlpî, made surrender and sent his Vakîls with suitable presents. He became NiẒāmu'l-Mulk's ally and was received into favour. Similarly Rāja Chhatar Singh (son of Rāja Gaj Singh, zemindar of Narwar who was killed in the battle fought near Burhânpûr between Dilâwar 'Alî Khân and NiẒāmu'l-Mulk in 1720) joined him. As the late Rāja had taken an active part in organizing the Rājputs to help the cause of the Sayyid brothers, his son Chhatar Singh could barely conceal his fear of ill-treatment. He presented himself personally in the Nawâb's presence, made obeisance and joined him with a body of troops. NiẒāmu'l-Mulk, with his usual generosity, treated him without any harshness and allowed bygones to be bygones. (*Târîkh-i-Fatḥiâh*).

NiẒāmu'l-Mulk reached Agra on the 16th January 1722, and was received by Burhānu'l-Mulk Sa'dat Khân, the subedâr of the province. The latter invited him to stay at his palace (havelî) arranged a sumptuous feast in his honour, and presented him with several elephants, horses, jewellery and rolls of cloth. NiẒāmu'l-Mulk, however, accepted only one Turkish pony and in return gave him presents before taking leave after a visit of three days. From Agra NiẒāmu'l-Mulk started for Delhi. He followed the river Jumnâ and reached Bârâhpula, a few miles south of the Imperial capital on the 28th January. The first thing he did was to pay his respects at the shrines of Khwâja Qutbu'd-dîn Bakhtiâr Kâkî and Hazrat NiẒāmu'd-dîn Auliâyâ for whom he entertained great devotion. The Emperor sent him baskets of fruits and *pân* preserved in ice. 'Azîmu'd-Daulah Khân son of Zahîru'd-Daulah Ri'âyat Khân, a cousin of NiẒāmu'l-Mulk, was directed by the Emperor to receive him there on his behalf. When 'Azîmu'd-Daulah Khân reached Bârâhpula, he was

joined by Badru'd-dîn Khân son of I'timâdu'd-Daulah Qamru'd-dîn Khân. Nizâmu'l-Mulk received them with open arms. He embraced Badru'd-dîn Khân and asked him to tell his (Badru'd-dîn's) father that he (Nizâmu'l-Mulk) would pay him a visit of condolence straight from the Imperial palace. Nizâmu'l-Mulk spent a night at Bârâhpula in his tent. Next morning Amîru'l-Umarâ Samsâmu'd-Daulah Khân-i-Daurân Bahâdur, the chief Bakhshî, along with other nobles, was sent in state to receive him. Yûsuf Muḥammad Khân, the author of the *Târîkh-i-Fathîah*, who had accompanied Nizâmu'l-Mulk in this journey to North India and who held the post of Darogha of the Dîwânkhânâh, was directed to receive the guests with due formality. When the Amîru'l-Umarâ Samsâmu'd-Daulah came to pay a visit to Nizâmu'l-Mulk, he was led by Yûsuf Muḥammad Khân to the Dîwânkhânâh. There were many other lesser noblemen who wanted to pay a visit to Nizâmu'l-Mulk along with the train of the Amîru'l-Umarâ. In fact the latter felt so much harassed at the sight of the crowd that he asked Yûsuf Muḥammad Khân to stop people from entering the Dîwânkhânâh. But the latter apologised and said that his master (Nizâmu'l-Mulk) had given him express orders to allow entrance to everybody who desired to see him. This incident at once shows the extreme popularity of Nizâmu'l-Mulk among the nobles and the people of Delhi as well as his capacity to perceive what is appropriate in dealing with men and situations. Everyone present in the Dîwânkhânâh offered his 'nazar' to Nizâmu'l-Mulk who paid individual attention to everybody and, according to the usage of the time, treated them to perfumes and *pân*.

After a little chat Nizâmu'l-Mulk accompanied Samsâmu'd-Daulah to go to pay his respects to the Emperor in L'al Qil'ah. The latter received him with every mark of consideration and favour. He was awarded a gold ornament for his turban, inlaid with emeralds and diamonds, and an elephant and two horses, one of 'Irâqî and the other of Arabian breed. After his visit to the Emperor, Nizâmu'l-Mulk went to the Jâm'î Masjid to say his (Zuhr) midday prayers, from whence he proceeded to the house of the late I'timâdu'd-Daulah for condolence. Qamru'd-dîn Khân, son of the late I'timâdu'd-Daulah came on foot some distance from his house to receive him. Nizâmu'l-Mulk embraced him and with great emotion recommended to him patience of the will of the Almighty.

After a few days the Emperor held a grand Durbar at which Nizâmu'l-Mulk was invested with the office of Chief Minister and was given, by way of presents, a special robe, jewels and an ornamental pen-case. The palace of Sa'du'llâh Khân was also given to him for his habitation. (Khâfi Khân, vol. 2, p. 939; *Târikh-i-Fathîah*).

In this new position, Nizâmu'l-Mulk found himself confronted by a solid block of opponents who took delight in putting obstacles in his way and in creating difficulties for him. Nor was it long before bitter personal rivalry broke out between him and others. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was anxious to maintain the prestige of the throne. He did not like the Emperor to while away his time in the company of low and profligate persons by whom he was constantly surrounded. But his opponents had too great an influence on the Emperor to be so easily checkmated by the new vizier. A somnolent condition had set in in the heart of the State. Every scheme of reform initiated by Nizâmu'l-Mulk was considered to be an innovation, and it was opposed partly from prejudice and partly from fear. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was prompt in using his best endeavours for a fundamental change in the existing system of administration. First of all, he attempted to reform the court abuses, which were having a malign influence on the entire system of Government of the country.

Koki Padshâh, a woman of great charm and cunning, in collusion with Khwâja Khidmatgâr Khân, a cunuch of the palace, invited bribes openly from the nobility and others desiring high office in the State. This practice had undermined the moral prestige of the Emperor who was supposed to be a party to all these fraudulent undertakings. In spite of the great difficulties in his way, Nizâmu'l-Mulk knew that the time had come to act resolutely and to undertake that reform of the administration to which the public had long been looking forward. He spoke to the Emperor about the abuses obtaining at the Court, advising him to devote more time to the affairs of the State. The Emperor, being obstinate and stupid, did not relish all this. Nizâmu'l-Mulk had the model of Aurangzib's administration before him and desired to re-establish the same structure of the Empire which had stood the Mughals in good stead for so many centuries in India.

Muhammad Shâh was so stupid as to be unable to choose his own course of action, believing whatever his selfish associates told him about the motives of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, whose

every word and action was purposely misinterpreted to him. Even his old-fashioned manners and ideas were openly ridiculed by the young and gay courtiers of the Emperor. Harlots and jesters, who were his constant companions, used to greet all great nobles of the realm with lewd gestures and offensive epithets. Nizâmu'l-Mulk, not being used to such treatment, first protested in a dignified manner and then avoided the company of the Emperor as far as possible. Thus, conditions obtaining at court made cordial co-operation between the Emperor and the vizier an impossibility. The vizier's proposals for revenue reform precipitated the crisis. The system of land revenue has always been the pivot of civil Government in India, and indeed, good or bad management of the revenue has always been the surest indication of the conduct of Government in this country. During Muḥammad Shâh's effete reign it had become the practice that excessive assignments of revenue-paying lands were freely made to great nobles and favourites of the court. There were also lands of which no assignment of revenues were on record which were under the control of the courtiers and which were assigned on receipt of certain sums as bribes. This mismanagement of the finances had completely exhausted the treasury and considerably diminished the income of the State. Nizâmu'l-Mulk's proposals of revenue reform cut at the very source of income of most of the influential courtiers, who started intrigues to oust him from the vizierate. Hyder Qulî Khân, a very influential person at the court and head of the Imperial artillery, meddled in civil and revenue matters to spite Nizâmu'l-Mulk. He was one of the richest men in the realm, having amassed great wealth from his jagirs and from his government of Gujerât. He had the ambition to become vizier. Being disappointed by the coming of Nizâmu'l-Mulk, he started projects against him in order to undermine his authority. When Nizâmu'l-Mulk complained strongly to the Emperor about the behaviour of Hyder Qulî Khân, the latter was advised by the Emperor not to pursue that course openly. Even at this Hyder Qulî Khân felt offended and obtained an order to take over charge personally of his government of Gujerât. After settling himself in his Sûba, Hyder Qulî Khân openly defied the Central Government and seized upon the jâgirs of several royal servants whom he considered to be inimical to his interest at the court. (*Mirâ'at-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 45).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk, as the head of the civil authority, sent orders to Hyder Qulî Khân, prohibiting the appropriation of

jagîrs without permission from the Central Government. Hyder Qulî Khân, in his overweening pride, refused to take any notice of these orders. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was compelled to confiscate his jagîrs in the neighbourhood of Delhi in compensation for those which he had seized in Gujerât. News from Gujerât showed conclusively that Hyder Qulî Khân had the intention to defy the Central authority, raising himself as high as the Emperor himself by granting the privilege of fringed litters to his favourite officers and by summoning Franks and Arabs into his service to train his troops. He had raised twenty thousand soldiers, much more than he actually required. It was reported to Nizâmu'l-Mulk that Fâris Khân, Dârôgha of Imperial Stables, had purchased Arab horses at Sûrat for the Emperor. On his way to Delhi he stopped at Ahmedabad. When Hyder Qulî Khân came to know of these Arab horses and their superior quality, he took them all for himself, keeping some for his own stable and distributing the rest among his nobles. With utter disregard of decency he confiscated the properties of Sayyids and Sheykhs of Gujerât and gave them away to his own creatures. Bengâlî Khân, Faujdâr of Godhra died at Ahmedabad after a prolonged illness and his effects were escheated without any reference of the matter to the Central Government.

Hyder Qulî Khân used to go about in his Sûba settling revenue matters and receiving 'peshkash' from the zemindârs. The zemindâr of Durgapûr was asked to furnish him with one lakh cash, similarly the zemindârs of Lonawara and Hamola were required to pay him special contributions. Those who refused were severely punished for their delinquency. (*Mirâ'at-i-Ahmadi*, vol. 2, p. 47). He also imposed extra revenues, over and above the land assessment, vexatious to the land-owning classes of Gujerât. Instead of conniving at the mal-administration of Hyder Qulî Khân, the vizier took him to task. He wrote him strong-worded letters on behalf of the Emperor, questioning the conduct of public affairs in his province. On his part, Hyder Qulî Khân represented direct to the Emperor through his agent at the court that he would always remain faithful to him, his quarrel being with the Chief Minister. On the other hand he openly wrote to his friends in Delhi that he had acquired the country of Gujerât by the dint of his sword, if anyone wanted to deprive him of it, let him come and try conclusions with him. (*Târikh-i-Fathîah*).

In view of all this, Nizâmu'l-Mulk had to try to overcome the reluctance of the Emperor to take action against Hyder Qulî Khân who had purposely been neglecting the orders of

the Chief Minister. At length, the Emperor agreed to confer the province of Gujerât on Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân Bahâdur, eldest son of Nizâmu'l-Mulk and allowed the latter to go personally to Gujerât to coerce Hyder Qulî Khân. To defray the expenses of this expedition, the Chief Minister was sanctioned the sum of 10 lakhs from the public treasury. (*Târikh-i-Fathîah*).

After the Jât rebellion had been successfully quelled, which had occupied the attention of the Central Government for some time past, Nizâmu'l-Mulk took leave of the Emperor on the 11th November 1722, and set out for Gujerât with a large force and artillery, leaving his eldest son Ghâziu'd-dîn Khân Bahâdur as his deputy at the court. He was accompanied in this expedition by 'Azîmu'llah Khân, Mutawassil Khân, Shakru'llâh Khân, Fatehyâb Khân, Hîrullâh Khân, Hîfzullâh Khân, and Tâlib Muhiu'd-dîn Khân, all being his near relations. He marched to Âgra and thence to Sarangpûr in Mâlwa. He reached Dhâr on the 13th February 1723. 'Ivaz Khân ('Adû'd-Daulah), Muhtashim Khân and his uncle, 'Abdu'r-Rahîm Khân (Nâsiru'd-Daulah Şalâbat Jung) joined him in Mâlwa with his troops from the Deccan. (*Târikh-i-Fathîah*).

On hearing the news of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's march, Hyder Qulî Khân sent his son Kâzim Khân to Delhi to try to turn the Emperor in his favour and do propaganda against Nizâmu'l-Mulk among the nobles of the capital. Nawâb Rôshanu'd-Daulah, a man of considerable influence at the court, introduced him to the Emperor and used his best endeavours to make his mission a success. In the meanwhile, the approach of Nizâmu'l-Mulk made Hyder Qulî Khân so nervous that he feigned insanity and set out for Delhi, covering two and sometimes three stages a day, by way of Udeypûr, the Râja of which place was favourably inclined towards him. One of the reasons of Hyder Qulî Khân's nervousness must have been the desertion of some of his Tûrânî officers and soldiery who absolutely refused to offer any resistance to Nizâmu'l-Mulk whom they considered to be "the son of a spiritual guide" (*Murshidzâdah*) alluding to the latter's ancestry.* Several officers of note in Hyder Qulî Khân's army, such as Mehr 'Alî Khân, Şalabat Khân, Zabardast Khân and Asad Khân had already left his camp and dispersed with their troops in

* 'Âlam Sheykh, the great grandfather of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was a well-known spiritual teacher of Turkistân who traced his descent to Sheykh Shihâbuddîn Suhrawardî.

different directions in order to avoid a conflict with the Chief Minister. Probably the desertion of his officers caused great melancholy to Hyder Qulî Khân and disordered his mind.

When Nizâmu'l-Mulk was informed of Hyder Qulî Khân's march to Delhi, he sensed danger in this device of feigning madness. In Mâlwa, it was brought to his notice that the fugitive was in secret communication with the Emperor who had reassured him and had promised to confer on him the command against Râja Ajit Singh, then at Ajmêr. This double-dealing of the Emperor irritated Nizâmu'l-Mulk greatly but, being a prudent person, he refrained from rash decision. He pondered over the whole situation coolly. From Ujjeyn he wrote to Safdar Khân Bâbî at Ahmedâbâd, informing him of his inability to go to Ahmedâbâd personally, and asking him to undertake the administration of the Sûba till the arrival of his uncle Hâmîd Khân, who was immediately dispatched to Ahmedâbâd with Fidwî Khân as his assistant. Most of the nobility of Ahmedâbâd were so tired of the oppressive system of Hyder Qulî Khân that they welcomed the advent of the new régime. Some of them, including Mehr 'Alî Khân, Şalâbat Muḥammad Khân and Jawân-mard Khân came personally to Ujjeyn to offer their respects. (*Mirâ'at-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 47).

While in Mâlwa, Nizâmu'l-Mulk made certain appointments to important posts in order to facilitate the working of the new administrative machinery in Gujerât. Shâhpur Khân was appointed faujdâr of the new 'parganas' assigned as Khâlsa land and Rahmân Qulî Khân, brother of Shâhpûr Khân was allowed to officiate during the latter's absence. The 'parganas' of Dholka, Bharoach, Jamusar, Maqbûlâbâd and Bilsar, well known for their fertility, were marked out as Nizâmu'l-Mulk's own jagir and Râi Nandi was appointed as Mutasaddî (accountant) of these districts. Mutawassil Khân, brother-in-law of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was appointed faujdâr of Godhra, 'Ubeyd Khân was appointed as official news-reporter and was directed to send his reports to Nizâmu'l-Mulk without any intermediary. Qavîdil Khân was sent to Ahmedâbâd as the official news-reporter of the province. 'Abdul Ghaffâr Khân was made the Kotwâl of Ahmedâbâd. After making these arrangements Nizâmu'l-Mulk undertook his journey to Delhi. (*Mirâ'at-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 48).

On his way to Delhi, Nizâmu'l-Mulk dispatched a force against Dost Muḥammad of Bhopal. According to *Târikh-i-*

Fathîah, Dost Muḥammad Khân paid a visit to Nizâmu'l-Mulk during the latter's stay in Mâlwa. Nizâmu'l-Mulk complained to him of his encroachments on Imperial territory and asked him to hand over several fortresses which he had occupied. He had also to settle an old score against him, as he had joined the forces of Dilâwar 'Alî Khân which were sent by the Amîru'l-Umarâ Huseyn 'Alî Khân to chastise Nizâmu'l-Mulk three years before. After the decisive victory of the latter near Burhânpûr, Dost Muḥammad Khân had escaped from the field where so many others were slain. Nizâmu'l-Mulk was advised to arrest Dost Muḥammad Khân when the latter called to see him and thus cripple him for ever; but, considering this to be against the recognised principles of chivalry, he allowed him to go to his camp. First, Nizâmu'l-Mulk tried to gain his end by conciliatory means. He sent his Dârogha, Yûsuf Muḥammad Khân the author of *Târîkh-i-Fathîah*, to persuade Dost Muḥammad Khân to come to terms with him and to desist from harrying the Imperial territory. Dost Muḥammad Khân's advisers urged him not to give way easily. Their expectation was that Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in view of the need of his immediate presence at the capital, would not be able to stay long enough to lay siege or conduct regular operations in Mâlwa. Probably this accounts for Dost Muḥammad Khân's throwing a strong garrison into the fortress of Islâmnagar with plenty of munitions and grain to compel Nizâmu'l-Mulk to relinquish his attempt. But the latter laid siege with his usual resolution for two months and finally reduced the fortress. Dost Muḥammad Khân offered his submission and was given the rank of 3000 zât, 2000 horse. His son Yâr Muḥammad Khân accompanied him to Delhi and thence to the Deccan. 'Azîmu'llâh Khân, cousin of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was posted in Ujjeyn as deputy-governor of Mâlwa.

Nizâmu'l-Mulk now turned towards the capital which he reached on the 3rd July, 1723. He again made every effort to reform the corrupt court of Delhi. He tried to rouse the Emperor from his indolence and wean him from the company of base associates. The Emperor's mistress, Kokî, the eunuch Khidmatgâr Khân and Zafar Khân, Rôshanu'd-Daulah thwarted him at every step and poisoned the mind of the Emperor against him. None among them possessed any discernible virtue except a capacity for intrigue. They all set to work to counteract the measures of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. They had completely failed in their design to set him at

variance with a man of such vast resources as Hyder Qulî Khân, and thus get rid of him for some considerable time. Nizâmu'l-Mulk's victory put the courtiers in a false position. Their calculations had proved wrong. Now, again they were apprehensive of being eclipsed by such a powerful personality.

The indifference of the Emperor towards public matters was such that even remonstrances addressed direct to him proved of no avail; as a contemporary writer says: "What good was there in the Emperor sitting like a woman secluded within four walls? If sovereigns take to woman's habit and entangle themselves in their tresses, what can a good Muslim do, but migrate to Mecca or, if for that journey funds be wanting, take a dose of poison and leave this for another world?" (*Aḥwâlul-Khawâqîn*, as quoted in Irvine's *Later Moghuls*, vol. 2, p. 131).

After his return to the court, Nizâmu'l-Mulk put forward the following proposals for consideration to the Emperor. Firstly, farming out of the Khâlṣa lands should be discontinued; secondly, bribes and improper gifts under the name of offerings upon appointments to office should cease; thirdly, the number of assigned lands (jâgîrs) should be reduced and given to really capable and powerful nobles to ensure sound management and regular yield of revenue; fourthly, the 'Jizya' should be re-established as in the time of Aurangzîb; and lastly, the Emperor should help the ruler of Persia in repelling the domination of the Afghâns who might well one day turn their attention, after subduing Persia, towards the fertile plains of Northern India.* Probably Nizâmu'l-Mulk desired to nip in the bud the growing power of the Afghans as well as to repay the hospitality of Shâh Tahmasp who had given protection to the Emperor Humâyûn when the latter was compelled by Shêr Shâh to take to flight in 1539. The last proposal is said to have elicited the following query from the otherwise incurious Muhammad Shâh. He is reported to have asked Nizâmu'l-Mulk, "Whom should I send to Persia?" Nizâmu'l-Mulk replied, "Anyone of your officers whom you may select for this enterprise would carry out your orders; or if your Majesty would desire me to undertake this duty, I would strive heart and soul to accomplish it." (Khâfi Khân, vol. 2, p. 948; *Fathîah*).

* Muhammad Khân Ghilzaj, chief of Qandahâr, had defeated Sulṭân Huseyn Shâh, the Safavide sovereign of Persia. The territory from Isfahan to Shîrâz had passed under his rule and the Persian King was made prisoner.

Becoming conscious of the bitter fact that Muḥammad Shâh was beyond reform and it was impossible for him to give to the affairs of the State as much serious attention as they required, Nizâmu'l-Mulk in sheer disgust, decided to leave the court for the Deccan. Being thwarted at every step by the court favourites, he intended to resign the vizierate. Being a prudent person, however, he temporised and waited for a suitable opportunity to carry out his design. According to the author of the *Siyâru'l-Mut'akherîn*, the Emperor had already guessed this resolution of Nizâmu'l-Mulk and as he himself desired to get rid of the minister, he heaped on him every conceivable favour. On the excuse of needing change of air Nizâmu'l-Mulk got a few days' leave of absence to proceed on a hunting excursion to his jâgîrs. He went about sixty or seventy miles from the Capital towards the Ganges and from Soron, well known for its abundance of game, where he stopped for some time, he turned towards Jâlesar and Âgra where he got intelligence of the disorders caused by the Mahrattâs in Gujerât and Mâlwa. Nizâmu'l-Mulk wrote to the Emperor asking his permission to go and restore order in his Sûbas and also explaining to him the need for undertaking this unavoidable expedition. According to *Târîkh-i-Fathîah*, after getting a farmân of permission from the Emperor, Nizâmu'l-Mulk started on his journey to the South. The Mahrattâs had already departed from Mâlwa when they heard that Nizâmu'l-Mulk had crossed the Narbada. Near Sironj, Nizâmu'l-Mulk received news from the Deccan warning him of the evil intentions of Mubâriz Khân, whose father-in-law 'Inâyatu'llâh Khân was the Khânsâmân of the Emperor and held a position of considerable influence at court. Through the latter he had received the patent for the Subedârî of the Deccan. One of his letters, asking Mubâriz Khân to waste no time in assuming the viceroyalty of the Deccan was intercepted by Nizâmu'l-Mulk. (Ma'âthiru'l-Umarâ, vol. 3, p. 730). Mubâriz Khân had made great professions of zeal and devotion to Nizâmu'l-Mulk after the defeat of 'Âlam 'Alî Khân. He had obtained the title of 'Imadu'l-Mulk, the rank of 7000 zât, 7000 horse and other distinctions for himself as well as for his sons, at the recommendation of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. (Ma'âthiru'l-Umarâ, vol. 3, p. 734).

Having received a farmân of the Emperor for the Subedârî of the six Subâs of the Deccan through his son 'Abdul Ma'bûd Khân, Mubâriz Khân started raising an army to realise his ambition. The Emperor had also made a grant of five lakhs

of rupees for the expenses of the expedition against Nizāmu'l-Mulk, and had ordered Bahādur Khān 'Abdul Nabī Khān, Rāja Sāhū and other chiefs of the Deccan to help Mubārīz Khān in every possible way. In Mālwa Nizāmu'l-Mulk had also received the news from the capital that his son Ghāziu'd-dīn Khān had been superseded in favour of Qamru'd-dīn Khān, son of I'timādu'd-Daulah Muḥammad Amin Khān. From Sironj, Nizāmu'l-Mulk proceeded to Burhanpūr by rapid marches and thence to Aurangābād which he reached in July 1724. (Khāfi Khān, vol. 2, p. 950).

Mubārīz Khān, instead of immediately occupying Aurangābād, the capital of Mughal government in the Deccan, wasted much time in raising fresh troops with the help of Afghān officers and zemindārs. This delay enabled Nizāmu'l-Mulk and his generals to mobilize their strength in Aurangābād for the imminent struggle. Nizāmu'l-Mulk kept on temporizing by sending conciliatory messages to Mubārīz Khān, deprecating battle and the shedding of Muslim blood needlessly. But Mubārīz Khān and his men understood fully the nature of these pious sentiments. Deluded by the prospect of becoming the Subedār of the Deccan Mubārīz Khān exerted himself to the utmost to be ready for the fray. Ibrāhīm Khān Pannī (entitled Bahādur Khān), brother of Dā'ūd Khān Pannī, 'Abdu'l Fattah son of 'Abdu'n-Nabī Khān and others joined him with a considerable body of troops and persuaded him to engage Nizāmu'l-Mulk as soon as practicable, further delay being inadvisable.

On the other side 'Ivāz Khān ('Addu'd-Daulah) and Ghiyāth Khān were doing their best to persuade Nizāmu'l-Mulk to avoid a fixed battle until the rains were over. But he overruled them on the ground that, as Mubārīz Khān had received a royal farmān, further delay would bring all the faujdārs of the Deccan under his banner. In the meantime Rāja Sāhū had sent a contingent of Mahrattās under the leadership of Bālājī to help Nizāmu'l-Mulk with whom an understanding was reached as to future relations. On hearing of Mubārīz Khān's approach, Nizāmu'l-Mulk marched out of Aurangābād and encamped near Jaswant Tālāb, leaving the town itself in an unprotected condition. From Zafarnagar, a fief of Ibrāhīm Khān Pannī, Mubārīz Khān marched straight for Aurangābād, avoiding the forces of Nizāmu'l-Mulk. But the latter, a master in strategy, outmarched his enemy, crossed the river Purna with his artillery and left no alternative for Mubārīz Khān but to engage in a general action. A furious

battle took place at Shakar Khera some eighty miles from Aurangâbâd in Berâr. This is surely one of the decisive battles of India, deciding as it did the future of the political domination of the Deccan and laying the foundation of the *de facto* sovereign State of Hyderabad.*

The disposition of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's forces in this battle was as follows:—

The vanguard was placed under Qâdir Dâd Khân, a relative of Nizâmu'l-Mulk on his mother's side. Tâlib Muḥîu'd-dîn Khân, grandson of Sa'du'llâh Khân, was put in charge of the right wing, and the left wing was given to Ismâ'il Khan and Muẓaffar Khân Khaishgî. Kunwar Chand, son of Chattersal Bundela, with a troop of Bundela soldiers was placed under Barqandâz Khân, commander of artillery and 'Atâ Yâr Khân. 'Ivaz Khân was on the left wing of Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Jamâl Khân, Muqarrab Khân Deccanî, Khân 'Âlam Deccanî, Muthawwar Khân Khaushgî and 'Azîz Beg Khân Harisi were placed under 'Ivâz Khân ('Addu'd-Daulah). The artillery which the latter had organized during the absence of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was under his orders. Nizâmu'l-Mulk's cousin *Zahîru'd-dîn* Rî'âyat Khân and Ghiyâth Khân were posted between the left and the centre.

* Nizâmu'l-Mulk never openly claimed severance of the Deccan from the Central Government. But practically, since 1724, he carried on the Government of the six Sûbâs of the Deccan without any reference to Delhi, unhampered in the exercise of all the sovereign attributes of a State. He conducted wars, concluded treaties, conferred titles without asking permission from the Imperial Government. But his loyalty to the Emperor remained unshaken. Coins continued to be struck in the name of the Emperor and his name in the khutbah (Friday Sermon) continued to be read throughout the Deccan. Even in his testament, which has since been published in its original form by Mirzâ Nasru'llâh Khân Fidâ'i by permission of His Highness the late Nizâm, Nizâm-ul-Mulk advised his successor to keep intact the traditional relations of loyalty with the Imperial Government. The tenth article of the testament runs thus: "That he (whomsoever it may concern) should know that the state of the Deccan depends upon the subservience and service and that he should never allow himself to be remiss in respect due to the Emperor. If he did so, he would be the object of contempt of God and man. When the powerful king of Persia (Nâdir Shâh) was in Delhi, he offered me one day in his graciousness, the Empire of Hindustan. On this I at once said that I and my ancestors had, from ancient times, been in the service of the King of Delhi and that such impropriety of conduct on my part would make me notorious as one untrue to salt. And the Emperor would call me false and treacherous. Since his (Nâdir Shâh's) elevated mind could appreciate the significance of my words he liked my reply and praised me."

Nâsîru'd-Daulah 'Abdu'r Raḥîm Khân was posted on the right wing. The advanced reserve (Iltimish) was placed under Hoshdâr Khân. In front of the central reserve were placed Khwâjah Qulî Khân Tûrânî, Gopâl Singh Gaur, Salîm Khân Afghân (deputy of the head-huntsmen) with his party of skirmishers and Rasûl Khân Afghân, all four mounted on elephants. (Khâfi Khân, vol. 2, p. 954-55).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk himself was in the centre. Khwâja 'Abdu'llâh Khân, Ihtidâ Khân, Rustam Beg Khân Neknazar Khân (Bakhshî of Nâsir Jang), Himmat Yâr Khân and 'Abdul Raḥmân Khân were also with him.

Mubâriz Khân drew up his army in the following manner. Ghâlib Khân, faujdâr of Hyderabad Carnatic and Huseyn Munawwar Khân (son of Sheykh Nizâm Deccanî) commanded the vanguard. Muḥammad Beg Khân, uncle of Mubâriz Khân was at the head of the advance-guard of the centre. Ibrahim Khân Pannî (Bahâdur Khân), 'Abdu'l Fattâh Khân and other Afghân musket-masters were on the right. Khwâja Maḥmûd Khân, Khwâja Asad Khân, Khwâja Mas'ûd Khân and Ḥamîd Khân, (sons of Mubâriz Khân) were posted near the centre. At the head of the centre was Mubâriz Khân with Khân Zamân, son of Khân Khânân Mun'im Khân (vizîer of Bahâdur Shâh), Munawwar Khân, Qizilbâsh Khân, Fâ'iq Khân, 'Arab Beg Khân, Tûrânî, Mîr Yûsuf Khân and others. (Khâfi Khân, vol. 2, p. 956).

Nizâmu'l-Mulk did not take the offensive but waited for Mubâriz Khân's attack. The distance between the two armies was only about a mile. At length Mubâriz Khân's troops advanced against 'Ivâz Khân. A hand-to-hand struggle ensued. 'Ivâz Khân received reinforcements and compelled the enemy to retreat with the help of his swivel-guns and muskets. Ghâlib Khân's death created a panic in Mubâriz Khân's camp. The death of the latter's sons made him desperate. In the battle he had shown great prowess and valour. His army was completely overthrown. His elephant-driver received a number of wounds and fell off the elephant. He himself received several wounds and, according to Khâfi Khân, "the Khân (Mubâriz) then wrapped a garment soaked with his own blood around him, and drove the animal himself until he fell dead under the many wounds he received." The victory of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was as complete as it could possibly be. The losses on his side were few. Mubâriz Khân was buried in the plain outside the town of Shakar Khera. By the orders of Nizâmu'l-Mulk the wounded of Mubâriz

Khân's army were carefully tended. After his victory, Nizâmu'l-Mulk went to Aurangâbâd for a short while. There he received intelligence that Khwâja Ahmad Khân, son of Mubâriz Khân was making preparations for resistance in the fortress of Golconda. He had also sent his emissaries in different directions to stir up a general revolt against Nizâmu'l-Mulk and increase the existing disorder in the Deccan. Nizâmu'l-Mulk realised that Khwâja Ahmad Khân's presence in the fortress of Golconda necessitated prompt action on his part. But before starting on his march towards Hyderâbâd he went to Aurangâbâd and conferred honours on those of his associates who had done meritorious service in the battle of Shakar Khera. In recognition of his services Nâsiru'd-Daulah 'Abdul Rahîm Khân, Nizâmu'l-Mulk's uncle, was raised to the rank of 7000 zât, 7000 horse. Bâjî Râo, who had been specially sent by Râja Sâhû, was awarded the rank of 7000 zât, 7000 horse, an elephant and jewellery.

Yûsuf Muḥammad Khân, author of *Târikh-i-Fathîah* has given the following details about the conferment of ranks.

Muḥammad Ghiyâth Khân	..	5000 zât—5000 horse.
Jamâl Khân	..	5000 zât—5000 horse.
Muthawwar Khân	..	5000 zât—5000 horse.
Qâdir Dâd Khân	..	5000 zât—5000 horse.
Turktâz Khân	..	4000 zât—4000 horse.
Muqarrab Khân	..	4000 zât—4000 horse.
Khân 'Âlam	..	4000 zât—4000 horse.
'Azîz Beg Khân Harisî	..	4000 zât—4000 horse.

Hifzullâh Khân, Tâlib Muḥîu'd-dîn Khân and Muḥammad Sa'id Khân, who had accompanied Nizâmu'l-Mulk from Delhi and originally had the rank of one thousand, were given the grade of 3000 zât, 2000 horse with the privilege of standard and kettle-drum. Muḥtashim Khân Bakhshî was reinstated in his post and was also given the Diwânî of the six subâs of the Deccan. Irâdat Khân was given the title of Bahâdur and his rank increased to 4000 zât, 2000 horse. (*Târikh-i-Fathîah*). Jagpat Rao, zemindâr of Sadhapur who had given valuable help was raised to 3000 zât, 2000 horse.*

* The grade of 7000 zât, 7000 horse was in the beginning of Akbar's reign, reserved only for princes of the royal blood, but it was later conferred on high officials of the State. If the rank in zât and sawârs was equal, it was considered to be first class. But if the number of sawârs was less than the zât, the rank was considered to be lower. The conferment of rank was one of the privileges of royalty but in later times, when the Central Government had become weak, the Subedârs exercised this privilege, as Nizâmu'l-Mulk did after the battle of Shakar Khera.

Nizāmu'l-Mulk stayed at Aurangābād ten days to settle sundry affairs of the administration. In the pen-case of Mubārīz Khān two letters were found with the signatures and seals of Anwar Khān and Diyānat Khān, offering their whole-hearted support in the event of a struggle with Nizāmu'l-Mulk. The latter asked Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān, author of *Tārīkh-i-Fathīah*, to read out the contents of the letters in presence of everyone, so that the writers of these letters might be ashamed of their conduct. Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān was also asked to announce their dismissal from service. According to *Ma'āthiru'l-Umarā*, 'Ivāz Khān cherished a grudge against Diyānat Khān, who was Diwān of the six subās of the Deccan and on this occasion his vindictive feelings went a long way in poisoning the mind of Nizāmu'l-Mulk against him. Nizāmu'l-Mulk wanted to pardon him but 'Ivāz Khān persuaded him not to do so (vol. 2, p. 77). Ihtidā Khān was appointed Diwān and Khānsāmān (lord steward). Similarly, 'Alī Akbar Khān, Diwān of Burhānpur had tried to play a double game by sending gunpowder and lead to Mubārīz Khān before the battle of Shakar Khera. He was also dismissed from service and 'Aqil Khān Kamboh appointed in his place.

On his way to Hyderābād Nizāmu'l-Mulk passed Bidar. Mīr Kalān Tūrānī, the qil'adār of the fortress was honoured with a robe of honour and confirmed in his post. As Mīr Kalān Tūrānī knew Turkish very well, Nizāmu'l-Mulk always addressed him in that language. Here Nizāmu'l-Mulk got intelligence that Kāzīm 'Alī Khān, faujdār of Bhongīr and a favourite of Mubārīz Khān had organised resistance with the help of Appā Rāo, a big zemindār of Telingāna. An army under Ihtidā Khān Khānsāmān and another under the command of Seyf 'Alī Khān, second Bakhshī, was dispatched to chastise those rebels. Sharīf Muḥammad Khān was to officiate as Khānsāmān in Ihtidā Khān's absence and similarly Yūsuf Muḥammad Khān was asked to officiate during the second Bakhshī's absence. (*Tārīkh-i-Fathīah*).

Kāzīm 'Alī Khān was killed in a battle with Ihtidā Khān and all his followers, afraid of the new régime, came over to Nizāmu'l-Mulk. Appā Rāo offered his submission and obtained confirmation of his jāgīrs. The fortress of Bhongīr and Nojar (later known as Islāmābād) were reduced in about two months' time and Nizāmu'l-Mulk's suzerainty established in the vicinity of Hyderābād (*Ibid.*).

Reaching the neighbourhood of Hyderâbâd, Nizâmu'l-Mulk made overtures to his rival in order to avoid bloodshed. He pitched his tent in Gosha Mahal and continued to negotiate and ultimately succeeded in inducing Khwâja Ahmad Khân, by his tact, kindness and courage to give up resistance. When Khwâja Ahmed Khân, deeming his cause lost, came to terms, Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in his usual chivalrous manner, treated him with the greatest possible consideration. He was given the title of Shahâmat Jung with rank of 5000 zât, 2000 horse and was given a jâgîr in the Sûba of Hyderâbâd without obligation of any service and a free gift of all his father's movable property. His brother Khwâja Maḥmūd Khân was also honoured with the title of Mubâriz Khân. Other members of Mubâriz Khân's family were also treated with consideration and honours were accorded them, in order to allay their discontent as far as was humanly possible and politically expedient. Hyderâbâd, in view of its historical and strategic importance, was made the capital of the State.

While Nizâmu'l-Mulk was on his way back to the Deccan from the imperial court, Sarbuland Khân had been appointed to supersede Hâmid Khân in Gujerât. Till the arrival of Sarbuland Khân in Gujerât, Shujâ'at Khân one of the creatures of Hyder Qulî Khân received a royal sanad as his deputy-governor. Shujâ'at Khân informed Hâmid Khân of the Imperial patent he had received from Delhi and asked him to quit the fortress of Bhadar, which he was then occupying. Shujâ'at Khân started making new appointments to key positions of the provincial administration. He filled all the posts of kotwâls, faujdârs and thanedârs with men of his own choice. When Hâmid Khân realised the gravity of this new political development he asked permission from the deputy-governor to allow him (Hâmid Khân) to remain in Gujerât till the termination of the rainy season as it would be highly inconvenient for him to undertake a long journey during that time of the year. But Shujâ'at Khân refused to give him this permission on political grounds and started making military preparations for his forcible ejection from the province. Apprised of this, Hâmid Khân also applied himself to preparations. At length the two contending parties met near Ahmedâbâd. In this battle cannons and matchlocks were freely used and many lost their lives on both sides. When the hostilities were going on, 'Alî Muḥammad Khân, father of the author of *Mirâ't-at-i-Ahmâdî*, 'a most valuable history of Gujerât at that period, fearing lest the contest might result

in the entire ruin of the city of Ahmedâbâd and its population, went to Safdar Khân Bâbî and succeeded in persuading him to arrange some kind of accommodation between the two parties. Şalâbat Muḥammad Khân and Jawânṡard Khân also accompanied Safdar Khân Bâbî on his peaceful mission. First they visited Shujâ'at Khân in his camp and convinced him of the utter futility of continuing the hostility any longer. Finding him amenable to good advice, they visited Hâmid Khân who in fact welcomed their move from his heart, most unwilling as he was from the very beginning to try conclusions with Shujâ'at Khân at that time. At length a compromise was reached; that Hâmid Khân should be allowed to proceed to Dohad there to pass the rainy season, after which he should quit the country for the Deccan. This gave breathing-time to Hâmid Khân who immediately wrote to Nizâmu'l-Mulk informing him of the actual state of affairs in Gujerât and his comparative resourcelessness in that part of the country. Nizâmu'l-Mulk advised him to temporize and to seek aid from Mahrattâ generals to whom he promised to write directly.

Meanwhile Shujâ'at Khân had written to the Emperor at Delhi that if he and his brother (Rustam 'Alî Khân) were provided with funds and twenty thousand horse, they were prepared to undertake a contest with Nizâmu'l-Mulk and his party of Tûrânîs who were seeking to dominate the entire government of the country and whose growing power had become a danger to the very existence of the State. The suggestion being after his own heart, the Emperor ordered the grant of three lakhs of rupees for this laudable end, from the treasury of the port of Sûrat. Shujâ'at Khân appointed his son Ahmad Qulî Khân as the commander of the cavalry and immediately sent him to Sûrat, in order to organise the army there in consultation with Rustam 'Alî Khân. (*Mirât-i-Ahmadî*, p. 56).

When Sarbuland Khân came to know of this affair, he wrote to 'Alî Muḥammad Khân, a man of high intelligence on whom he had the greatest confidence, saying that his own absence should in no wise stand in the way of Shujâ'at Khân undertaking his expedition against Nizâmu'l-Mulk. 'Alî Muḥammad Khân, knowing as he did the exact condition of Shujâ'at Khân's men, wrote back: "The two brothers (Shujâ'at Khân and Rustam 'Alî Khân) are second to none in valour and personal courage but it is one thing to be a good soldier and quite another thing to be a leader of men. Their

troops consist mostly of men from the towns of Gujerât who will not be able to withstand the attacks of the enemy, being totally devoid of military experience. Only the sight of a battle will be sufficient to disconcert them. They will take to flight even before the start of the campaign. Rustam 'Alî Khân has assembled a force, consisting of Arab adventurers and discontented Gujerâtî riff-raff. As they have been recently engaged in warfare with Pîlâjî, they have picked up some of his tactics and that is all." (*Mir'at-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 57).

In the meantime Hâmid Khân received news from Nizâmu'l-Mulk advising the former to come to terms with Kantâjî Kadam Bande and Pîlâjî Gaikwâd who were also directly in correspondence with Nizâmu'l-Mulk on this subject. The latter had written to several influential people in Ahmedâbâd who were favourably disposed towards him and had also invited Mîr Natthû and Muḥammad Ṣalâbat Khân Rohila, well-known muster-masters of Mâlwa, to be ready for action in Gujerât. (*Mir'at-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 59). On receiving Nizâmu'l-Mulk's letter, Hâmid Khân sent his messengers to Kantâjî, one of Sâhû's officers, to join him against Shujâ'at Khân. An agreement was arrived at; and Kantâjî, on promise of having his demand of chauth unreservedly accepted, marched in the direction of Dohad, at the head of a large army, to join Hâmid Khân. Hâmid Khân had already procured intelligence of the movements of Shujâ'at Khân and it was decided to capture Ahmedâbâd by surprise. When Ibrâhîm Qulî Khân was apprised of this situation, he wrote pressing letters to Shujâ'at Khân who was busy, at that time, touring the districts and receiving and assigning tribute in different parts of Gujerât. On receiving intelligence that Hâmid Khân had taken several villages, he advanced towards Ahmedâbâd. About eight miles from that city a bloody battle was fought between Hâmid Khân and the Mahrattâs of Kantâjî on the one side and Shujâ'at Khân on the other. The latter's soldiers being mostly inexperienced in the art of warfare, got frightened and dispersed in flight. Shujâ'at Khân was killed and many were captured by the Mahrattâs, among the latter being Huseyn Qulî Khân and Muṣṭafa Qulî Khân, both sons of Shujâ'at Khân. Ibrâhîm Qulî Khân managed to save his life and by the intervention of Safdar Khân Bâbî obtained pardon and was well received by Hâmid Khân who offered him consolation. Hâmid Khân's authority was again established and acknowledged in Ahmedâbâd. Mu'min Khân, divân of the Sûba, Fidwî Khân and other

nobles of the city of Ahmedâbâd, both Hindus and Muslims, came to wait on Hâmid Khân and acknowledged his authority. Kantâjî appointed his collectors of chaouth in different parts of Gujerât. Hâmid Khân also appointed his own men to important posts and confiscated all the jâgîr lands in his own favour. He did not conceal his designs upon the property and other effects of Shujâ'at Khân, his brothers and co-workers. Hearing of this, Ibrâhîm Qulî Khân, being a past-master in intrigue, succeeded in winning over Muḥammad 'Alî, one of the most influential musket-masters of Hâmid Khân and tried to kill the latter in the fort in a most treacherous manner. He went to the fort where Hâmid Khân was lodging and tried to force his way by violence to his apartments. The guards, seeing that he and his coadjutors were up to mischief, surrounded them and, when Ibrâhîm Qulî Khân was trying to escape seized him and cut him to pieces. Many men were killed and wounded in the contest. (*Mirâ't-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 64). 'Alî Muḥammad Khân, the father of the author of *Mirâ't-i-Ahmadî* and Ashraf 'Alî Khân, son of Mehr 'Alî Khân, who also happened to be in the fort for some private affairs and were waiting to see Hâmid Khân, were also harshly treated by the soldiers who considered them also to be in collusion with Ibrâhîm 'Alî Khân's men, but they were spared as some of Hâmid Khân's men happened to know them personally. All the property of Shujâ'at Khân and Ibrâhîm Qulî Khân was confiscated and their followers were imprisoned. (*Mirâ't-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 65).

When Rustam 'Alî Khân, collector of the port of Sûrat, heard of the death of his brothers, he immediately prepared to take vengeance. He entered into a pact with Pîlâjî Gaikwâd, inviting him to join him against Hâmid Khân. Although Pîlâjî Gaikwâd had already promised Nizâmu'l-Mulk to help Hâmid Khân, yet, as Rustam 'Alî Khân offered him better terms, he felt no scruple in choosing his side. Being apprised of Rustam 'Alî Khân's intentions Hâmid Khân made haste to prepare his army and artillery for action. He was joined by Kantâjî with twelve thousand horse. Safdar Khân Bâbî was left in Ahmedâbâd to act as deputy. Meanwhile Mîr Natthû and Muḥammad Salâbat Khân Rohilla from Mâlwa joined Hâmid Khân with their contingents in accordance with instructions they had received from Nizâmu'l-Mulk.

On reaching the banks of the river Mâhî, a skirmish took place at Fâzilpur in which Hâmid Khân's men were routed.

Rustam 'Alî Khân, puffed up with the pride of this victory, marched towards Ahmedâbâd, advancing not more than three or four miles a day. Hâmîd Khân, purposely avoiding conflict, secretly stirred up defection in the army of his adversary. Being a shrewd diplomat, he opened secret negotiations with Pilâjî. He sent him Nizâmu'l-Mulk's letters in which the latter had given expression to sentiments of confidence and friendship towards Pilâjî. At length, an interview between Hâmîd Khân and Pilâjî was arranged one night and it was agreed that the latter would desert Rustam 'Alî Khân in the midst of the fight. After winning over Pilâjî to his side, Hâmîd Khân made preparations for a general action next day. He drew up his army in the neighbourhood of the village Pitald about twenty-five miles from Ahmedâbâd, for forcing his adversary to join battle with him. He posted his artillery in front in order to check the offensive of Rustam 'Alî Khân's forces. According to the understanding with Hâmîd Khân, Pilâjî had advised Rustam 'Alî Khân to leave his guns to the care of a party in the rear and to lead a charge against the opponents. This proved fatal for Rustam 'Alî Khân's cause, who charged in an impetuous manner regardless of consequences. In the thick of the fight Pilâjî deserted his ally, overturned the gun-carriages of Rustam 'Alî Khân and joined Hâmîd Khân. After a severe struggle Rustam 'Alî Khân's forces were compelled to take to flight. He himself was killed in the melee, or according to some stabbed himself to death in order to avoid the humiliation of captivity. Hâmîd Qulî and Ahmad Qulî Khân, sons of Shujâ'at Khân and many others were captured. The Mahrattâs looted the tents and baggage of the defeated party to their hearts' content and plundered the country-side in a most ruthless manner, burning and laying waste wherever they went. They extorted money with every conceivable violence and torture. Hâmîd Khân entered the city of Ahmedâbâd with the help of his Mahrattâ allies, and established his absolute authority all over the province of Gujerât. Being badly in need of money himself and unable to pay the salaries of his soldiers, he oppressed people to extort money from them. He confiscated the sum of eighty thousand rupees cash which was found in possession of Sheykhu'l-Islâm on the excuse of his being a partisan of Rustam 'Alî Khân, and allowed him to proceed to Mecca for pilgrimage. He also exacted large sums of money from the merchants of Sûrat and other rich men of the province to meet the expenses of his large army. Murlidhar Dâs, an inhabitant

of Gujerât, well-versed in accountancy, was made Dîvân and a robe of honour was conferred on him. (*Mirâ'at-i-Ahmadî*, vol. 2, p. 78).

The rivalry between Pîlâjî and Kantâjî was responsible for much confusion in the country. The latter was an agent of Râja Sâhû while the former was merely an officer of the Mahrattâ commander-in-chief (senapatî) Trimbak Râo Dabhdê. Their conflicting claims at Cambay led to a crisis resulting in a struggle between the partisans of the two Mahrattâ leaders in which Pîlâjî was finally discomfited and was forced to retire to Mathur, a village near Kaira. The claim of Kantâjî on the tribute of Cambay was thus established, even the English factors were compelled to contribute five thousand rupees as chauth. After this event Hâmid Khân intervened and by his influence with both sides made them sign an agreement according to which Kantâjî obtained the right of collecting chauth on the Ahmedâbâd side of the Mâhî while Pîlâjî was given the region on the other side of the river (Baroda). Now, as the monsoon had set in, Pîlâjî retired to Songarh near Sûrat and Kantâjî went to his jâgîr in Khandesh. (Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 405).

When the news of the death of Rustam 'Alî Khân and his brother reached Delhi, the Emperor urged the new governor, Mubârizu'l-Mulk Sarbuland Khân to proceed to Gujerât and take over charge of his government at the earliest possible date. He was also directed to chastise Hâmid Khân. For this purpose he was granted a subsidy of one crore of rupees, of which sum fifty lakhs were paid to him at Delhi and the balance was to be remitted in monthly instalments of three lakhs each. At the request of Mubârizu'l-Mulk Sarbuland Khân, Najmu'd-dîn 'Alî Khân, younger brother of the Amîru'l-Umarâ Huseyn 'Alî Khân, was released and appointed governor of Ajmer. The latter was ordered to join Sarbuland Khân in his operations against Hâmid Khân, with other leaders of the Barha family. Maharâja Abhai Singh, ruler of Marwar, Chhatar Singh of Narwar and other Rajput veterans also joined his expedition.

Hâmid Khân and his lieutenants Şalâbat Muḥammad Khân and Jawânward Khân Bâbî were busy collecting tribute in the country-side when news was brought to them that Sarbuland Khân had already begun his march from Ajmer towards Ahmedâbâd. When the latter reached the frontier of Gujerât, many faujdârs of that province, apprehensive of the

future, were prudent enough to come and offer their allegiance to him. Sheykh Allâh Yâr Khân joined him with his troops in the neighbourhood of Sidhpur. Hâmid Khân kept himself informed of the movements of Sarbuland Khân, through his secret agents, and accordingly returned to Ahmedâbâd in time to make his preparations for the imminent contest for the government of Gujerât. He took promises from his Mahrattâ allies that they would return to Gujerât after the rainy season to help him against his enemies. Nizâmu'l-Mulk, realising the flimsiness of his uncle's resources and the unreliability of Mahrattâ help, had written to him repeatedly that he would do better to return to the Deccan, as he (Hâmid Khân) would find it difficult to withstand the formidable strength of his adversaries. But Hâmid Khân had made up his mind to try his luck, in spite of danger. At first Hâmid Khân was disappointed as no aid was forthcoming from the Mahrattâs and Sarbuland Khân was approaching nearer and nearer. But after some time he received intelligence of Kantâjî's march towards the river Mâhî. The latter camped on the banks of the river, where Hâmid Khân joined him in all haste, leaving the city of Ahmedâbâd in the hands of a garrison too weak to conduct any defence.

At the news of the approach of Sarbuland Khân, Salâbat Muḥammad Khân and Jawânward Khân Bâbî forsook Hâmid Khân's cause and joined the former. This defection further demoralized the partisans of Hâmid Khân in the capital city of Gujerât. Sarbuland Khân, on his part, appointed his son Khânazâd Khân at the head of ten thousand horse and as many infantry to advance in the direction of Dholka. Jawânward Khân, Sardâr Muḥammad Khân and Sayyid Faiyyâz Khân were also despatched at the head of four thousand horse, in order to chastise the Mahrattâs and force Hâmid Khân to quit the province of Gujerât. An expedition under Allâh Yâr Khân gave battle to Imâm Khân, Bakhshî of Hâmid Khân who fared badly in this encounter. The Bakhshî was killed and all his followers dispersed. Allâh Yâr Khân, Bakhshî of Mubârizu'l-Mulk Sarbuland Khân entered the city of Ahmedâbâd and occupied it without any opposition from the other side. The Mahrattâs, considering the cause of Hâmid Khân a lost one, took interest in his affairs in a half-hearted manner and opened negotiations with Sarbuland Khân for the grant of Chauth and Sardeshmukhî which they eventually succeeded in getting from him. On his part, Hâmid Khân left hopeless and forlorn, crossed

the Mâhî river on the advice of Mîr Natthû Khân and Şalâbat Muḥammad Khân of Mâlwa, on his way to Aurangâbâd. His troops, for arrears of pay, were deserting him and even his Divân Murlîdhar went over to Sarbuland Khân's side. All the big bankers, merchants and learned men of the city of Ahmedâbâd came out to meet and welcome Sarbuland Khân on the north side of the river Sâbarmatî where he had pitched his camp.

As Sarbuland Khân did not receive the promised instalments of subsidy from Delhi, he soon found it impossible to maintain up a large army. His soldiery, unable to get their regular pay, started plundering the country. The Mahrattâs took full advantage of this confusion. Armed with the Subedâr's sanction they extorted large sums of money from rich merchants and zemindârs. In the confusion that followed the recall of Sarbuland Khân and the appointment of Râja Abhai Singh to the subedâri, Gujerât was the scene of conflict between the Mahrattâ leaders, representing different claims and authorities. Finally Pîlâjî Gaikwâd established his authority firmly in Baroda and other big towns of Gujerât and thus laid the foundation of his dynasty which exists even to-day.

To take up the thread of the narrative again, Nizâmu'l-Mulk after coming to terms with Khwâja Ahmad Khân through the intercession of Dilâwar Khân, maternal uncle and father-in-law of the latter, made Hyderabad his capital and busied himself in the administration of the country. He made new appointments of reliable and capable persons to all important posts of the Government. Kheyru'llâh Khân was given the *nizâmat* of Hyderâbâd and Himmat Khân was made the qil'adâr of the fortress of Golconda. His chief care being the establishment of law and order in the country-side, Nizâmu'l-Mulk sent out some of his best men into the districts to undertake administrative responsibilities. Hâfîzu'd-dîn Khân and Muḥammad Sa'îd Khân were appointed faujdârs of the Sarkâr of Sikakol. Generally one faujdâr was kept in a Sarkâr but, in view of the heavy work of organisation, two appointments were made in Sikakol to facilitate work there. The faujdârî of Raichur and Bîjapûr Mahals was placed under Tâlib Muḥîu'd-dîn Khân and Mirzâ 'Alî, the latter had his jâgîrs in this part of the country and knew the districts thoroughly well. Ihtidâ Khân, one of the confidants of Nizâmu'l-Mulk was directed to proceed to Masulipatam, a port of considerable importance frequented by European

merchants. Khwâja Raḥmatu'llâh Khân and Khwâja 'Abdu'llâh Khân, who held the Divânî of the Sarkârs of Sikakol and Rajamahandry respectively in Mubâriz Khân's time, and had been on very friendly terms with him, were graciously pardoned when they came to offer their allegiance and were reinstated in their former positions. Khwâja 'Abdu'llâh Khân was further received to favour by his appointment to the post of Khânsâmân (lord steward) during the absence of Ihtidâ Khân. 'Ibâdu'llâh Khân was duly confirmed in the faujdârî of the Sarkârs of Murtaḍanagar and was complimented with the title of Abu'l Wafâ Khân. Sarkârs of Ellore and Mustafanagar were placed under the control of Faizu'llâh (Khân) and Agha Mu'in (Khân) respectively, both being honoured with the title of 'Khân.' (*Târîkh-i-Fathîah*).

After making these administrative arrangements, Nizâmu'l-Mulk started for the Carnatic, which country was still to be brought under control. It was the general principle of Nizâmu'l-Mulk's policy to confirm all the officials appointed by him before going to Delhi, or afterwards appointed by Mubâriz Khân during his absence, unless some very grave political reasons prevented him from doing so. In accordance with this policy 'Abdu'n-Nabî Khân, faujdâr of Cuddapah (Karpa) and Rindaulah Khân, faujdâr of Kurnûl were confirmed in their posts. The Mahal of Adhoni (Imtiâzgarh) was taken out of the hands of Rindaulah Khân and placed under Thana'ullâh Khân, son-in-law of Mubâriz Khân. As the fortress of Adhoni enjoyed considerable strategic importance, Sultân 'Alî Khân was appointed qil'adâr of the fortress with a robe of honour. Generally qil'adârs of important fortresses were allowed to have direct dealing with the Government instead of through the faujdârs. (*Ibid*).

During his administrative tour of the Carnatic, all the big zemindârs of that part of the country came to pay respects and offer homage to Nizâmu'l-Mulk. Sa'datu'llâh Khân, deputy-governor (Nâ'ib) of Arcot and the Carnatic, also came to express his sentiments of loyalty to the new régime and to get confirmation of his post. The zemindâr of Seringapatam came with presents and was duly honoured by Nizâmu'l-Mulk. For some time Nizâmu'l-Mulk stayed in Gulbarga and visited, according to his wont, the sacred shrine of Khwâja Sayyid Muḥammad, popularly known as Banda Navâz Gisûdarâz, and thence proceeded towards Fathâbâd (Dharwar), where he encamped for some time during the violence of the first monsoon. Here he received Râo Nimbalkar,

former commander-in-chief of Râja Sâhû who had given up the service of the latter and joined Nizâmu'l-Mulk's standard. He was given the district of Pathri in jâgîr as free gift from the government and was raised to the rank of 7000 zât, 7000 horse. Probably Nizâmu'l-Mulk consulted him as to the course of his policy which he was going to launch in the near future to check the growing demands of Bâlâjî in the Deccan. Although Râja Sâhû had entered into an understanding with Nizâmu'l-Mulk before the latter's struggle with Mubâriz Khân, after the defeat and death of Mubâriz Khân, Bâjî Râo, chief representative of Râja Sâhû in the Deccan, resorted to his usual methods of extortion which displeased Nizâmu'l-Mulk and forced him to espouse the cause of Sâhû's rival Sambhâjî of Kôlhapûr. This estrangement resulted in very important political developments which will be recorded in a separate chapter.

When the report of the ill-success of his designs and the complete victory of Nizâmu'l-Mulk reached Muḥammad Shâh, the latter, as if nothing had happened, conferred on him the title of Asaf Jâh and allowed him to stay in his province as long as he liked and repair to the court whenever it suited his convenience. Nizâmu'l-Mulk, for his part, sent a supplication to the Emperor in which he expressed his sentiments of obedience and loyalty.

YUSUF HUSAIN.

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

TRAVELS IN KENYA*

"That which is gained by Travellers who roam
Where can they gain as much who stay at home?"

THIS couplet is part of the apt quotation (from "Ibn Yemen") prefacing Lady Evelyn Cobbold's fascinating account of her travels in Kenya, and the poet would have acclaimed her keen desire to see the world. Motors and aeroplanes and ready helpers enabled her to explore much of beautiful Kenya in the time at her disposal: she entered the Colony from the Nile valley direction—the route of the migrant autumn birds and in the same medium—made for Nairobi, went on *safari* to Tana River Falls, to Marsabit and the Aberdares, with a brief period at Mombasa and in Tanganyika Territory (formerly German East Africa).

The fertile and beautiful Kenya highlands were for long centuries "off the map," indeed it was not until about half a century ago that their possibilities for white settlers were realized. Reports of the snow and ice caps of Kenya and Kilimanjaro in a land of steaming equatorial swamps were received with scepticism, to say the least. Consider the obstacles which guarded this land of promise in a continent of vast distances. On the north, a belt of lava desert, waterless, and thinly peopled then, as now, by raiding, bloodthirsty warriors; extensive forests, lakes and swamps bar it from a westerly approach; hostile and brave Masai and pitiless desert were on the east, and a great belt of 'fly' (tsetse) country and inhospitable bush on the south. It was from the east, along the old slave-routes of the Arabs, that Europeans finally penetrated.

Lady Evelyn does not dwell long on the somewhat troubled history of the colonisation of this region, her aim is to convey pictures of scenery and life where nature is magnificent, and she was privileged to see one of the last great strong-

* KENYA.—*The Land of Illusion*. By Lady Evelyn Cobbold. John Murray, Albemarle Street. London. 10s. 6d. net, pp. 236.

holds of the finest of the world's fauna. She succeeds admirably; the reader sees with her a land of living beauty and promise and plenty, shadowed by the horrors of jungle tragedy and the heart-breaking struggles of intruding mankind against those shock-troops of tropic nature—pests, drought and disease. The primeval forest itself epitomises the incessant struggle of life—"high columns of trees festooned with grey-green lichens and black mosses, the lichens looking like silver filigree necklaces, often two to three feet in length. Giant fig trees with distorted roots flung their grotesque limbs over other growths, stifling the life beneath.

"Some of the trees had forced their way through the boles of weaker ones; some were covered with vines and creepers that strangled and oppressed them; from some hung massed lianas suspended like ropes from the topmost branches to the ground. Nearly every tree was covered with patches of parasitical growths, and every tree was so wreathed and festooned in the grey lichens that no green was visible. The farther we adventured into the forest the more did the gloom and silence impress itself on us. This silence was not a mere absence of sound, but something definitely suggestive of strain; one sensed the teeming of hidden life; one could not escape the tremendous presence of unseen elephants. If there is any beauty in these forests, it is an unreal beauty and a menace to man."

And here is another excerpt which gives both sides of the picture:—

"Though the sun scorched, the heat was not oppressive, for there was a cool freshness in the breeze, and, as we were five thousand feet above sea level, I discovered that the nights were sometimes quite chilly. In the garden was a shower of *bourgainvillea* of a glorious pink unknown in Egypt and *frangipani* with its white scented blossom. The *poinsettias* which up till now I have always despised, were here great bushes of double flowers in red, in pink, and in a pale primrose yellow. The *Caes Alpinea* made the air alive with its wonder of orange and scarlet, and the *Morning Glory* flung in tangled riot its lovely blue over the verandah. These were but a few of the flowers that made the garden a joy to look at, while English roses filled the air with perfume.

"But occasionally the Serpent enters this Eden, and not many weeks ago a large python was killed as it was taking a stroll through the grounds. There is a swamp some way

below where the papyrus grows quite sixteen feet high, and very dense, offering a happy home to the python and the hippo, while occasionally a crocodile will walk across from the neighbouring stream in search of a stray goat, or any victim equally succulent to satisfy his craving for a change of diet from fish. Leopards prowl round the house when dark, and no dog is safe unless shut up."

At the time of the author's visit prolonged drought added to the troubles of the settlers; two days of rain, however, and the land smiled as if at the wave of a magic wand—"It seemed impossible that two days of rain could so alter the face of nature; the hills were a rich emerald and most of the coffee-bushes were a mass of white flower that covered the length of their branches like frosted snow. Many wild flowers appeared and countless aromatic shrubs were decking themselves in blossom..... The scent was intoxicating and in our hearts was the joy of knowing that the rain, which had been general, had saved countless farmers and planters, white men and black, from disaster."

Indeed, this land of warm forest loam, abundant sun and rain and dry air astonished settlers from the very first by its vigour; they saw nettles and brussels-sprouts spring up to the height of a man, and every new arrival—cotton, tobacco, wheat, sugar, sisal, etc., thrive amazingly. Coffee from Arabia was introduced and flourished like the rest—as well it might, for though it has been cultivated in the Yemen from early Moslem times, it is a native of Abyssinia. For the most part, however, Africa owes the 'useful' members of her flora to Europe and India. There is little doubt that if the present human invaders from those regions faded out, as did the Persians, Arabs, and Portuguese before them, their cultural influence would quickly disappear but the plants they imported would remain as a permanent legacy. A feature of the wonderful flora of Kenya is noted by Lady Evelyn—"One can fairly accurately tell the elevation of the country by its plant-life. When you meet bracken you are 6,000 feet above sea-level and there is no fear of mosquito or malaria, and when you see the bamboo forests your altitude is probably at least 8,000 feet. I saw a garden in the Aberdares a few miles south of the Equator massed with daffodils and all the spring flowers of England." The trout, too, mighty descendants of troutlings imported from the burns of Scotland to the waters of Ruwenzori, Elgon and Kenya, have their home only in the higher and colder reaches of the rivers—a merciful dispensation for them and the angler for in the lower

and warmer waters they would soon disappear in the gaping maw of the loathsome crocodile.

"Kenya Colony" as the writer remarks "is the last great stronghold of game, where in the game Reserves they can yet roam amidst their natural surroundings, living creatures enjoying their right to live unmolested by their dreaded enemy, the man with a rifle and possessed of no imagination." And lovers of wild life will heartily endorse the following—"Those who have lived in this country and watched the wild animals in their natural surroundings take no pleasure in shooting them. It is only the stranger who comes out imbued with this lust for blood. True big game hunting is a matter of a camera and involves more courage, patience and knowledge than does the firing of a rifle. Surely the length of a camera film showing wild life in the forest and plain is a more lasting joy than a few moth-eaten skins on the ground or horned heads on the wall."

In a brief resumé Lady Evelyn refers to the many post-war problems of the Kenya settler—trade depression, political and racial troubles, and the inevitable trials of climate and pests encountered in newly settled lands. The colonization of pre-war Africa, we may remark, was based on an economic policy now totally reversed. Then the pioneer who, with hope and courage, brought cultivation into the wastes, earned applause; whereas at the present time and for years past he has simply helped to clog wheels already clogged, he adds to a glut and his reward may be bankruptcy. In that respect Kenya is not the only land of illusion.

A fairly general misunderstanding arose in England with regard to the Kenya native; he was pitied for being ousted by white intruders from the choicest parts of his ancestral haunts. In actual fact, pastoral tribes here wandered over great spaces, immense expanses were empty, there were no landmarks as we understand them, there were no tribes which could truly be described as 'rooted in the soil.' Indeed, even the Masai were comparative newcomers, they appear to have migrated to the Kenya area a century or so ago; it seems certain that the chief East African tribes are not indigenous, being derived from Asiatic invaders who displaced the aboriginals.

All early travellers record the remarkable emptiness of the fertile uplands, the native preferring the moist, hot, low-lying regions, scarcely touching just those choice tracts where

conditions suited the needs of energetic newcomers from temperate climates. Has that characteristic choice of environment had its effect on the social status of the African native? It is a remarkable fact that he seems to have remained rooted in the Stone Age. He has evolved no culture of his own—a complete stagnation almost unique in the history of the peoples of the world. Neither has he borrowed from the cultures which in the course of time have impinged on, and often penetrated his home. (The cynic may remark that our black brother need not envy us a civilization which has created a complicated economic system which paralyses itself and methods of slaughter more deadly and horrible than the most barbaric witch-doctor ever dreamed of.)

As we have said, Lady Evelyn Cobbold does not dwell on these vexed problems in this excellent travel book; she shows keen sensibility to all the beauty and strangeness of a wonderful land, yet with an insistent feeling of sadness—like that overburdening something felt by the traveller in the gloom of primeval forest; the horror of the jungle is exemplified for her in the evil head of the dread *mamba* as it peers at its victim through a screen of leaves, or the heart-rending shrieks of a baboon as the claws of a leopard sink into its flesh. She ends her most interesting journal thus—

“My thoughts often stray to the unknown Africa whose fringes I have barely touched but whose forests of tropical splendour, whose vast plains where beauty and terror stalk hand in hand, whose mountains and rivers all wield a charm; while calling me to return is the hospitality of the men and women fighting their grim battle against drought, locusts and endless difficulties, with a smile on their lips, with eternal hope and courage in their hearts, pioneers of whom the Mother Country can indeed be proud.”

There are good photographs, particularly of big game, a sketch map, and index.

R.C.

BABISM AND BAHAIISM*

“It was on the 5th of Jumadi I 1260 A.H. corresponding with 23rd May 1844 that Mirza Ali Muhammad claimed to

* *History and Doctrines of the Babi Movement.* By Maulana Muhammad Ali, M.A., LL.B. Ahmadiyya Anjuman Isha'at-i-Islam, Lahore. First published 1933.

be the Bab, by which name he is known to this day, notwithstanding his higher claims to be the Imam Mahdî and afterwards the head of a new dispensation," we read near the beginning of this highly interesting book. And it is the rapid and perpetual changing of what anyone would think its *raison d'être* as a new religion which makes us marvel that Babism ever succeeded in attracting serious attention outside Persia or retaining in Persia any large number of adherents.

Mîrzâ 'Alî Muhammad (the Bâb), a member of a Shî'a sect of more than usual heterodoxy, first proclaimed himself to be the gateway of communication with the hidden Imâm Mahdî, then declared himself to be the Imâm Mahdî in person, and then produced a new revelation—the Beyân—in his own name, announced that he was a Divine Manifestation and wrote to the man whom he appointed to succeed him in these terms: "This is a letter from God, the Guardian, the Self-Subsisting," thus apparently claiming the power to hand on his divinity to a successor chosen at random.

That successor, Mîrzâ Yahya, known as *Subh-i-Azal*, was a quiet man with an ambitious elder brother. While rebellion after rebellion of the Bâbîs against the Persian Government failed and was harshly punished, the elder brother, Mîrzâ Huseyn 'Alî was content to keep in the background; but when the leaders of the new sect were exiled to Baghdad and were at peace under a government perfectly indifferent to their claims and contentions, he set to work to gain control of the community. The Persian Government complained of his activities in a representation to the Turkish authorities which makes no mention whatsoever of the titular head of the community, Mîrzâ Yahya:

"For the character and nature of this misguided sect " it says "in the dominions of the Persian Government, and their boldness and audacity in the most perilous enterprises have been repeatedly put to the proof, and it is clear that the principles of this new, false and detestable creed are based on two horrible things, first an extraordinary hostility and enmity towards this Islamic State, and secondly an incredible pitilessness and ruthlessness towards all individuals of this nation, and a readiness to lose their own lives in order to achieve this sinister object."

The view of the Persian Government had been largely justified by the successive efforts of the Bâbîs to seize Persian provinces, their attempted assassination of the Shâh Nâsir-ud-dîn and the atrocities which they committed upon harmless

villagers and townsmen. It is curious to note, as Maulânâ Muḥammad 'Alî points out, that while the Persian Government had cause to fear the Babist propaganda the Turkish Government had not to fear it. The Shī'as of Persia were apt to be attracted by high-sounding claims which the Sunnīs of the Turkish Empire regarded as mere lunacy. We are reminded of an incident recorded by a well-known English traveller in Persia in the nineteenth century; how, when he began to try to explain to his Persian host the Christian doctrine of the Incarnation, his host stopped him, saying: "No need to explain to us, for here we have a son of God in every village."

As the result of the Persian Government's complaint, the Bâbî exiles were removed to Adrianople, far from the Persian frontier. It was at Adrianople that Mîrzâ Ḥuseyn 'Alî proclaimed himself not only the true successor of the Bâb but the later Divine Manifestation which the Bâb had prophesied, though the Bâb had put the advent of that Manifestation at a distance of 1200 years. He took the name of Bahâu'llâh, and declared the beginning of a new Dispensation, a new Scripture and a new Law. Incidentally he caused the murder of several of the old staunch Bâbîs who could not stomach such a change and stood by Mîrzâ Yaḥya. The bloodshed being brought to the knowledge of the Turkish Government, Mîrzâ Ḥuseyn 'Alî (*Bahâu'llâh*) was sent to Akka and Mîrzâ Yaḥya (*Subḥ-i-Azal*) to Cyprus. Mîrzâ Yaḥya's section (the true Bâbîs) grew weaker and weaker till they quite died out (except, perhaps, a few in Persia); while Mîrzâ Ḥuseyn 'Alî's section (the Bahâ'îs) held the field. The religion which so amazingly found many converts in America was not Bâbism but Bahâism. Bahâu'llâh claimed to be greater than the Bâb, and all the Bahâ'îs believe in his divinity. They have discarded the Bâb. "Yet," as our author tersely puts it, "Bahâu'llâh without the Bâb is simply inconceivable."

After Bahâu'llâh's death, there was again a schism in the community, the majority following 'Abbâs Efendi, the elder son of Bahâu'llâh (we notice that our author only once calls this person by the name 'Abdu'l-Bahâ which he adopted) and a minority preferring the younger son.

It would appear from this account that the missionary who made converts in America, Dr. Kheyru'llâh, had not himself seen Bahâu'llâh and when he visited Abdu'l-Bahâ in

Syria was so shocked at his ways of thought and behaviour that he became his hottest opponent.

Our author writes:

"It is difficult to say how far success has actually been attained by the Babi" (by his own showing, it should be *Bahâ'î*) "movement in Persia and America. There are different estimates of the number of the Babis. Dr. Khairullah when he first went to America gave 55 millions as the number of the Babis, but there seems to be as much truth in this as in the forty millions of tablets written by Bahaullah. The lowest estimate is that given by Mirza Muhammad Mahdi Khan who gives 7200 as the total number. Lord Curzon, writing in 1892, thought there were nearly a million Babis in Persia. I think even this to be an exaggerated estimate, as a well-informed friend from Persia has very recently informed me that the present estimate of the Babis in Persia is 100,000. The progress of the movement after Bahaullah's death naturally became slow, as no strong incentive remained to draw the people, and Abbas' claim to Divinity does not seem to have made much impression upon others than Babis as such claims became an ordinary thing. In America the estimate given in 1900 by A. P. Dodge, a Bahai, was 3000, and little progress seems to have been made after that. A letter written by Khairullah to Prof. Browne in 1917 shows that up to that time the movement was very dull:

" 'The Bahai movement in America became slow and dull since the sad dissension reached the West 19 years ago (i.e., in 1898). I thought then that to call the people to this great truth was equivalent to inviting them into a quarrel. But the visit of Abbas Effendi Abdul Baha to this country, his false teachings, his misrepresentations of Bahaism, his dissimulation and the knowledge that his end is nigh, aroused me to rise up for helping the work of God, declaring the truth, and refuting the false attacks of theologians and missionaries. Now I am struggling hard to verify the cause of God after its having received by the visit of Abbas Effendi a death-blow.' "

It would be interesting to know what effect the present rationalist and secularist movement in Persia, supported by the Persian Government, has had on Bahâ'ism.

If it is true that Bahâ'ism could not have existed without Bâbism it is still more true that Bâbism could not have existed without Shî'ism, and Maulânâ Muhammad 'Alî is obviously

right in deriving the whole phenomenon from Islam through Ismâ'îlî teachings. But we think he is unfair to the Ismâ'îlîs in his concluding words "Thus Babism, along with its offshoot, Bahaism, is clearly a repetition not only of the doctrines of Ismailiyya but also of the horrible deeds of murder and the attempt to bring about a revolution."

The horrible deeds to which he here refers belong only to the Hashshashin (Assassins). They were only a small group of the Ismâ'îlîyah—a term which includes the Fatimid Caliphate and *Ikhwâna's-Safâ*.

The work is judicial in tone, scholarly in treatment, and well documented.

ASH-SHEYKHU'L-MAQTUL*

THE English portion of this work—about a third of its contents—consists of an Introduction and a translation of the three Persian allegories mentioned in the title of the book; which, however, contains also in Arabic a biography of Sheykh Shihâbuddîn Suhrawardî (popularly known as Ash-Sheykhu'l-Maqtûl), the author of those allegories, an account of his poetry and a list of his literary works, taken from Shahrazûrî's *Nuzhatu'l-arwâh wa'r-raudatu'l-afrâh*. Of these the Arabic text is given without translation, and they seem to us by far the most valuable contents of the book, which owes its interest more to the personality of the Slaughtered Sheykh as a renowned Şûfî and the light it throws on his opinions than to the literary merits of the three Persian treatises aforesaid. The Arabic biography gives us a clearer idea of the personality of the good Sheykh, and the Arabic poems a clearer and higher idea of his Şûfism than we could deduce from the short Persian essays. Indeed there are passages in the Arabic poems which rank with the best Şûfî poetry.

The first of the three Persian treatises لغت موران (The Language of the Ants) is a series of twelve short chapters (mostly allegories) illustrative of the Şûfî "states" as understood by the adept and misunderstood by the world, only the first of which refers to ants. They seem like reflections which

**Three Treatises on Mysticism*. By Shihâbuddîn Suhrawardî Maqtûl with an account of his life and poetry. Edited and translated by Otto Spies and S. K. Khatak Kitabistan 17-A. City Road, Allahabad. 1935. Price Rs. 6-4-0.

the Sheykh may have jotted down from time to time in his commonplace-book. For instance, Chapter Eleven is only

“Whatever is useful and good is bad; whatever is the veil of the way is the unbelief of men. To be satisfied with self through what it acquires and to make up with that is a weakness in the path of travelling, and to be pleased with oneself is vanity, although it be on account of Truth. To turn the face towards God entirely is liberation..”

And Chapter Twelve:

“A fool placed a light before the sun and said: ‘O mother, the sun has made our light invisible.’ She replied ‘If it is taken out of the house, especially near the sun, nothing will remain. Then the light and its brilliancy will vanish.’ But when one sees a big thing he considers a small one contemptible in comparison with that. One who enters a house from the sunshine cannot see anything even if the house is illuminated. “Everyone that is thereon will pass away; there remaineth but the countenance of thy Lord of Might and Glory.” “Is not everything except God in vain?” “He is the First and the Last and the Outward and the Inward; and He is the Knower of all things.”

The Second Treatise *صفيہ سیمرغ* “The note (or song) of Sîmurgh” (a fabulous bird) is a short essay on the esoteric character of Şûfism couched in highly mystical—one might almost say ‘technical’—terms. The Third Treatise *رسالة الطير* (The Treatise of the Bird) the editors have found upon examination to be a translation by Suhrawardî of Ibn Sînâ’s essay of the same name. It is the longest of the three and is Suhrawardî’s exposition of Ibn Sînâ’s allegory; which portrays the escape of the human soul from the cage of worldly conventions, and its search for One Who can relieve it of a fragment of the chain which still adheres to it. Al-Ghazzâlî also wrote an allegory with the same title *رسالة الطير* which shows that the idea was once a Şûfî formula. Here we are completely at a loss to understand the plan on which the editors have worked; for here only the Arabic of Ibn Sînâ is translated into English and the voluminous Persian commentary of Suhrawardî, which adds so much to its value as a treatise on mysticism, is omitted altogether from the English version; whereas the other Arabic texts in the book are left untranslated. And the translation of the

Arabic text in this one case is neither literal nor accurate, though the general sense of the original may be conveyed. For instance (p. 47).

ولا خطوا (؟ لاحظوا) الحقائق بعين البصيرة و جلوارين الشك
عن السريّة -

is translated "And who see the hearts of each other with the eyes of reality and scour off the rust of doubt and pride from their minds," whereas in the original there is no mention of "each other's hearts" or "minds" or "pride." And on p. 54 the rhetorical force of the adjuration is weakened by the ignoring of the word *ويلكم*. In the Arabic and Persian texts we find a number of misprints which are not included in the list of *corrigenda* (e.g. *لاخطوا* for *لا حظوا* in the sentence above quoted).

The introduction might well have been enlarged in view of the material available, and the English translation ought to have been extended to include all the contents of the book. The translation has a certain literary dignity and only occasionally are we reminded that the translators are not English. "Relish," a word associated in our modern minds with pickles and chutneys, is not the word we should have chosen in order to translate the Arabic word *لذة* in its *Ṣūfī* sense of enjoyment of the Beatific Vision, though in the dictionary its meaning "enjoyment through taste" absolutely connotes *لذة* in its ordinary meaning. And on p. 26 "For one who lives in a house, if the house is in *directions* he is in *directions*" (our italics) seems to be wrong anyhow since in the Persian the word which means "direction" is not plural.

کمی که ساکن خانه باشد اگر در جهتست او در جهتست

"For one who lives in a house if the house is in a certain direction (or "quarter" or "place") he is in a certain direction" would be better.

The work appears to have been done too hurriedly and too hurriedly revised for press. It has value, and we hope the editors will perfect it later in a new edition. The Arabic and Persian contents, in themselves, are worth the money, and the print and general "get-up" of the book leave little to be desired.

PICTORIAL HYDERABAD*

IN these days there is a very large public—not necessarily unintelligent nor uneducated, but simply lazy in its hours of well-earned ease—whose demand is for innumerable pictures and few printed words. In democratic countries such as England and America this public forms perhaps a majority of the electorate and its opinion is public opinion. Anything to be widely known must be published pictorially as well as verbally, as advertising experts know. Governments now keep pictorial archives where photographs of every monument, beauty spot, new undertaking and event of note in the country is kept recorded for reproduction when required. The Nizam's Dominions abound in picturesque scenes, and the progress made there in the last quarter of a century has been unequalled, yet, though reports and descriptions have appeared there has been no attempt to make these facts known by means of pictures; therefor and States much less important and less interesting have secured the limelight simply by employing the artist and the photographer. It has been left for a private individual, Mr. F. Krishnaswamy Mudiraj, a patriotic citizen of Hyderabad, to perceive the need of this kind of publicity and seek to supply it.

We have received two handsome volumes of his "Pictorial Hyderabad," which contain, besides a wealth of illustrations, much useful information concerning the Nizam's Dominions hardly to be found elsewhere. The work is meant for India, and primarily for the Nizam's own peoples, it is all the more interesting for that reason to the English reader. The first volume, at any rate, ought to be in every library, for it contains almost everything that should be known about Hyderabad, its history, constitution, government and progress, with a remarkably good collection of photographs. The second volume being concerned with local worthies and their family history is necessarily of less interest to the world outside; but it contains some chapters which are essential to a proper understanding of the subject, e.g., the chapter on the *Samasthans*, the Hindu feudatory States under the Nizam's sovereignty.

* *Pictorial Hyderabad*. Compiled and published by K. Krishnaswamy Mudiraj, vol. I, Hyderabad, Deccan. The Chandrakanth Press 1929.

Pictorial Hyderabad, vol. II, The same 1934.

Some of the Muslim names are terribly misspelt after the manner of Southern India and we notice that Mr. Krishna-swamy is apt to confuse the names Muhammad and Mahmud and Hasan and Huseyn. The name of the great Minister of the Bahman Shahi rulers of the Deccan who is buried near Bidar is Khwaja Mahmud Gawan, not Muhammad Gawan as here printed. We also notice a considerable number of misprints which ought to be corrected in future editions of this valuable work.

We hope that Mr. M. Krishnaswamy Mudiraj will be encouraged by the success of his present venture to go on to produce a series of pictures of the Nizam's Dominions designed for the outer world. For this no portraits would be needed except that of His Exalted Highness and those of his principal Ministers; on the other hand there should be typical groups of various types of the Nizam's subjects in their daily life, illustrating the appearance, dress, customs and occupations of all classes of the population; old handicrafts and modern factory conditions should be shown; a growing industrial town like Latur should be noticed as well as ancient cities like Aurangabad, the districts should receive as much attention as capital, and there should be plenty of landscapes. Especial care should be taken to secure artistic value of each picture—a task beyond the scope of the ordinary photographer for which trained artists should be employed. Such a collection with a short description of the subject of each picture would be in itself a valuable record, and would pretty certainly appeal to the multitude of so-called readers who never read at all but merely look at pictures.

Meanwhile, we warmly recommend "Pictorial Hyderabad" a little encyclopædia of which each volume has been fully indexed.

M. P.

To the Editor, Islamic Culture.

Sir,

I am grateful to Mr. Dunne for his explanation, (*Islamic Culture*, October 1935, page 680) of the expression, *Ḥuṭ fi qalbak baṭikha ṣeṭi*, which occurs in the Egyptian novel, *'Audatu'r Ruḥ*. No doubt I was wrong to say that the Egyptian colloquial employs senseless idioms; presumably all idioms, in addition to a current significance, have, or once had, an origin which explains their meaning.

I suggest, however, that the conversation of the Egyptian populace contains many idioms, (of which that quoted above is an example) whose significance is not self-evident, and whose meaning is often unknown to those who understand their significance. My own Egyptian servant, for example, knows that the phrase above-quoted means "keep calm"; but he appears quite ignorant as to why it should have this meaning.

These idioms, moreover, tend to be elaborated. The water-melon idiom reappears in '*Audatu'r Ruḥ*' (vol. II, page 194) as *Huṭṭi fi baṭnik qisher baṭikha ṣefi*, ("put the rind of a summer water-melon in your belly"). Perhaps this means "rind and all," but it does not seem very clear.

The prevalence of these very idiomatic phrases is, I believe, a feature which distinguishes the speech of the Egyptian populace from that of other parts of the Arabic-speaking world; and I imagine it to be due to some non-Arab influence.

Yours, etc.,

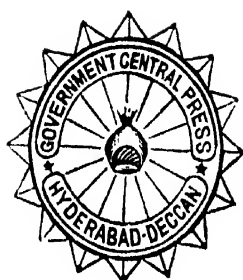
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JERUSALEM,

November 1935.

PUBLICATIONS RECEIVED

The Secret of Ana'l-Haqq. By Khaja Khan. This is a second edition after nine years of the "abridged translation" by Khaja Khan of Madras, the well-known writer on Ṣūfism, of *Irshādātu'l-a'ārifīn*, an exposition of Ṣūfistic teaching of a certain school, by Sheykh Ibrâhîm Gazur-i-Ilâhî of Shakarkote. The work was reviewed at length in "Islamic Culture" on its first appearance, and we are not surprised that in the course of time a second edition has been called for. Copies can be had from the author, Khan Saheb Khaja Khan, at 69 Jani Jahan Khan Road, Madras.



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ISLAMIC CULTURE

THE

HYDERABAD QUARTERLY REVIEW

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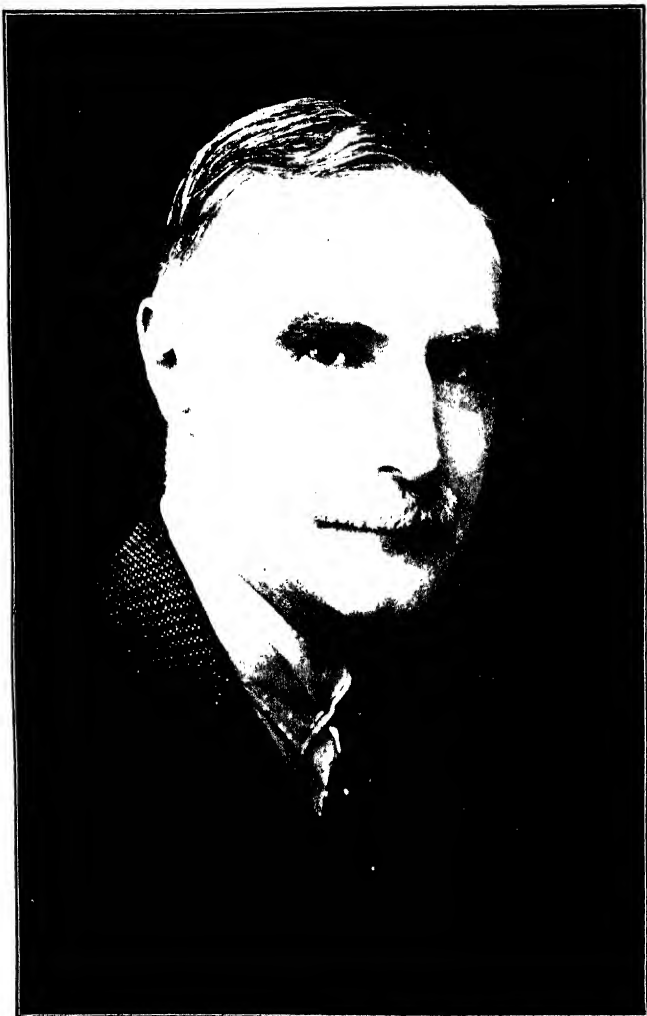
(*The late*) MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

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MARMADUKE PICKTHALL.

First Editor of the *Islamic Culture*, famous Muslim Publicist and a great English writer who passed away on 19th May 1936.

Inna lillahi wa Inna ilaihi raji'oon.

MUHAMMAD PICKTHALL

MAY he rest in peace!

Soldier of faith! True servant of Islam!
To thee 'twas given to quit the shades of night
And onward move, aye onward into Light
With soul undaunted, heart assured and calm!

Thou hast achieved what was ordained for thee;
Now take thy rest. For thee we will not mourn.
Thy form hath vanished, but thy spirit's borne
Up to the Highest, claiming victory

O'er evil, error, falsehood, darkness, death
And all the sins that Islam bade thee shun.
The hosts of Heaven acclaim what thou hast won—
Eternal Light, the promised meed of Faith!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

MARMADUKE PICKTHALL

TO ONE who was so fortunate as to enjoy for ten years a close association with Marmaduke Pickthall the news of his death came as a sudden burst of glory, a translation into a higher region of whose existence his own life was constant testimony. It was the realization that he who for so many years had called upon Allah so many times a day had now been called to the last understanding of the mystery of life and death. The sense of our loss, bitter as it is, fades before the assurance that every memory of his friendship brings to us, that he was a man sent from God.

His was a deep-souled nature, deep in time and strength and endurance. His very name, with its echo of Pict and Poitou, helped to explain his almost medieval force of character. He seemed to be a man from a sterner age of manhood not yet sacrificed to the pursuit of pleasure. His ancestry was indicated by his sturdy Northman fearlessness and his scintillating Irish pleasantry. To him the world was his playground, and he was equally at home in speech and thought with Aryan, Semitic and Turanian, with Cuchulain, Dante and Falstaff.

He was at his ease with all but the mean and the vainly thoughtless. Great rulers knew a happiness as of childhood in his company, and entrusted their secrets to his guard. Children were transported into a new fairyland of glee when he played with them. Who laughed the more radiantly, they or he, it would be hard to say.

And this radiance of childhood, as well as childhood's impressive seriousness, he carried through into all his intercourse with those in whose company he delighted, and upon a poor Hindu school boy, a reverend Muslim, a gracious princess, an overworked official or an overearnest specialist, his sympathy had a solvent, healing influence.

He saw through things to their causes, through deeds to character, and without any show of his remarkable powers

Dominions. To this humbler work he devoted himself with an ardour and enthusiasm which were wholly admirable, while at the same time controlling wisely, loyally, and in the best English tradition, the higher education of the Civil Service students with whom he shared his home. There is not a region in the Dominions of His Exalted Highness which is not feeling the liberating effect of his nine years' tenure and of a post whose occupation he made such a treasured memory.

To his countrymen his adoption of another religion was a cause of disquiet. They did not realize that the world of Islam, within its vast areas of varied population, contains many types of people who are among the noblest and truest-hearted the world has ever known,—God-fearing, sober, trusty and most friendly men, so often of impressive presence and bearing, so often entirely free from the greed of position or possession.

Long association with such people in the East naturally led to community of feeling. And, with his deep knowledge of the Bible, finding himself in Syria and Palestine among the peoples of the Old Testament, and falling into their habits of prayer and devotion, learning their languages, so that he became as much at home in Constantinople and Cairo as he was in Jerusalem and by the waters of Abana and Pharpar, he felt that the one thing that would lead to a completely sympathetic union with the people he loved so much would be frankly and freely to share their religion.

But do not think for a moment that he renounced any of the teachings of Christ learnt in his childhood. They were all there in pure and high quality. Rather he showed how it would be possible to unite Christian and Islamic teaching in ways which would throw into relief the central values of both religions, by avoiding the excrescent extremes of either. The tender solicitude of Christ was as much a part of him as the large humanity of Islam.

Remembering thee

Our hearts are gentler and our thoughts swept through
As by a mountain wind. Who yet has known
Such gifts of heaven so lightly worn, such trust
In God's own secret meaning?

E. E. SPEIGHT.

PROF. KRENKOW'S LETTER

I REGRET that on Tuesday the 19th of May 1936 died suddenly after one hour's illness Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall who had been editor of this Journal since its inception.

On the following Saturday I travelled to Brookwood to pay my last respects to the memory of a very dear friend together with a gathering of Indian Muslims and English friends.

He was interred among beautiful surroundings in the Muslim Cemetery where many of his co-religionists from far distant lands, who have died in England, have found their last resting-place.

Only a few days before his death he wrote to me, apparently in good health, concerning some question for an article he was preparing for this Journal.

Since his retirement from service in Hyderabad he has worked for a better understanding of Islam in Western lands and founded a Society for this purpose.

A devout Muslim, he always tried to live up to his ideals and urged competent scholars from all parts of the world to aid him by publishing articles on subjects connected with Islam and to enlighten a wider circle and awake interest in all subjects connected with the culture of Muslim nations. Under his editorship "Islamic Culture" has assumed a leading position in the field of these researches.

A true and faithful friend to those who came into close touch with him, he made himself beloved by his unselfish nature and I trust that his memory will be cherished by all who came into contact with him.

I express the confident hope that the work which he has commenced will be carried on by competent successors and, with the liberal assistance given to this Journal by His Exalted Highness and the leading men in Hyderabad, a successful and ever growing importance seems to be assured.

May Allah be merciful to him!

DEVIL'S DELUSION OF IBN AL-ĴAUZI

*Account of the way wherein the devil deludes
ascetics and devotees*

AN ordinary man may hear the condemnation of the world in the Glorious Qur'ân and the Tradition, and hold that salvation lies in abandoning it, not knowing what the world which is condemned is. The devil will delude him, saying: You cannot be saved in the next world except by abandoning this, and such a man will go off headlong to the mountains, where he will be away from the congregation and the company and from knowledge, becoming like a wild beast, imagining that this is genuine asceticism. How could it be otherwise when he has heard that one person wandered away and another took to devotion on a mountain, though he may have had a family which went to ruin, or a mother who wept over his departure, and may not be acquainted with the rules of prayer, or have inflicted injuries on others which he has not made good. The devil can only succeed in deluding such a man by reason of his ignorance, to which is due his complacency with the amount which he knows. Had he had the good fortune to associate with a jurist who understood the realities, such jurist would have shown him that the world is not condemned on its own account—how indeed can condemnation fall on a gift of God and an institution which is necessary for the continuance of the human species, and a means of aiding him to procure knowledge by furnishing him with food, drink, clothing and a sanctuary wherein he can pray? What is condemned is the taking of things from illicit sources or handling them extravagantly, not according to need, and disposing of them capriciously, not as the Code permits. Such jurist would have shown him too that going out to lonely mountains is forbidden; for the Prophet forbade spending the night alone; and that his venturing to abandon company and congregation is loss not gain; and that distance from knowledge and the learned strengthens the power of ignorance. Further that desertion of father and mother in such a case is unfilial, and unfilial conduct is a capital offence. Those who have been reported to have gone out to a mountain may well have been

persons who had neither families nor parents, and went out in company to some place to practise devotion; those whose condition admits of no sound explanation yet do this are in error whoever they may be. One of the ancient said: We went out to a mountain to practise devotion, then Sufyan al-Thauri came and brought us back.

Among the delusions which he practises on the ascetics is his diverting them from learning while occupying themselves with asceticism. They thereby take the worse in exchange for the better; for the profit of the ascetic does not go beyond his own threshold, whereas that of the savant does go beyond. Many a devotee has been brought back to the right path.

He further deludes them by making them fancy that asceticism means abstention from lawful things. Some of them therefore will not go beyond barley bread; some will not taste fruit; some reduce their food to such an extent that the body dries up, torture themselves by wearing wool, and abstaining from cold water. This was not the way of the Prophet nor of his Companions nor their followers. They hungered indeed when they found no food, but ate when they found it. The Prophet ate meat and liked it, and poultry and liked it; he also liked sweets, and enjoyed the taste of water, which he preferred stale, holding that flowing water injured the stomach and did not slake the thirst.

A certain man said: I cannot eat date and almond paste, since I cannot be adequately grateful for it. Al-Hasan said: The man is a fool; can he be adequately grateful for cold water?

Sufyan al-Thauri when he travelled used to take with him as provision roast meat and almond and honey paste.

A man ought to know that his soul¹ is his mount, which he must treat gently in order that it may bring him to his destination. So he had better take what benefits it and eschew what harms it, such as satiety and excessive gratification of desires. For this injures both body and religion.

Further, people differ in nature, so when the Bedouin wear wool and restrict themselves to milk as a drink, we do not blame them, the mounts of their bodies can endure this. Similarly when the inhabitants of the Black Country² wear

(1) His body would be more appropriate.

(2) The fertile lands of Irak.

wool and eat unleavened bread, we do not blame them either nor do we speak of them as having burdened themselves, since such is their custom; only when the body is fastidious, being accustomed to delicacies, we forbid its owner to make it endure what will harm it. If such a man is ascetically inclined and prefers to abstain from desirable things either because what is lawful does not admit of luxury, or because delicious food involves frequent meals with much sleep and idleness, such a person should know what it will injure him to give up and what he can give up without injury, and so take as much as is good for his health without causing himself pain. Some people suppose that plain bread is sufficient for the maintenance of the body; even if this were so, restriction thereto would be injurious, inasmuch as the humours of the body require the sour and the sweet, the hot and the cold, the astringent and the aperient. There is implanted in nature an inclination towards what suits it, and sometimes it inclines to the sour but at others to the sweet, and for this there are reasons, e.g., paucity of phlegm which is indispensable for its maintenance, whence there is a desire for milk, or there may be an excess of yellow bile so that it has an inclination for sourness; one who restrains it from following its natural craving for what benefits it injures it, unless indeed he restrain it from surfeit and greed and what may have dangerous consequences, for such will ruin it. Mere abstinence is an error; you should know this and take no notice of the sayings of al-Harith al-Muhasibi and Abu Talib al-Mekki concerning exiguity of food and combating the soul by abstinence from what is lawful for it. It is better to follow the Legislator and his Companions. Ibn 'Aqil* used to say: How extraordinary it is that pious people should harbour caprices to be followed or newfangled monasticism, trailing the skirts of licentiousness in love and sport, or neglecting their duties, deserting their families, and retiring to the corners of mosques! Why cannot they serve God reasonably and legitimately?

One of the delusions which he casts upon them is making them fancy that asceticism means contentment with a minimum of food and clothing. Contenting themselves therewith, in their hearts they aspire to leadership and seek for honour, so that you may see them looking out for visits from princes, and to be honoured as the poor are not; when they meet people they assume a devout attitude as though they had just been experiencing a vision. Such a man often refuses money for fear it should be said that he has changed his mind about

* 'Ali b. 'Aqil, died 513.

asceticism whereas they open the door widely to worldly advancement in the matter of receiving visits and having their hands kissed—worldly, since leadership is the summit of worldly ambition.

The commonest delusion which the devil casts on devotees and ascetics is secret hypocrisy. Manifest hypocrisy, such as display of emaciation, paleness of face, and matted hair, does not come within this form of delusion. The same is the case with hypocritical praying and almsgiving, for such acts are not hidden. We are referring to secret hypocrisy; the Prophet said: Acts are by their intentions.—When the purpose of an act is not God's approval, it is not accepted. Malik b. Dinar said: Tell the person who is not sincere not to trouble himself.

You should know that the Believer in his conduct is thinking of God only, but he is liable to secret hypocrisy through delusion, and from this escape is hard. There is a Tradition going back uninterruptedly to Yasar¹ according to which he said: Yusuf b. Asbat² said to me: Learn to distinguish sound conduct from unsound; it took me twenty-two years to learn. There is a Tradition going back uninterruptedly to Ibrahim al-Hanzali according to which he said: I heard Baqiyyah b. al-Walid³ say that he had heard Ibrahim b. Adham say: I learned the meaning of knowledge from a monk named Sam'an, whose cell I entered. I asked him how long he had been in his cell.—Seventy years, he replied.—What, I asked, is your food?—He said: What makes you ask that, Hanefite?—I said: I should like to know.—One chick-pea a night was his reply.—What emotion, I asked, does it stir in your heart so that this chick-pea can suffice you?—He asked me whether I saw the people in front of him.—I replied that I did.—They, he said, come to me one day in each year, deck my cell, make circuit of it, and pay me honour in this way. Whenever I feel weary of my devotions I remind myself of that hour; and I can endure the strain of a year for the glory of an hour; endure therefore, Hanefite, the strain of an hour for the glory of eternity.—This furnished my heart with copious knowledge. He then asked whether he should add more?—I bade him do so.—He told me to descend from the cell, which I did, and then he let down to me a bucket containing twenty chick-peas. He bade me enter the monastery, as the people had seen what

(1) Date of death not ascertained.

(2) Died 195.

(3) 115-197.

he had let down to me.—When I entered it, the Christians collected and said: Hanefite, what did the old man let down to you?—Some of his food, I replied.—What, they said, will you do with it? We have the better right to it. Ask your price.—Twenty dinars, I said.—They gave me the money.—I went back to the old man, who said: You have made a mistake. Had you asked for twenty thousand, they would have given them to you. This is the glory of one whom you do not worship; think what will come of the glory of Him Whom you do worship; Hanefite. Turn your face to your Lord!

I would observe that for fear of hypocrisy the saints have concealed their doings, giving them the appearance of the contrary. Ibn Sirin used to laugh during the day and weep during the night. Ayyub al-Sakhtiyani used to wear a robe with a somewhat lengthy skirt; when Ibn Adham was ill, food fit for the healthy was to be found set before him. There is a Tradition going back to 'Abdallah b. al-Mubarak* after Bakkar b. 'Abdallah according to which the latter heard Wahb b. Munabbih say: There was a certain man, one of the best of his time, whom people used to visit and honour. One day they gathered round him and he said: We have left the world, abandoning family and goods for fear of impiety, yet I am afraid that more impiety has befallen us in this condition than befalls the wealthy in their wealth. I find we like people to render us services; if we make a purchase, to get easy terms on account of our piety: if we are met, to be greeted and made much of on account of our piety.—This speech was noised abroad till it reached the king, who marvelled thereat and rode out to salute the man and gaze upon him. When the man saw him, he was told that it was the king who had come to salute him.—What is he going to do? asked the man.—It is on account of your sermon, they said.—He asked his attendant whether he had any food, and was told that there was some of the fruit whereon he ordinarily breakfasted. He ordered that this should be brought on a mat and set before him. He began to eat, though it was his practice to fast during the day and eat nothing. The king approached him and saluted him. He replied in a low voice and proceeded to eat. The king asked where the man of whom he had heard was, and was told that this was he. The man who is eating? asked the king.—Yes, they said.—There is no good in him, said the king, who turned away.—The man said: Praise be to God Who has caused you to depart by this expedient.

*118-181.

According to another report Wahb said that when the king came forward the man made large mouthfuls of the vegetables, dipped them in oil, and began to eat voraciously. The king said to him: How are you, whoever you may be?—The man said: Like other people.—The king then turned away the rein of his mount, saying: There is no good in *him*. The man said: Praise be to God Who has sent him away from me with censure.

There is a Tradition going back to 'Ata' according to which he said: al-Walid b. 'Abd al-Malik² wanted to appoint Yazid b. Marthad to an office and when Yazid heard this, he put on a fur with the skin on his back and the wool outside; in his hand he took a loaf of bread, and some Arack, and started out without cloak, hood, sandals, or shoes. He ate as he walked in the street. Al-Walid was told that Yazid had lost his reason, and was informed of his proceedings. So he let him alone.

There are ascetics who practise asceticism both outwardly and inwardly, yet such a man, being aware that his friends or his wife will certainly talk about his abandoning the world, will find this easy to endure as the monk whose encounter with Ibrahim b. Adham we have recorded found it. If such a man were sincere in his asceticism he would eat with his family such quantity as would win no reputation for sanctity and cause talk about him to stop. Dawud b. Abi Hind³ fasted twenty years without letting his family know. He would take his food, go out into the street and give it away. So the people in the street thought that he had eaten at home, whereas his household thought he ate in the street. Such were people then!

There are besides ascetics whose sustenance is retreat in a mosque or monastery or on a mountain, and whose pleasure consists in people knowing of their isolation. Such a man may plead in defence of his retirement that he is afraid of seeing something of which he disapproves if he came out. He has, however, various ends in view; among them pride and contempt of other people, fear lest they should not pay him sufficient attention; preservation of his dignity and leadership, which would be impaired by mixing with people, whereas he is anxious that his credit and reputation should remain intact. At times indeed his object is the concealment of his faults and

(1) Ibn Abi Rabah, 27-114.

(2) Umayyad Caliph, 86-96.

(3) Died about 139.

failings, and general ignorance, which might be seen; and he desires to be visited and not have to pay visits, and takes delight in princes coming to him, and commoners crowding at his door and kissing his hand. So he neglects visitation of the sick, and attendance at funerals, and his friends say: Excuse the shaikh, this is his custom (he had better not have had a custom which violates the code!). Should such a person be in want of food and have no-one with him to buy it, he would endure hunger so that he might not have to go out to buy it himself, and so lose dignity by walking among the populace. If he were to go out and buy what he wanted, his reputation would be at an end! His inner purpose is maintenance of his dignity. Yet the Prophet used to go out into the street, buy what he needed, and carry it himself. Abu Bakr used to carry clothes on his shoulder and sell and buy. There is a Tradition going back to Muhammad b. al-Qasim who stated that it was reported on the authority of 'Abdallah b. Hanzalah' how 'Abdallah b. Salam' was seen walking with a bundle of firewood on his head. People said to him: What induces you to do this, when God has enriched you? He said: I wanted to keep off pride thereby, for I heard the Prophet say: He in whose heart there is an atom's weight of pride shall not enter paradise.

I would observe that the practice which I have mentioned of going out to buy what is required and similar sacrifices of dignity were customary with the ancients; the practice has changed like conditions and fashions in dress. I should not advise a learned man in our time to go out to buy what he wants, since such a proceeding would eclipse the light of learning in the eyes of the ignorant, who are bound to respect it. Regard for their sentiments in this matter would not degenerate into hypocrisy, and employment of such measures as will enforce respect is not to be forbidden. Not every proceeding whereby men of old time avoided changing people's sentiments can be practised in our time. Al-Auza'i said: We used to laugh and make merry, but when we find that people follow our example I do not think this proper for us. It is reported how one day the friends of Ibrahim b. Adham were making merry, when a man knocked at the door and bade them be quiet and dignified. They said to him: You would teach us hypocrisy.—He said: I do not wish God to be disobeyed through you.

(1) Died, 63.

(2) Convert from Judaism, died 43.

This man, I would observe, was afraid of what the ignorant would say, viz., See what these ascetics are doing!—For the populace cannot endure such conduct on the part of professed devotees.

Among these people there are those of whom if one were asked to don soft raiment, he would decline, for fear of loss of dignity; he would rather expire than be seen eating. He would restrain himself from smiling, not to speak of laughing. The devil makes him fancy that this is for the improvement of his character; in reality it is hypocrisy, a means of maintaining his prestige. So too you may see him with bowed head, showing the signs of grief. When he is by himself, there is no knowing what he would look like.

The men of old time used to keep off anything which would bring them into notice; they would flee from any place in which they might be pointed at. There is a Tradition traced to 'Abdallah b. Khafif,¹ according to which Yusuf b. Asbat said: I started on foot from Manbij and reached Missisah (Mopusuestia) with my wallet on my neck. Then one man rose up from his booth and saluted me, and another, so I threw down my wallet and entered the mosque, where I made a prayer of two inclinations. People surrounded me, and one man gazed on my face. So I said to myself: How long will my heart endure this?—So I took up my wallet, and returned sweating and tired to Manbij, and for two years my heart did not return to me.

There are ascetics who wear tattered garments and do not stitch them neither adjust their turbans nor comb their beards, to let people see that they know nothing of mundane matters. This is a form of hypocrisy; for if the man be sincere in his neglect of externals, as when Dawud al-Ta'i² was asked why he did not comb his beard, he replied "I have other things to think of"—he should know that he is off the high road; for this was not the procedure of the Prophet or of his Companions. He combed his hair, looked in the mirror, used ointment and perfume, though more occupied with the next world than any other creature. Abu Bakr and 'Umar used to dye their hair with henna and phyllirea; yet they were the most scrupulous and most ascetic of the Companions. No attention should be paid to one who claims rank which surpasses the Sunnah and the practice of the chief men.

(1) Perhaps Abu 'Abdallah Muhammad b. Khafif, died 371.

(2) Abu Sulaiman Dawud b. Nusair, pupil of Abu Hanifah. See *Kashf*, p. 109.

There are ascetics who maintain continual silence and isolate themselves from the society of their families, whom they annoy by their unamiability and excessive moroseness, forgetting the saying of the Prophet "You have a duty to your family." The Prophet used to be of good humour, play with children and talk to his wives, run races with 'A'ishah, and do other amiable things. This devotee who makes his wife into a widow and his children orphans by his unamiability and isolation, supposing that different conduct will distract him from the next world, is so ignorant as not to know that cheerfulness with one's family is an aid to the next world. In both the *Sahih* there is a Tradition that the Prophet said to Jabir: Why not marry a virgin so that you could play together—Such an ascetic often neglects his conjugal duty, and so violates an ordinance for an improper act of supererogation.

There are ascetics who are pleased with their conduct and if anyone were to tell them they were the pillars of the earth, would regard it as the truth. Some of them watch for the occurrence of miracles in their honour, and such an one fancies that if he were to come to water he could walk upon it. If occasion comes for him to pray and he is not answered, he feels indignation, as though he were a hireling demanding payment for his work. Had he been favoured with intelligence he would have known that he is a bondservant who earns no thanks for his labour. Had he considered how he had been divinely guided to his work, he would have seen cause for gratitude and been afraid of falling short therein. His fear of such shortcoming might well have kept him from thinking about his work, as Rabi'ah said: I ask God's forgiveness for the want of veracity in my speech.—She was asked whether she had performed any act which she thought would be accepted of her. She said: If there be any, it is my fear of its rejection.

One of the delusions which the devil practises on certain ascetics whom he approaches through their ignorance is their acting according to their own imaginings without attending to what the jurist says. Ibn 'Aqil said: Abu Ishaq al-Kharraz was a saintly man, and the first person who taught me the Book of God. It was his practice to abstain from speech in the month of Ramadan, only uttering phrases from the Qur'ân when occasion demanded speech. Thus for the admission of visitors he would say (v. 26) *Enter unto them the gate*, and to his son at the evening of the fast (ii. 58) *of its greens and its cucumbers* as an order to buy vegetables.

I said to him: This is a thing which you believe to be a pious act, whereas it is a sin.—This grieved him, and I went on to

say: This Glorious Qur'ân was revealed for the explanation of the ordinances of the Code, and should not be used for mundane purposes. You might as well wrap your soap in leaves of the Sacred Volume, or make of it a pillow for your head.—He cut me and would not listen to the argument.

At times (I observe) an ignorant ascetic hears something from the laity and gives a legal opinion according to it. I was told by the jurist Abu Hakim Ibrahim b. Dinar how a man had asked him for an opinion on the following question: If a woman after a third divorce gives birth to a male child, can she lawfully be taken back by her husband? I answered No, he said. There was present with me al-Sharif al-Dhhali, a man renowned for his asceticism, and highly esteemed by the populace. He said to me: On the contrary, she may be taken back.—I said: No-one has taken that view.—He said: I assure you I have given this opinion from here to Basrah.

So see the effect which ignorance has on those who suffer from it, and how there is added thereto the maintenance of dignity for fear lest the ascetic be regarded as an ignorant man. Men of old time used to disapprove of an ascetic giving legal opinions even though he possessed much learning, on the ground that he did not possess all the qualifications for doing so. What then would they say if they were to see the devotees of our time giving wrong opinions out of their imaginations? There is a Tradition going back to Isma'il b. Shabbah according to which he said: I entered the presence of Ahmad b. Hanbal, when Ahmad b. Harb' had arrived from Meccah. Ahmad asked me: Who is this man of Khurasan who has arrived?—I proceed to tell him about the man's asceticism and integrity. He said: A man who professes what he does ought not to meddle with legal opinions.

Among the delusions which he practises on ascetics is their contempt for and vituperation of the learned. They assert that the object to be aimed at is action; not knowing that knowledge is the action of the heart. If they understood the rank of the learned in memorizing the Code, and that it is the rank of prophets, they would regard themselves as dumb brutes by the side of correct speakers and blind by the side of the seeing. The learned are the guides of the path, with the rest of mankind behind them, and one of them, if he be fit, can walk alone. In the two *Sahih* there is a Tradition of Sahl b. Sa'd²

(1) He was of Nisabur, died 234. The story is told in *Kitab Baghdad*, iv, 119.

(2) Died about 90: The last of the "companions" who died in *Medinah*.

that the Prophet said: By Allah that He should guide any man by you is better for you than ruddy camels.

Among the faults which they find with the learned is that the latter allow themselves certain liberty in things permitted, to gain strength therewith for the prosecution of study; and similarly they find fault with one who amasses wealth. Had they understood the meaning of the word "permitted" they would have known that no blame attaches to the person who practises it. The utmost that can be said is that those who do not are better than those who do. Would it be proper for one who prays the whole night to find fault with one who performs the obligatory prayer and then goes to sleep? 'There is a Tradition going back to Muhammad b. Ja'far al-Khaulani' according to which he said: 'The following was told me by Abu 'Abdallah al-Khawwas who was a companion of Hatim al-Asamm':² We entered Rayy with Hatim al-Balkhi who was accompanied by three hundred and twenty followers and was on his way to the pilgrimage. They all wore wool, with tunics of the same material, not one of them bringing wallet or food. We stopped at the house of a devout trader, who entertained us. The next morning he said to Hatim: Abu 'Abd al-Rahman, do you need anything? For I wish to visit one of our jurists who is ill.—Hatim said: If there is a sick jurist among you, visiting such a person is highly meritorious, and indeed to gaze upon a jurist is a pious act. I will come with you.—Now the sick man was Muhammad b. Muqatil, qadi of Rayy. The trader bade him come with him. They came to the door of the sick man's house, and there was a door-keeper. Hatim kept thinking and saying: O Lord, is the house of a learned man of this style!—Permission was then given them to enter, and they found it to be a spacious mansion with fine furniture, hangings, carpets and curtains. Hatim kept thinking and staring till they entered the room wherein Muhammad b. Muqatil was, and there they found him lying on a soft, handsome couch, with a flyflap at his head, and men standing. The trader from Rayy sat down, but Hatim remained standing; Muhammad b. Muqatil with a gesture bade him take a seat.—Hatim said: I will not sit down.—Ibn Muqatil asked him whether he wanted anything. He said Yes.—What is it? asked Ibn Muqatil. He said: I wish to ask you a question.—Ask me, he said.—Hatim said:

(1) In the *Kitab Baghdad* al-Hasan b. Muhammad (viii. 242).

(2) Notice of him in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 115. He was from Balkh.

Rise and sit up that I may ask you about it.—Hatim ordered his servants to prop him up. Then Hatim said: Whence did you procure this knowledge of yours? He replied: By instruction from trustworthy persons who had it from others who were trustworthy who had it from the founders of the Science.—From whom, asked Hatim, did they obtain it?—From the epigoni,* he answered.—And from whom did the epigoni obtain it?—From the Companions of the Prophet, he replied.—And whence did the Prophet procure it? he asked.—From Gabriel, who had it from God Almighty, he replied.—Then Hatim said: In the matter conveyed by Gabriel from God Almighty to the Prophet, by the Prophet to his Companions, by his Companions to the epigoni, by the epigoni to the founders, by the founders to trustworthy persons, and by those trustworthy persons to you, have you heard that the finer a man's house, the softer his bedding, and the more copious his decoration in this world, the higher will be his rank with God?—He said: No.—Then what, he asked, have you heard?—He said: I have heard that the man who is averse to mundane things, has his affections fixed on the next world, loves the poor, and makes preparation for the future life, is of higher rank with, and nearer to, God.—Hatim said: And whom have *you* taken for your model? The Prophet, his Companions, the epigoni who followed, the saints who trod in their footsteps?—or Pharaoh and Nimrod? They were the first to build with gypsum and brick. O ye that are learned in mischief! The ignorant man who is passionately attached to the world will say: This man of learning lives in this style; shall I not do the like?

Hatim departed from his presence; Muhammad b. Muqatil's illness became worse. The people of Rayy heard what had passed between Hatim and Ibn Muqatil, and told Hatim that Muhammad b. 'Ubaid al-Tanafisi in Qazwin was yet more luxurious than Ibn Muqatil. So Hatim went to him, entered his house, and found a number of people with him to whom he was discoursing. Hatim said to him: God have mercy on you, I am a foreigner who has come to learn from you the elements of my religion, and the preliminaries of prayer: how should I wash for prayer?—Muhammad b. 'Ubaid said: Most certainly; slave, bring a vessel with water.—One was brought, Muhammad b. 'Ubaid squatted down, washed himself three times, and said: This is the way you should wash.—Hatim said: Please wait till I wash in your presence, in order to enforce my point.—So al-Tanafisi rose,

* Generation which came after the companions.

and Hatim squatted down in his place and began to wash. He washed his face three times, but when he got to his arm he washed that four times. Al-Tanafisi said: You have been too lavish.—Hatim asked wherein? He said: Washing your arm four times.—Hatim said: Good heavens! I have been too lavish with a handful of water, and have you not been too lavish in all this that I see?—Al-Tanafisi understood that Hatim's intention was to rebuke him, entered his house, and did not appear in public for forty days.

Hatim departed for the Hijaz. When he got to Medinah he wanted to dispute with the savants of that city. Entering it, he said: Ye people, what city is this?—They said: The City of God's Prophet.—Where, he asked, is the palace of God's Prophet that I may go and offer there a prayer of a couple of inclinations?—They said: The Prophet of God had no palace, he had only a low hut.—Where then, he proceeded to ask, are the palaces of his family, his Companions, and his wives?—They said: They had no palaces, but only low huts.—Then, said he, this is Pharaoh's city!—They reviled him (says the narrator) and brought him to the governor, saying: This foreigner calls this Pharaoh's city.—The governor asked him why he had said that.—He replied: Prince, do not be hasty with me. I am a stranger, and entering this city asked what city it was. They said: The city of God's Prophet. I then asked for the palace of God's Prophet and the palaces of his Companions. They told me that they had had only low huts. Now I have heard God Almighty say: (xxxiii. 21) *Ye have had in God's Prophet a good model*; now whom have you taken for your model? God's Prophet, or Pharaoh?

Here I would observe: Woe to the learned from the ignorant ascetic who is satisfied with his knowledge and thinks obligatory that which is supererogatory. For that which he disapproves is permitted, and that which is permitted has the assent of the Code; the Code would not assent to an act and then remonstrate on its account. Such ignorance is disgraceful. Had Hatim said to them: Might you not have moderated your style of living so as to give an example to others, it would have been more fitting. What too would the man have said had he heard that 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf, al-Zubair b. al-'Awwam, 'Abdallah b. Mas'ud, and many more of the Companions left huge fortunes? Tamim al-Dari gave a thousand dirhams for a cloak in which he used to keep vigil.

It is the duty of the ascetic to learn of the learned, and if he has not learned, he had better keep silence. There is a

Tradition traced to Malik b. Dinar according to which he said : Satan plays with the Readers as boys with nuts. The same Tradition is traced to Habib al-Farisi.

“ Readers,” I would observe, here mean ascetics ; it is an old and well-known name for them. God is the Guide to what is correct, and to Him is recourse and return.

Section X.—Account of the way wherein he deludes the Sufis among the ascetics

The Sufis belong to the ascetic group, and we devote a fresh section to them, although we have described the manner wherein the devil confuses the ascetics, because the Sufis are distinguished from other ascetics by certain qualities and states and bear certain badges. Sufism is a system which commences with general asceticism, whose adherents afterwards permitted themselves music and dancing. They have won the favour of seekers of the next world from among the multitude by reason of the asceticism which they exhibit ; and by seekers after this world owing to the comfort and amusement which they find these persons enjoy. It is necessary to dispel the delusions which the devil introduces into their system, and this can only be done by revealing the system with its branches, and explaining its methods.

In the time of the Prophet men took their appellations from Belief and Islam, calling themselves Believer and Muslim. Then there came into use the names Ascetic and Devotee ; then there arose persons who attached themselves to asceticism and devotion, separated themselves from the world and gave themselves up to devoutness, adopting therein a system of their own and conforming themselves to a certain character. They supposed that the first person to isolate himself for the worship of God in His holy house was a man called Sufah, whose name was al-Ghauth b. Murr ; so they named themselves Sufis after him, as they resembled him in separating themselves to serve God.

I was told by Muhammad b. Nasir after Abu Ishaq Ibrahim b. Sa'id al-Habbal that the following had been said by Abu Muhammad 'Abu al-Ghani b. Sa'id the Hafiz :¹ I asked, he said, Walid² b. al-Qasim from what did the Sufis take their name ?—He replied : There were certain people in the days of paganism called Sufah, who separated themselves for the worship of God and inhabited the Ka'bah ; those who imitate them

(1) Died 229.

(2) Died 183.

are the Sufis. 'Abd al-Ghani added: the people known as Sufah were the children of al-Ghauth b. Murr, brother's son to Tamim b. Murr. According to a Tradition going back to al-Zubair b. Bakkar¹ he said: The conducting of the pilgrims from 'Arafah was committed to al-Ghauth b. Murr b. Tabikhah and continued among his descendants who were called Sufah. When the time arrived for such conducting the Arabs said, Conduct, Sufah!—Al-Zubair added: Abu 'Ubaidah asserted that the name Sufah or Sufan was given to anyone who was in charge of any business connected with the House, not being one of its chief officials, or who looked after any part of the ceremonial. Zubair also said: I was told by Abu'l-Hasan al-Athram after Hisham b. Muhammad b. al-Sa'ib al-Kalbi that according to this last al-Ghauth b. Murr was called Sufah because his mother, finding that all her children died, vowed that if he lived she would attach a piece of wool to his head and make him bound to the Ka'bah. She carried this out, and in consequence he and his descendants were called Sufah. Al-Zubair further states that he was told by Ibrahim b. al-Mundhiri² after 'Abd al-'Aziz b. Imran³ that this last had been told by 'Aqqal b. Shabbah⁴ that the mother of Tamim b. Murr having given birth to a number of girls promised Allah that if she bore a boy she would make him a slave of the House. She gave birth to al-Ghauth b. Murr, and when she attached him to the House he felt the heat. Passing by him when he had fallen down and was in a state of collapse she said: This boy of mine is no better than a piece of wool, whence he was called Sufah. Sufah had charge of conducting the pilgrims from 'Arafah to Mina and from Mina to Meccah. This right continued with the descendants of Sufah till it was taken by 'Udwan, who also held it till it was taken by Quraish.

Some people, I would observe, take the views that Sufism is traceable to the "people of the Suffah" (the bench in the Prophet's Mosque). Their reason for this opinion was that they found the people of the Suffah agree with our description of Sufah in devotion to God and the practice of poverty; for these were poor people who came to the Prophet, having neither families nor possessions, and a bench was built for them in the Prophet's mosque, whence they were called People of the

(1) Died 256.

(2) Died 236.

(3) Died 197.

(4) Contemporary of al-Mahdi (158-169).

Bench. There is a Tradition traced to al-Hasan as having said: A bench was built for the weak Muslims, and the other Muslims used to bring them any charity they could. The Prophet would come to them and say, Peace be upon you, ye people of the Bench; to which they would reply, And on thee, O Prophet of God!—He would ask them how they were and they would reply, Well, O Prophet of God.

There is a Tradition traced to Nu'aim b. al-Mujammir after his father after Abu Dharr, according to which the last of these said: I was one of the people of the Bench, and when evening came, we used to present ourselves at the Prophet's door, who would order each of us to go off with some man, until only ten or fewer of the people of the Bench remained; the Prophet would sacrifice his own supper to us, and when we had supped would bid us go and sleep in the mosque.

These people, I would observe, only sat in the mosque of necessity and only fed on charity out of necessity. When God bestowed victory on the Muslims they could dispense with this state and went away. Moreover the derivation of Sufi from Suffah is erroneous, since the form would have been Suffi. There is an opinion that the name is derived from *Sufanah*, which is a soft and stumpy vegetable; the people according to this were called from it because they were satisfied with the herbs of the field. This also is erroneous, because the form should have been *Sufani*. Others derive it from the *sufah* of the nape of the neck, i.e., certain hairs which grow on the back of it; the idea being that the Sufi turns away from creatures and swerves towards God. Others derive it from the word for wool, which is admissible; only the first derivation is the correct one.

The name came into use before the year 200, and when the first of these people proclaimed it, they talked about it, expressing its import in various ways; whereof the gist is that according to them Sufism means disciplining of the soul, and resistance to nature by restraining it from vices and impelling it to virtues such as asceticism, gentleness, patience, sincerity, veracity, etc., such as earn praise in this world and reward in the next. There is a Tradition going back to al-Tusi according to which he said: I heard Abu Bakr b. al-Muthaqif say: I ask Junaid b. Muhammad about Sufism, and he replied: It is departure from all evil qualities and entrance into all noble qualities.—There is a Tradition going back to 'Abd al-Wahid b. Bakr according to which he said: I heard Muhammad b.

Khafif¹ say: Ruwaim² said: All mankind are seated on semblances, save this sect which is seated on realities. All mankind demand of themselves the externals of the Code, whereas these people demand of themselves the reality of chastity, and constancy in veracity.

I would observe that the first Sufis carried this out; the devil however deluded them in certain ways, and yet further deluded their successors. As a century elapsed his hopes for the next century increased, and he deluded them still further, and obtained complete control over the later generations.

He started deluding them by diverting them from knowledge, making them suppose that the object to be aimed at is action. When he had extinguished the lamp of knowledge which they had, they floundered in darkness. He persuaded some that the purpose of their system was complete abandonment of the world; hence they discarded what was good for their bodies; compared wealth to scorpions, forgetting that it was ordained for useful purposes; imposed all sorts of penances on themselves, so that some of them would never lie down. The aims of these people were indeed good, only they were off the right path. Some of them through want of knowledge used to act according to fabricated Traditions of which they got hold, not knowing them to be fabrications.

Then came persons who discoursed to them about hunger, poverty, suggestions and insinuations, and composed works on the subject like al-Harith al-Muhasibi. Others arose who systematized Sufism, and gave it certain distinguishing characteristics, such as the patched garment, music, erotic sentiment, dancing, clapping of the hands: they further distinguished themselves by excessive purity and cleanliness. Then the process continued, and their shaiikhs made continual inventions, and discoursed of their imaginations. So the gulf between them and the learned widened, nay, they came to regard their own system as the most complete knowledge, which they called "the inner knowledge," whereas they made knowledge of the code "the outer knowledge." Some of them were led by hunger into false fancies, professing to be enamoured with God and to rave about Him: imagining Him to be an individual of beautiful form, about whom they raved. These were something between unbelievers and innovators; and then the paths of some branched out, and their beliefs were corrupted. Some of them adopted the doctrine of incarnation, others

(1) An account of him in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 61.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 135.

of union; and the devil continued to encompass them with various heresies so that they even made for themselves laws. There arose Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami' who composed for them a Book of *Sunan*, and collected for them *The Realities of Interpretation*, in which he mentioned extraordinary ways that they have of interpreting the Qur'ân according to their fancies without finding support for them in any scientific principles, but merely accommodating it to their doctrines. Strange indeed that they should be so scrupulous in the matter of food and take such liberties with the Qur'ân! The following was told us by Abu Mansur 'Abd al-Rahman al-Qazzaz after Abu Bakr al-Khatib. The last said² he had been told by Muhammad b. Yusuf al-Qattan al-Naisaburi that Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami was untrustworthy, only having heard a little from al-Asamm; yet, when al-Hakam Abu 'Abdallah b. al-Bay' died, he taught on the authority of al-Asamm the history of Yahya b. Mu'in and many things besides. He was also in the habit of fabricating Traditions for the Sufis.

Further Abu Nasr al-Sarraj composed a book to which he gave the title *Flashes of Sufism*³ wherein he set forth wrong beliefs and vicious utterances, of which we shall presently produce some specimens, if God will. Abu Talib al-Makki composed for them *The Provision of the Hearts*⁴ wherein he set forth false Traditions, continuous fastings for days and nights supported by no authority, with other fictions and erroneous doctrines. He frequently employs the phrase *One of those favoured with revelations says*, which is meaningless, and recounts on the authority of Sufis that God appears in this world to His saints.

I was told by Abu Mansur al-Qazzaz after Abu Bakr al-Khatib⁵ that Abu Tahir Muhammad b. 'Ali al-'Allaf⁶ said: Abu Talib al-Makki came to Basrah after the death of 'Abu'l-Hasan⁷ b. Salim and professed to be one of his followers. Then he went to Baghdad, where people gathered to the room in which he preached, and his speech was confused; he was remembered to have said *There is naught more injurious to the*

(1) Died 412. Sam'ani has an account of him (*Ansab*, p. 20, 21).

(2) The passage is in the *Kitab Baghdad*, ii, 248. Al-Sulami's name was Muhammad b. al-Husain.

(3) Edited by R. A. Nicholson.

(4) Printed Cairo, 1310, etc.

(5) See *Kitab Baghdad*, iii, 89.

(6) Died 442: *ibid.*, iii, 104.

(7) His name was Ahmad b. Muhammad. See the *Luma'*.

creature than the Creator. He was charged with heresy and shunned and spoke no more in public after that. Al-Khatib added: Abu Talib al-Makki composed a book which he called *The Provision of the Hearts*, in the language of the Sufis, wherein he sets forth many things which are to be disapproved, and abominable concerning the attributes.

Then (I would observe) came Abu Nu'aim al-Isfahani, who composed for them a book called *The Ornament*,¹ in which he sets forth very disgraceful things within the bounds of Sufism, and is not ashamed to mention among Sufis Abu Bakr, 'Umar, 'Uthman, 'Ali, and the chief Companions, about whom he records marvellous things. Among them too he mentions Suraih the qadi, al-Hasan al-Basri, Sufyan al-Thauri, and Ahmad b. Hanbal. Likewise al-Sulami² in his *Classes of Sufis* mentions al-Fudail, Ibrahim b. Adham, and Ma'ruf al-Karkhi, whom he makes out to have been Sufis by pointing out that they were ascetics.

Sufism is a well-known system, which goes beyond asceticism; the difference between the two is indicated by the fact that no-one has ever found fault with asceticism, whereas Sufism, has been censured as will presently be recorded. A treatise called *The Epistle* was composed for them by 'Abd al-Karim b. Hawazin al-Qushairi,³ wherein he gives marvellous accounts of *extinction, persistence, contraction, expansion, time, state, emotion, existence, combination, separation, sobriety, intoxication, taste, drink, erasure, confirmation, revelation, conversation, unveiling, perceptions, arisings, flashings, fashioning, empowering, the code, the reality*, etc., all baseless illusions, with yet more marvellous comments. Then there arose Muhammad b. Tahir al-Maqdisi,⁴ who composed for them *The Quintessence of Sufism*, wherein he recounted things which a man of sense would be ashamed to mention. We shall give such specimens as it will be suitable to mention in their places, if God will.

Our shaikh Abu'l-Fadl b. Nasir the Hafiz used to say: Ibn Tahir held the doctrine of Licence, and wrote a book dealing with the lawfulness of gazing on beardless lads, into which he introduced a story of Yahya b. Mu'in,⁵ who said: I saw a

(1) Printed Cairo, 1351. The author died 430.

(2) Abu 'Abd al-Rahman Muhammad b. al-Husain, died 412.

(3) Often printed.

(4) Died 507. A long account of him in *Tabaqat al-Huffaz*, xv, 21.

(5) Famous Traditionalist, died 233.

pretty girl in Egypt, God be gracious to her!—People said to him: What, do you invoke a blessing on her!—He said: God be gracious to her and every one who is beautiful—Our shaikh Ibn Nasir added: Ibn Tahir is not a person to be employed as evidence.—Then arose Abu Hamid al-Ghazzali, who composed for them the work *Revival** according to their system which he filled with fictitious Traditions, not knowing them to be fictions; he also discoursed on Unveiling, and transgressed the rules of jurisprudence. He asserts that what is meant by the stars, sun, and moon, which were seen by Abraham (vi. 76-78) were lights which veiled God Almighty, and not the objects known. This is a comment in the style of the Esoterists. In his work called *Clear Account of States* he asserts that the Sufis in their waking hours witness the angels and the souls of the prophets, hear their voices, and acquire information from them; then their “state” ascends from witnessing forms to stages too grand for language.

I would observe that the cause which led these people to compose these things was their ignorance of the laws, of Islam, and of Tradition, and the attraction which they felt for parts of the system which they approved; their approval being due to their conviction of the merit asceticism, and to their regarding no condition as in form than that of these people, and no language as more affecting than theirs. Then the biographies of the men of old display a sort of roughness. Further these people enjoy popular favour to a high degree because their system is outwardly one of cleanness and devotion, and involves quiet and music, which people naturally favour. Besides, the original Sufis used to keep away from kings and princes, which made people friendly.

Now the bulk of the works composed for them are based on no authority, being merely fancies which one has learned from another, and which they have compiled and called esoteric science. There is a Tradition going back to Abu Ya'qub Ishaq b. Hayyah according to which he said: I heard Ahmad b. Hanbal say on the subject of “suggestions” and “occurrences” that neither the Companions nor the Epigoni talked of them.

At the beginning of this book we have recorded a similar Tradition traced to Dhu'l-Nun, and one traced to Ahmad b. Hanbal to the effect that, having heard the language of al-Harith al-Muhasibi he told one of his followers that he thought

* Its content is being reproduced in Spanish by M. A. Palacios.

he had better not associate with them. There is a Tradition going back to Sa'id b. 'Amr al-Barda'i' according to which he said: I was in the presence of Abu Zur'ah² when he was asked about al-Harith al-Muhasibi and his books, and he warned the questioner against them. These books, he said, are innovations and misleading; go to the Tradition, wherein you will find what will enable you to dispense with these books.—He was told that these books contained warning. He said: Whoso does not find warning in the Book of God will not find it in these books. Have you ever heard that Malik b. Anas, Sufyan al-Thauri, al-Auza'i, and the early authorities composed such works on Occurrences and Suggestions, etc.? These are people who oppose the men of knowledge, citing to us at one time al-Harith al-Muhasibi, at another 'Abd al-Rahim al-Dabili,³ at another Hatim al-Asamm, at another Shaqiq.⁴—He went on to say: How ready people are to innovate!

We have been told by Muhammad b. 'Abd al-Baqi after Abu Muhammad Rizq Allah b. 'Abd al-Wahhab al-Tamimi after 'Abd al-Rahim al-Sulami a Tradition according to which the last of these said: The first person who discoursed in our town on the order of States and the Stages of sainthood was Dhu'l-Nun al-Misri.—His statement was disapproved by 'Abdallah b. 'Abd al-Hakam who was a leading man in Egypt⁵ and a follower of Malik's system. Accordingly al-Sulami was shunned by the savants of Egypt when it had got abroad that he had invented a science about which the men of old had not spoken. They went so far as to charge him with atheism.—Al-Sulami says that Abu Sulaiman al-Darani⁶ was expelled from Damascus, it being said that he asserted that he saw the angels, and that they talked to him. Some persons attested that Ahmad b. Abi'l-Hawari⁷ regarded the saints as superior to the prophets, and had to flee from Damascus to Meccah. The people of Bistam so strongly disapproved of the sayings of Abu Yazid al-Bistami,⁸ who was reported to al-Husain b.

(1) Died 290. Account of him in *Tabaqat al-Huffaz*, x. 88.

(2) His name was 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Amr, died 281.

(3) Mentioned by Sam'ani.

(4) An account of him in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 111.

(5) See Guest's *Al-Kindi*.

(6) 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Atiyyah. Account of him in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 112.

(7) Account of him, *ibid.*, p. 118.

(8) His name was Taipur b. 'Isa, died about 264. See *ibid.*, 106-108.

'Isa¹ to have gone so far as to say that he had had an Ascent just as the Prophet had had an Ascent, that they expelled him from Bistam. He remained in Meccah for two years, then returned to Jurjan, where he remained till the death of al-Husain b. 'Isa, when he returned to Bistam. Al-Sulami says: A certain man reported that Sahl b. 'Abdallah al-Tustari² declared that the angels, the Jinn, and the demons visited him and that he discoursed to them. This was disapproved by the populace, who went so far as to attribute evil acts to him, so that he fled to Basrah, where he died. He also states that al-Harith al-Muhasibi talked about some theological matters, including the Attributes, and was shunned by Ahmad b. Hanbal, in consequence of which he went into hiding till he died.

Abu Bakr al-Khallal³ also states in his work *The Sunnah* that Ahmad b. Hanbal bade people beware of al-Harith to the utmost of their ability. Al-Harith, he asserted, is the root of trouble;—with reference to the results of *their learning* the theology of Jahm.⁴ One person and another associated with al-Harith and he perverted them to the opinion of Jahm. He has always been the resort of the metaphysicians. Harith is like a lion on the watch; look out for the day when he will spring on people!

Now the first Sufis used to acknowledge that reliance was to be placed on the Book and the Sunnah, only owing to their ignorance the devil was able to delude them. There is a Tradition going back to Ja'far al-Khuldi⁵ according to which he said: I heard Junaid say that he had heard Abu Sulaiman al-Darani say: Often I am impressed for days by some point that the people (the ascetics) make, only I do not accept it without two trustworthy witnesses, the Book and the Sunnah. There is a Tradition going back to Taifur al-Bistami⁶ according to which he said: I heard Musa b. 'Isa say that his father had told him that Abu Yazid said: If you see a man endowed with such miraculous powers that he can elevate himself into the air, do not be deceived by him, but first see how you find him in the matter of enjoining and forbidding, and observance of

(1) Probably the governor.

(2) Died 283. See *ibid.*, 139.

(3) Died 311 (Brockelmann).

(4) Ibn Safwan, Murjite doctor.

(5) Died 348. Account of him in *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 154.

(6) Evidently the younger ascetic of the name.

the rules. According to another Tradition the father of this Musa said: I heard Abu Yazid al-Bistami say: Whosoever neglects the reading of the Qur'ân, mortification of the flesh, attendance at public worship, attendance at funerals, and visitation of the sick, and professes to be a Sufi is a heretic. A Tradition which goes back to 'Abd al-Hamid al-Hubli (?) records that he said: I heard Sari say: Whosoever professes esoteric knowledge which contradicts a manifest rule commits an error. Junaid is reported to have said: This doctrine of ours is limited by the foundations, the Book and the Sunnah. And again: Our science depends on the Book and the Sunnah. No-one is to be imitated who has not memorized the Qur'ân, written Tradition, and studied Law. And again: We have not taken Sufism from people's talk but from hunger, abandonment of the world, and parting from what is familiar and admired; for Sufism has its name from purity of dealing with God Almighty, and its basis is self-knowledge in this world, as Harithah says: I got to know myself in this world, kept awake at night, and thirsted during the day. There is a Tradition that Abu Bakr al-Shaqqaq¹ said: Whosoever violates the rules of enjoining and forbidding in externals forfeits internal communication of the heart. Al-Husain al-Nuri² said: Have nothing to do with anyone who claims that he has in his dealings with God a state which takes him outside the bounds of knowledge of the Code. Suspect the religion of one whom you see claiming a state for which there is no evidence and which is unattested by any clear text that can be remembered. Al-Jurairi³ is recorded to have said: Our whole system can be comprised in one article, viz., that you should compel your heart to watchfulness, while knowledge governs your external conduct. Abu Ja'far is recorded to have said: Reckon no man in the register of men who does not weigh his words, deeds, and states by the Book and the Sunnah, and is not suspicious of his thoughts.

If these be ascertained sayings of their leading men, then some of them too have committed errors owing to their want of knowledge; if such sayings be genuinely theirs, then the refutation falls on them, since there can be no respect of persons in dealing with the truth; if the sayings are not theirs, then let us be on our guard against similar sayings and similar doctrine from whomsoever it proceeds. As for those who do

(1) A notice of him in Sam'ani, p. 336.

(2) Probably Abu'l-Hasan Ahmad al-Nuri is meant: See *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 130.

(3) Abu Mas'ud Sa'id b. Iyas, died 144.

not belong to these people but only imitate them, their errors are numerous; we will record some of those which have come to our knowledge; God knows that our purpose in exposing such errors is only to keep the Code pure, and anxiety to see that it is not corrupted. We are not concerned with the personality of the speaker; we are only discharging the obligation which knowledge imposes. The learned have always exposed each other's errors, their purpose therein being to bring the truth to light, not to show up the failing of the delinquent. No attention need be paid to the question of some ignorant person: How can such an ascetic who brings luck be refuted?—For obedience is due to the content of the Code, not to individuals. A man may be a saint, deserving Paradise, and yet commit errors; his station does not exclude their exposure.

You should know that one who looks at the honour paid to an individual and does not look at his procedure and what is to be inferred from it is like one who looks at the miracles performed by Christ without studying his person, and so claims divinity for him; had he studied his person, seeing how he was sustained by food, he would not give him what he does not deserve. We have been told by Isma'il b. Ahmad al-Samarqandi with a chain of authorities going back to Yahya b. Sa'id that the latter said: I asked Shu'bah, Sufyan b. 'Uyainah, and Malik b. Anas whether a man who had not memorized the Qur'ân was suspect in Tradition. They all said: His case is clear.¹ The Imam Ahmad b. Hanbal would praise a man excessively and then mention a series of mistakes which he had committed. He would say: An excellent man, were it not that he has a certain failing. Of Sari al-Saqati he said: He is the shaikh who is renowned for his taste in food.—Presently he was told that Sari had said that when God created the letters, the B prostrated itself. He then said: Keep the people away from him!

*Enumeration of the false doctrines which are recorded
of a number of them*

Abu 'Abdallah al-Ramli narrates that Abu Hamzah² discoursed in the mosque of Tarsus and was favourably received. One day when he was discoursing a raven croaked on the roof of the mosque. Abu Hamzah cried out "I obey thee" twice. He was charged with heresy and supposed to be a believer in Immanence.³ His horse was sold at the gate of the mosque by auction, as the heretic's horse. There is a Tradition going

(1) Apparently the meaning is "of course he is suspect."

(2) Al-Bazzaz. See *Kashf al-Mahjub*, p. 154.

(3) i.e., in dwelling of the Deity in individuals.

back to Abu Bakr al-Farghani according to which he said: Abu Hamzah was generally supposed to be a believer in Immanence, because when he heard any sound he used to say I obey thee! Abu 'Ali however stated that Abu Hamzah only supposed the sound to be a summons from God to arouse him to devotion. Abu 'Ali al-Rudhbari¹ said that Abu Hamzah was generally supposed to be a believer in Immanence because when he heard a sound like the whistling of the wind, the rush of water, the singing of birds, he would cry out I obey thee! twice. This was the reason for the charge. Al-Sarraj says: I have been told that Abu Hamzah entered the dwelling of al-Harith al-Muhasibi once when a sheep bleated; Abu Hamzah groaned and said: I obey thee, my Lord!—Al-Harith al-Muhasibi was angry, took up a knife, and said: If you do not repent of your practice, I will cut your throat.—Abu Hamzah replied: If you cannot listen decently to this practice of mine, why do you eat bran mingled with ashes?

Al-Sarraj proceeds: Some men of learning disapproved and attributed to infidelity certain phrases which they found in *The Book of Mystery* composed by Abu Sa'id Ahmad b. 'Isa al-Kharraz,² among them the saying: *A servant obedient in what was permitted to him, for which God should be glorified, and God sanctify his soul.*³ Likewise infidelity and atheism were attributed to Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Ata.⁴ Many a time too Junaid with all his learning was arrested and his infidelity and atheism attested. Al-Sarraj further asserts that it was reported that Abu Bakrah⁵ Muhammad b. Musa al-Farghani al-Wasiti said: Whoso makes mention of *God* fabricates, and whoso endures is audacious: beware lest thou glance at friend or interlocutor or companion when thou canst find a means of glancing at God.—He was asked: May I not then pray for them?—He said: Pray for them without solemnity, and let the prayer have no importance in thy heart.

Al-Sarraj proceeds: I have been told that a number of the believers in Immanence maintain that God Almighty has chosen certain bodies to abide in with the concepts of Lordship, having removed from them the concepts of humanity.⁶

(1) Muhammad b. Ahmad, died 323. Notice of him in Sam'ani.

(2) Died about 277. Notice of him in Sam'ani, p. 191 and *Kashf*, p. 143.

(3) It is not clear where the impropriety lies.

(4) Many references to him in *Kashf*.

(5) In the *Luma'* Abu Bakr.

(6) See the *Luma'*, ed. Nicholson, p. 428. The author's citations are so abridged as to be unintelligible.

Some of them maintain this by looking at the evidences of God's power which win admiration. Some of them say: He abides in those things which win admiration.

He proceeds: I have also been informed that certain Syrians claim vision with the heart in this world similar to vision with the eyes in the next. Further that Ghulam al-Khalil¹ testified that he had heard Abu'l-Husain al-Nuri say: I am enamoured of God and He is enamoured of me—al-Nuri said: I hear God say (v. 59) *He loves them and they love Him*, and "to be enamoured of" is no more than "to love." So, said Abu Ya'la the qadi, God in the opinion of the believers in Immanence can be enamoured.

I would observe that this is a case of ignorance from three aspects. One in regard to the name; for "to be enamoured" according to authorities on the language is only applied to the marriageable. The second is that the attributes of God are known by communication, whence we know that He loves, but we may not say He is enamoured, and He is loved, not enamoured of. Just as it is said that He knows, but not that He cognizes. The third—whence has the man the right to say that God loves him? This is a claim without evidence. The Prophet said: A man who says he is in Paradise is really in Hell.

It is recorded that Abu 'Abd al-Rahman said: It is related that 'Amr al-Makki said: I used to walk with al-Husain b. Mansur in some of the streets of Meccah, while I recited the Qur'ân; hearing my recitation he said: I could myself say the like of that. I left him in consequence.—Muhammad b. Yahya al-Razi is recorded to have said: I heard 'Amr b. 'Uthman cursing al-Hallaj and saying: Were I able, I should kill him with my own hand.—I said: How has he angered the shaikh?—He replied: I recited a text of God's Book and he said I could say or compose and utter the like of this.

There is a Tradition going back to Abu'l-Qasim al-Razi according to which he said: Abu Bakr b. Mimshad related as follows: There was a man present with us in Dinawar with a sack from which he would not part night or day; the sack was examined and there was found therein a letter of al-Hallaj addressed From the Merciful the Clement to So-and-so son of So-and-so. It was sent to Baghdad, and Hallaj was summoned and shown it. He admitted that it was his script and that the letter had been written by him. They said:

(1) Died 275.

(2) Better known as Hallaj.

You used to claim prophethood and now you claim divinity.—He said: I do not claim divinity; only this is the essence of the mystic state according to us.¹ Is the writer any but God, while the hand therein is an instrument?—He was asked whether there were any people with him. He said Yes, Ibn 'Ata', Abu Muhammad al-Juraiiri, and Abu Bakr al-Shibli. The second and the third are in hiding, so if there be anyone, it will be Ibn 'Ata'. Al-Juraiiri was produced and asked; he said: The man who says that is an Unbeliever, and should be put to death. Shibli was asked and said: He who says that should be stopped.—Ibn 'Ata' was asked about al-Hallaj's assertion and adhered to it; this was the cause of his execution.

There is a Tradition going back to Ibn Bakuyah according to which he said: I heard 'Isa b. Bardal narrate: when Abu 'Abdallah bin Khafif² was asked about the sense of the following verses

Praise be to him whose manhood here displays
The secret of His Godhead's piercing rays;
Plainly Himself He manifested then
As one who eats and drinks like other men.
So that His creatures glancing at His sheen
Their dazzled vision with their eyelids screen,

he said, The Curse of God be on their author. 'Isa b. Furak said they were the verses of al-Husain b. Mansur. He added: If this be his belief, then he is an infidel; only the verses may be falsely attributed to him.

There is a Tradition going back to the qadi 'Ali b. al-Muhassin³ after Abu'l-Qasim Isma'il b. Muhammad b. Zanji after his father according to which the daughter of al-Samarri being brought before the vizier Hamid and asked by him about Hallaj said: My father brought me to him, and he said: I marry you to my son Sulaiman, who resides in Nisabur. If any act on his part displeases you, fast for the rest of the day, at the end of it mount the roof, stand on the ashes, and breakfast off them and coarse salt. Then turn your face in my direction, tell me what displeases you, and I will hear and see. One night, she said, I was asleep on the roof and felt him approaching me. I woke up in a fright at his procedure. He said: I have only come to wake you up for prayer.—When we had descended his daughter told me to prostrate myself

(1) For the phrase in the text see Massignon *Lexique Technique*.

(2) Notice of him in *Kashf*, p. 158.

(3) *Eclipse*, 1-78.

before him. I asked her whether prostration should be performed to anyone but God.—He heard what I said and said: Yes, there is a god in heaven and a god on earth.

I observe that the doctors of the time agreed that the life of al-Hallaj was forfeit. The first who gave his opinion to that effect was the qadi Abu 'Umar; the others agreed. Only Abu'l-'Abbas Suraij kept silence on the subject, alleging that he did not know what al-Hallaj said. Consensus is an infallible guide. There is a Tradition traced to Abu Hurairah according to which he said: The Prophet said: God guarantees you against general agreement in error. There is also one going back to Abu'l-Qasim Yusuf b. Ya'qub al-Nu'mani according to which he said: I heard my father say that he had heard the jurist of Ispahan Abu Bakr Muhammad b. Dawud say: If what God revealed to His Prophet be true, then what al-Hallaj says is false. He was vehemently opposed to him.

A number of the Sufis take the part of al-Hallaj out of ignorance and carelessness about the consensus of the jurists. There is a Tradition traced to Muhammad b. al-Husain al-Nisaburi according to which he said: I heard Ibrahim b. Muhammad al-Nasrabadi¹ say: If there was ever a monotheist after the prophets and the saints, it was al-Hallaj. The same view, I may say, is taken by most of the story-tellers and Sufis of our time, being due in all cases to ignorance of the Code, and unacquaintance with Tradition. I have myself composed a work on the life of al-Hallaj in which I have set forth his tricks and deceptions with what has been said about him by the learned. God aid us in suppressing the ignorant!

There is a Tradition going back to the Hafiz Abu Nu'aim according to which he said: I heard 'Umar al-Banna al-Baghdadi in Meccah narrating how, when there was the trouble of Ghulam al-Khalil² and the ascription of atheism to the Sufis, the Caliph ordered their arrest. Al-Nuri was taken with a number of others, they were brought before the Caliph and he ordered them to be decapitated. Al-Nuri pressed forward to the executioner for decapitation. Why this haste? asked the executioner. He said: I prefer that my comrades should live for this short space rather than I.—The matter was brought before the Caliph, who referred it to the qadi of qadis Isma'il b. Ishaq who ordered their release. There is

(1) Died 367. Account of him in Sam'ani, p. 561.

(2) Abu 'Abdallah Ahmad b. Muhammad, died 275.

further a Tradition going back to Abu'l-'Abbas Ahmad b. 'Ata' according to which he said: Ghulam al-Khalil used to bring charges against the Sufis in Baghdad to the Caliph, saying There are atheists here. There were arrested Abu'l-Husain al-Nuri, Abu Hamzah the Sufi, Abu Bakr al-Daqqaq, and a number of their companions. Al-Junaid b. Muhammad alleged in his defence that he followed the juridical system of Abu Thaur. The others were brought before the Caliph who ordered their decapitation. Abu'l-Husain al-Nuri hastened to be first. The executioner asked why he hurried in front of his fellows and felt no fear. He said: I prefer that my comrades should live for this short period. The Caliph referred their case to the qadi and they were released.

One of the causes which led to this affair was al-Nuri's saying: I am enamoured of God and He is enamoured of me. This was testified against him. Then al-Nuri pressed forward to the executioner to be killed, assisting in his own death—which also is an error.

There is a Tradition going back to Ibn Bakuyah according to which he said: I heard Abu 'Amr, disciple of al-Raqqi,* say: I heard al-Raqqi say: We had a guest-house; there came to us a poor man clad in a couple of rags, whose patronymic was Abu Sulaiman. He requested entertainment, and I bade my son take him to the house. He stayed with us nine days, eating once in three days. I asked him to stay one more, but he said "entertainment is for three days." So I asked him not to withhold news about himself. He was away for twelve years and then returned. I asked him whence he came, and he said: I saw a shaikh called Abu Shu'aib al-Muqaffa who was afflicted; so I stayed with him for a year to minister to him, when it occurred to me to ask him what had been the cause of his affliction. When I approached him, before I had asked he anticipated me, saying; Why ask about what is no concern of yours? So I restrained myself till three years were completed; when the fourth had begun he said I suppose you must.—I said, If you please.—Then he said: while I was praying one night there appeared a light from the niche; I said; Avaunt, accursed one! My Almighty Lord has no need to appear to His creatures. Three times I said this; then I heard a voice from the niche: Abu Shu'aib!—I said I obey. It said: Wouldst thou that I take thee now that we should reward thee for what has passed, or try thee with affliction whereby we shall raise thee *in excelsis*?—I chose the trial,

* Ibrahim b. al-Muwallad, died 342.

and my eyes, feet, and hands fell away.—So (said the narrator) I stayed and ministered to him for full twelve years. One day he bade me approach him, which I did. I heard his members say to each other Come out, and they did all come out in front of him, while he gave praise and glory, after which he died.

I would observe that this narrative suggests that the man saw God Almighty, and was punished because he refused to believe it. We have already mentioned that some say that God is seen in this world. Abu'l-Qasim 'Abdallah b. Ahmad al-Balkhi in his book *Discourses* states that certain anthropomorphists record that they allow that God may be seen with the eyes in this world, and do not reject the idea that He may be **someone** who meets them in the street. Further that some besides allow that He may be embraced, touched, and held in contact. They profess to visit Him and receive His visits, and are called in Iraq Esoterists, or followers of hallucinations or fancies.

This I may observe, is more than atrocious. We implore God's protection from abandonment by Him.

D. S. MARGOLIOUTH.

(*To be continued*)

ANŞÂRÎ'S PRAYERS AND COUNSELS

Translated from the Original Persian

PREFACE

Abû Ismâ'îl 'Abdullâh ibn Muḥammad al-Anşârî, one of the most celebrated mystical theologians of Islam, was born at Quhandiz in the Persian Province of Herat in the year 396 A.H. (1006 A.D.). He was born in the spring-time, as he himself is related to have said: "I am a springster. I was born in the spring-time, and I dearly love the spring." He traced his descent from Zeyd, called Abû Ayyûb, one of the Anşâr or "Helpers" of the Prophet Muḥammad, from whom he derived his title Anşârî.

He learnt to write at the age of 9, and at 14 began to study literature and other school-subjects. While still at school he gave promise of being exceptionally talented, and would compose verses on any given theme for the amusement of his school-fellows. To his own prodigious memory in afterlife he bore witness, when he said: "Once I computed how many verses of poetry I could remember, and I counted 70,000." He also stated that he had by heart 300,000 Traditions of the Prophet. Even allowing for some degree of pardonable exaggeration, it must nevertheless be conceded that his gifts were remarkable. He studied theology under the best Professors of his time, and, had he chosen, might have become as famous a theologian as he proved to be a mystic. But he abandoned these studies, and gave himself up to the devout life, in the same way as Ghazâlî was later to do. He became a follower of the well-known Sûfî Abû'l-Hasan Kharraqânî, whose influence is evident, especially in his Persian writings: for to Kharraqânî are ascribed such prayers as form the contents of this book.

Anşârî's great attainments brought upon him the jealousy of his contemporaries, and twice he suffered exile from his native town, to be finally recalled with honour by the famous governor, Nizâmu'l-Mulk, in 480/1088. He was not to enjoy this triumph long, however: in the following year he died, and was buried in Herat, where his grave may still be seen.

Materials for his biography, so far as hitherto published, are not very rich: the longest account is that given by the Persian poet Jâmi in his Nafahātu'l-uns (pp. 376-380), a work which is founded on one of Anşârî's most celebrated compositions, his translation and amplification of Sulamî's Tabaqât al-şûfiyyan. Richer material is, however, contained in an anonymous biography preserved in the India Office

(Delhi Persian) MS. 1182 (foll. 194-217), a biography which should certainly be published. Other biographical materials are enumerated in: Bankipore Catalogue XIII, p. 15-16; E. Berthels in *Islamica* 1927 p. 9; H. Ritter in *Der Islam* 1934, pp. 89-100.

A full list of the works, genuine or otherwise, attributed to Anṣārī is contained in the article by H. Ritter just quoted. His most famous book, on which his fame chiefly rests, is the *Manâzilu-sâ'irîn*, or "Stations of Travellers." This is a manual, in Arabic, of the devout life: the mystical "path" is divided into 100 "stations," and through these the mystic must pass on his way to God. Many scholars wrote commentaries on this work, which, Berthels writes, "has influenced Sûfî literature for centuries."

Hâjî Khalîfah mentions, in his bibliographical dictionary, a *Musajja'ât* of Anṣārī. This is a generic term, signifying passages written in that peculiar form of "rhymed prose" of which the *Qur'ân* is the earliest and most famous example. *Saj'* is, of course, a very familiar feature of Persian style in its classical period: but it is perhaps at first sight surprising that an author so early as Anṣārī should have been an exponent of it. Already for some time, however, it had been a regular feature of Arabic prose, and had been used with special effect in the apothegms of "philosophers" and mystics: it is therefore unnecessary to reject as completely out of court the suggestion that in the 5/11th century rhymed prose was being composed in Persian.

V. Zhukovsky proposed to identify these *Musajja'ât* with the *Kanzu's-sâlikîn* (or *Zâd al-'ârifîn*), a mystical miscellany in Persian which he styled pseudo-*Manâzil*. This identification is not rejected by Berthels, who gives a detailed analysis of the work. It seems far more likely, however, that this term refers to the *Munâjât* or *Ilâhî-nâmah*, of which the present book is a translation.

Anṣārī's *Munâjât* is one of the most famous and popular works in Persian mystical literature, and it is therefore not a little surprising that hitherto no translation of it has appeared in any language. It has been lithographed and printed several times, singly or in collections, most recently at Berlin in 1924. Manuscripts abound, though none seemingly of any great antiquity. The most arresting feature of the work, however, is the extraordinary diversity of readings exhibited by the various copies of it. This translation attempts to extract, from among several copies and editions, a common core which may well be not far removed from the original genuine collection. The Berlin edition is particularly badly inflated, but not to nearly the same extent as a 19th century copy which is in my possession. The book by its very nature lends itself to inflation, a feature which has been recognised in other works attributed to our author.

The *Munâjât*, as here presented, is divided into two parts. The first contains the "prayers" from which the book takes its title: the second consists of *Naṣâ'ih*, or "pious counsels," of which the greater part is written in rhyming prose. There is, however, a short section of proverbs not so written. Interspersed with the prose are verse-extracts, sometimes in ode, sometimes in quatrain form: this feature is also present in other prose-works assigned to Anṣārī, and a selection of such poems was edited by Zhukovsky in 1895.

It is important to note here, however, that the only prose-work which can certainly be identified as having been written by our author, the translation of the Ṭabaqâtu's-sûfiyyan, is written, as W. Ivanow has pointed out, in a dialect form of Persian very different from the classical language. No trace of such dialect is to be found in the text of the Munâjât, as it has come down to us. This does not, however, constitute evidence fatal to the genuineness of the work: in the course of centuries a book so popular may well have been shorn of its rusticisms by generations of admiring but indiscriminating copyists: or Anşârî may have deliberately used his dialect in the one work, and the classical language in this.

However the case may be, this little work is a veritable treasure-house of wisdom and true piety: and it is hoped that this translation, which has aimed at being faithful to both sense and spirit of the original, will give it a wider public than its preservation in the Persian hitherto has made possible.

IN THE NAME OF GOD, THE MERCIFUL, THE COMPASSIONATE

THOU, Whose breath is sweetest perfume to the spent and
anguished heart,
 Thy remembrance to Thy lovers bringeth ease for every smart.
 Multitudes like Moses, reeling, cry to earth's remotest place:
*Give me sight, O Lord!*¹ they clamour, seeking to behold
Thy face.
 Multitudes no man has numbered, lovers, and afflicted all,
 Stumbling on the way of anguish, "Allah, Allah!" loudly call.
 And the fire of separation sears the heart and burns the breast,
 And their eyes are wet with weeping for a love that gives not
rest.
 "Poverty's my pride!"² Thy lovers raise to heav'n their
battle-cry,
 Gladly meeting men's derision, letting all the world go by.
 Such a fire of passion's potion *Pîr-i-Anşâr*³ quaffing feels
 That distraught, like Leylah's lover,⁴ through a ruined
world he reels.

(1) These words are a quotation from the *Qur'ân*, S. vii 139. The story is, that during the sojourn of the Children of Israel in the wilderness, after their flight from Egypt, Moses on one occasion said to God, "O Lord, show Thyself to me, that I may look upon Thee." God replied, "Thou shalt not see Me; but look towards the mountain, and if it abide firm in its place, then shalt thou see Me." Moses looked, and the mountain crumbled into dust; and Moses fell swooning. The story is frequently on the lips of the Muslim mystics as an example of the spiritual vision of God.

(2) A well-known saying, which in the Arabic takes point from the play on words between *fakhr* (pride) and *faqr* (poverty).

(3) This is the *takhallus* or poetical *nom-de-plume* adopted by Anşârî, after the fashion of all the Persian poets. *Pîr* (literally "old man") is the usual designation of the "holy man" in Persian mystical literature, and is thus an exact rendering of its Arabic counterpart "*sheykh*."

(4) Leylah's lover, Manjñûn or "madman," was a poet of the tribe of 'Âmir, by name Qeys. His sin was, that he celebrated the beauty of Leylah, and his love for her, so bringing shame upon her according to the strict desert rule of his day. Leylah's subsequent refusal to marry him, and the stroy of his distracted wandering, and of the tragic death of both Leylah and Qeys, are celebrated in Islamic literature and art.

O Generous, Who bounty givest !
O wise, Who sins forgivest !
O Eternal, Who to our senses comest not near !
O One, Who art in essence and qualities without peer !
O Powerful, Who of Godhead worthy art !
O Creator, Who showest the way to every erring heart !
To my soul give Thou of Thy own spotlessness,
and to my eyes of Thy own luminousness :
and unto us, of Thy bounty and goodness, whatever may be
best,
make Thou that Thy bequest.

O Lord, in mercy grant my soul to live,
And patience grant, that hurt I may not grieve :
How shall I know what thing is best to seek ?
Thou only knowest : what Thou knowest, give.

O God, accept my plea,
and to my faults indulgent be.

O God, all my days I have spent in vanity,
and against my own body have I wrought iniquity.

O God, before lies danger, and behind path have I none
to go :
take Thou my hand, for beside Thy bounty refuge none I
know.

O God, I tremble for mine iniquity :
for Thine own Self's sake do Thou pardon me.

O God, bring not to the dust our faith's firm foundations,
and turn not to a wilderness the garden of our aspirations.

O God, before Thy love both worlds hold we in disdain,
and about our bodies we have wrapped the robe of pain,
and the veil of pardon we have rent in twain.

O God, upon whomsoever Thou hast set the seal of Thy
affection,
the barn of his existence Thou hast swept clean on the wind of
utter destruction.

O God, without Thee no hope is there of felicity,
and apart from Thee no means is there of liberty.

O God, if any man Thee would know,
all other things but Thee away he must throw.

What recks he for his life, who Thee hath known?

What cares he for his wife, his child, his own?

Thou firest him, and giv'st him all that is:

What boots him all, who craves for Thee alone?

O God, give us a heart, that in Thy service our lives we
may stake;
and give us a soul, that whatever thing we do, we may do it
for Heaven's sake.

O God, give us to taste of affliction, lest in ease our watch-
fulness depart;
and give us contentment, lest cupidity possess our heart.

O God, support Thou me, for in myself I have no security;
and accept my plea, for I have no means to flee.

O God, say not, "What hast thou brought,"
lest I hide my face;
and ask not of me, "What hast thou wrought?"
lest it turn to my disgrace.

O God, give us Thy evidence,
that we may leave this world without complaint;
and guard us in Thy providence,
that in the world to come we may not faint.

O God, watch over us, lest confusion break us;
and lead us on our way, lest bewilderment overtake us.

O God, do Thou bless,
for this is not given to any man;
and do Thou caress,
for this no other can.

O God, give us a heart, that it may in Thy obedience
increase;
and help us to obey, that we may come to Paradise and peace.

O God, give us a knowledge that hath in it no fire of
cupidity;
and give us a practice that hath in it no water of hypocrisy.

O God, give us an eye that knows
but masterhood in Thee;
and give us a heart that owes
but servanthood to Thee.

O God, give me a spirit to carry in my ear the ring
of Thy mastery;
and give me a soul to turn to honey the sting
of Thy afflicting me.

O God, to find Thee we desire:
to understand Thee, to this we have not strength to aspire.

O God, whomsoever Thou slayest, him do Thou heal;
and whomsoever 'Abdullah slays, that do Thou conceal.¹

O God, whom Thou hast slain, he is content;
and whomso Thou hast burnt, he maketh merriment.

O God, when we are disobedient, Thy friend Muḥammad
is sorrowful thereat, and Thy enemy Iblîs is glad;
and at the Resurrection, if Thou dost punish, Thy friend will
be sore troubled thereat, and Thy enemy glad.

O God, give not two joys to Thy enemy, and give not two
sorrows to the heart of Thy friend.

O God, if once Thou sayest to me, "My servant,"
thereafter
beyond the empyrean will ascend my laughter.

O God, though succory is bitter, yet in the garden with the
rose it blends;
and though 'Abdullah be a sinner, yet is he among Thy
friends.

My heart might never beat, save pleasing Thee,
And for Thy sake my spirit lives in me:
When on my mounded grave the grass grows high,
Each scented blade shall breath fidelity.

O God, Thou saidst, "Do this," and didst not let me;
Thou badest, "Do this not," and didst permit me.²

O God, do not depose the sign which Thou dost raise:
and since Thou wilt at last grant pardon, do not Thou at first
abase.

(1) God's "slaying" is, of course, the affliction which He causes the mystic to experience; and 'Abdullah's (that is, the author's) "slaying" refers in a general sense to all his sins.

(2) The author here proposes the paradox of man's free-will. God gave men liberty to determine their own conduct, and also commanded them to obey Him. This very gift of free-will, however, must inevitably lead to their damnation.

O God, of what avail is it the obedient to forgive,
or what worth is there in bounty which all do not receive?

O Lord, I sin: where is Thy loving glance?
My heart is black: where is Thy radiance?
If Paradise is by obedience bought,
Where lies Thy bounty, Thy munificence?

O God, whatever man Thou wouldst overcast,
among the dervishes him do Thou cast.¹

O God, though Paradise is all light and gladness,
to those who see Thee not it is all sorrow and sadness.

O God, Thy beauty only lives: the rest is ugliness;
the pious are the hirelings of eternal bliss.²

O God, would that 'Abdullah but dust had been,
that of his name the register of life might be wiped clean.

Small profit was my coming yesterday:
Today life's market's not more thronged or gay.
Tomorrow I shall go unknowing hence;
Far better were it to have stayed away.

O God, Abû Jahl³ from the Ka'bah comes, Abraham from
the idol-shrine: Thy providence
doth order all things; what remains is but a vain pretence.

(1) "Overcast" is here used in the familiar mystical sense of "abasement." The dervishes (Persian equivalent of the Arabic *faqîr* or *fakîr*) are the afflicted of God, and outcast by men.

(2) Pious men obey God only in the hope of winning a place in Paradise: therefore they may be said to "hire" their good deeds to Paradise. True service is service for God's sake only, without thought of reward. So Râbi'ah, the famous woman-mystic, is reported to have prayed: "O God! if I worship Thee in fear of Hell, burn me in Hell; and if I worship Thee in hope of Paradise, exclude me from Paradise; but if I worship Thee for Thine own sake, withhold not Thine everlasting beauty!" (Nicholson, *The Mystics of Islâm*, p. 115).

(3) Abû Jahl was one of Muḥammad's most implacable enemies: the Commentators on the Qur'ân aver that it is to him that Sûrah xcvi refers in the words "What thinkest thou of him that holdeth back a servant (of God) when he prayeth?" In Muslim religious literature he is chosen as the prototype of wilful disbelief, a distinction which his nickname, "father of ignorance," eloquently illustrates. Abraham is held by Muslims to have been the builder of the Ka'bah at Mecca, the sacred shrine in which the famous "Black Stone" is preserved. Our author in this sentence implies that with God all things are possible, and that on His grace alone depends man's salvation. The quatrain which follows illustrates the same point.

O God, there is indeed light in obedience,
but the ruling of affairs is in Thy providence.

When rules God's providence, iniquity
At last is proven purest piety,
Oppression marks the ruler's proper awe,
And church and mosque both house Divinity.

O God, in gold and silver the rich take pride:
the poor resign themselves to *We do decide**

O God, all other men are drunk with wine: the wine-
bearer is my fever.
Their drunkenness lasts but a night: mine abides for ever.

Thou art my wine: I ask no greater bliss.
Thou art my captor: other cage none is.
In idol-shrine and Ka'bah Thee I seek,
Else am I free of that abode and this.

O God, my weakness I confess,
and I myself am a witness to my helplessness.

O God, Thine only is the Will:
what then shall I will?

O God, since Thou hast kindled the fire of separation,
what need hadst Thou to light the furnace of damnation?

O God, extinguish not this lamp by Thee made bright,
and consume not this heart by Thee set alight:
rend not this veil by Thy hand sewn,
and banish not this slave who hath learnt all from Thee alone.

O God, every foot of scorn Thou settest on 'Abdullah's
face,
and every heart by anguish worn Thou raisest to 'Abdullah's
place.

O God, when I could accomplish so,
I did not know:
and when I knew,
then I could not do.

O God, by the sanctity of the Name that is Thine,
and by the sanctity of Thy qualities divine!
As Thou art able, do Thou shelter me.

* This is a quotation from Qur'ân, xliii, 31.

O God, make Thou complete the foretaste which Thou
hast given,
 and make perpetual this lightning-flash whereby my soul
Thou hast riven.

More than a thousand monarchs dare aspire
 To dream, my hope, a beggar's Lord, mounts higher.
 Let other men their fond ambitions tell:
 Lo, I have come from Thee, and Thee desire!

O my friend, know that this world is a place where life is
but a little measure,
 a city given up to pleasure.

Its sting inflicts a wound beyond medicament's resource,
 and from it Ibrâhîm the son of Adham sought divorce.¹

It is a house of lawlessness and little peace,
 and from it Junayd Baghdâdî² sought release.

It is a potion that consumes the soul, so bitter is its flavour:
 Shaqîq of Balkh³ turned from it in disfavour.

Its sum is loss and evil reputation:
 Bâ Yazîd Bisâmî fled from it with execration.⁴

It is a cloister for self-worshippers, who for God have no care:
 It was rejected by Abû Sa'îd the son of Abû'l-Kheyr.⁵

Pious men decline it:
 sinners to the highest place assign it.

(1) Ibrâhîm b. Adham was a prince of Balkh living in the latter half of the 8th century A.D. The story of his conversion while hunting is well known (see Nicholson, *Literary History of the Arabs*, p. 232).

(2) Juneyd of Baghdad, who died in 909, and styled by the Arabs the "Sheikh of Sheykh," is the most celebrated exponent of the "sober" type of mysticism. His *Rasâ'il*, consisting of letters to his contemporaries, together with short tracts on various mystical subjects, have fortunately survived. A specimen of his letters is given in JRAS 1935, pp. 499-507.

(3) Shaqîq of Balkh was a well-known mystic of the period following Ibrâhîm b. Adham. He is reported to have been particularly concerned to stress the virtue of *tawakkul* (absolute trust in God).

(4) Bâ Yazîd, or Abû Yazîd, of Bisâm, was a contemporary and teacher of Juneyd (he died in 874). He is the greatest exponent of "intoxicated" mysticism, and some of his ecstatic sayings, such as *Subhânî* ("Glory be to me!"), were quoted by the opponents of Sûfism as patent examples of atheism, but by the Sûfis themselves as illustrating the state of *fanâ* or complete passing away from self into God.

(5) Abû Sa'îd (d. 1049) was a distinguished poet as well as being a noted mystic. His biography, by Muḥammad b. Al-Munawwar, has been published. For examples of his quatrains, see Browne, *Literary History of Persia*, II, pp. 264-7.

He is abased who seeketh it,
and his tongue to find excuse hath little wit.
These words bear warning to such as will give ear:
*Say, the goods of this world are but little cheer.**

O my friend, behold yon cemetery, and see
how many tombs and graves there be;
how many hundred thousand delicate ones there sleep
in slumber deep.
Much toiled they every one and strove,
and feverishly burned with barren hope and selfish love,
and shining garments jewel-sprinkled wove.
Jars of gold and silver fashioned they,
and from the people profit bore away,
much trickery revealing,
and great moneys stealing;
but, at the end, with a full regretful sigh,
they lay them down to die.
Their treasures they filled,
and in their hearts well-tilled
planted the seed
of lustful greed:
but, at the last,
from all these things they passed.
So burdened, suddenly,
at the door of death they sank,
and there the cup of destiny
they drank.

O my friend, ponder well thy dissolution,
and get thee betimes thine absolution;
or, know it full well,
thou shalt in torment dwell.

Know that thy friends in earth to implore thee are seeking;
the wretched state in which they are for them is speaking:

“O young men indolent!

O old men impotent!

“Haply ye are mad, that ye have not seen how that we in
earth and blood are sleeping,
our faces in the death-shroud obscurely keeping:
so at our fated time we die,
and in a week forgotten lie.

* A quotation from Qur'ân, iv. 79.

" We, too, before you came knew happiness,
and clutched the evanescent world with joy and eagerness :
we drank the milk of earthly pleasure,
but at the last knew death's appointed measure.

" We saw no security in living :
after so vain striving
we saw ourselves on the wind of annihilation scattered,
and to the earth in dire affliction battered.

" Our friends and families showed us no compassion,
our wealth and winnings profited us not in any fashion.

" But we were satisfied with this regret,
did not await us resurrection yet.

" Now have we neither pillow nor pallet,
neither garment nor wallet :

no strength have we to cry out,
no power left to speak or shout,
helpless, cast out.

" Our portion of this world is banishment :
our flesh, our skin for worms is nourishment.

" Time was, when we had power, when our treasury was not
yet spent, we

gave but little heed,
and of wisdom found no need :

but presently our souls were rent with strife,
and so we yielded up our life.

" Now, if ye be not quite delirious,
look once more on us.

" Now mourn we all
and we let fall
the tear of vain regret, and for ourselves make funeral.

" Our present state is unutterable,
and for our past misdeeds we are sorrowful.

" Friends, turn your gaze on us,
and mark our state calamitous.

" Forgotten are our names,
vanished our fleshly frames ;

Put to flight corruption's shadow
With penitence,
And thy soul shall spread tomorrow
New radiance.

Pîr-i-Anşâr, sin hath broken
This bleeding heart :
Haply God's eternal bounty
Will ease thy smart.

O men of might !

In the market-place ye are a delight,
but in the mosque ye are far from sight :
in sin ye dwell both day and night ;
your worldly state is prosperous, but your spiritual state is
ruined quite.

In youth ye have no shame,
and in old age feel no blame.

Your life is wasted in misuse,
yet seek ye not to find excuse.

Death privily awaits you, and a dwelling beneath the sod :
then shall ye return to God.

For earthly sorrows your hearts do bleed :
the wrath to come ye do not heed.

Beware, my spirit, thy Creator's wrath :
Perils beset thy path.

Break through the sleep of heedlessness, and hear
My counsel wise and clear.

Mark yonder place, where men at last abide
Like offal, cast aside :
Behold how sped annihilation's dart
And pierced each bucklered heart.

Full many a king, whose monuments adorn
The world, here lies in scorn ;
Full many a sweet delight held heart in thrall,
But proved to spirit gall.

This fleeting world is but a ferry-way :
The wise man will not stay.
Since death, O Pîr-i-Anşâr, lies ahead,
Stride on with quickened tread.

Know that this world is but a hostelry, to stay, and then pass
by;
and know that man is born to die.

The well is lost today,
and narrow is the way;

and woe to him who putteth out faith's flame,
and binds upon himself the load of sin and shame.

Drive not the poor man from thy door at night:
His loud complaint will mount to heaven's height.
Fearest thou not the full repentant sigh
Which from his seared heart arrow-like doth fly?
Beware the magic of that dart, whose pace
Hath power to pierce the mountain's rocky face!
If in the midnight God's name he implores,
A thousand others drive him from their doors.
A thousand daggers poison-tipped flash out
To fight his cause who unto God doth shout:
Behold, the poor man's burning sighs prevail
To melt like wax a thousand coats-of-mail.
Think not to wanton with impunity:
As thou hast dealt, so time shall deal with thee.
Strike not anew the lacerated soul;
The day of reckoning will take full toll:
Though the wronged suppliant murmurs not, know well
He Who marks all will cast thee into Hell.
Weep not, 'Abdullah, for the harsh man's sin:
Though all reject thee, God will take thee in.

O my friend, bestir thyself, and be a man:
get thee experience, and suffer whilst thou can;
that through the benedictions of the poor, and the blessings
of their visitations, thy face may be made bright,
and the goods of this world become mean in thy sight.

Wouldst thou attain the fullness of thy span?
Wouldst thou endure all that the spirit can?
Then day and night get thee about with men:
Being with men, thou wilt become a man.*

Know that God Most High has built an outward Ka'bah out
of mud and stone,
and fashioned an inward Ka'bah of heart and soul alone.

* A man, that is, of God.

The outward Ka'bah Abraham did build,
the inward Ka'bah was as the Lord Almighty willed.

The outward Ka'bah is for faithful eyes a spectacle,
the inward Ka'bah is seen by God the Merciful.

Two Ka'bahs are there on the heavenly road :
One outward is, and one the heart's abode.

So, if thou canst, to hearts make pilgrimage :
One heart is worth a thousand shrines of God.¹

O my friend, this world is an abode for resting,
nay rather, it is a place of testing.

One man's desire thereof is Paradise, another's is the Friend :
let me be his ransom, who makes God his end !

Who seeks this world, suffers grief ;
who seeks the world to come, holds it in fief ;²
who seeks his Master, his is joy beyond belief.

Know, that when thou hast broken selfhood's chain,
then thou wilt the Friend attain.

No signpost marks this way :
the manner of this mystery no tongue can say.

Intoxicated be, but do not shout ;
broken, and not cry out :
the whole pitcher goes in hand, the broken pitcher is on
shoulder borne about.

If thou hast, celebrate :
if thou hast not, supplicate.

Be a rose, and not a thorn :
be a friend, and not an alien born.

To approve thy host is faithfulness :
to make false boast is unbelief, no less.

Neighbour right,
labour light.

Though I must lie in Hell a century,
Yet would that burning blaze not trouble me.
But give me not a traitor for a friend :
Far worse than death is evil company.

(1) The Tradition runs, "Whoso knows himself, has known his Lord," and self-examination is the foundation of all mysticism.

(2) For he is a "hireling" of Heaven ; see p. 376, n. 2.

If on this path the gnostic¹ seeks but Paradise and its seductive joys,²

the purity of his gnosis that quest destroys;

and if the dervish seeks not God seeking of God,
never will God grant him His assenting nod.

If thou wilt listen to thy inward heart,

Full many a mystery it doth impart:

If self denying thou art dead to self,

Hear now the wondrous tidings, "God thou art!"³

O dervish, Paradise is but a plea:
thy proper quest the Master of the house must be.

True service is not fasting and supplication:

true service is a contrite heart and resignation.

In God's service eagerness of heart reveal,

and all thy faults conceal

of thy own shortcomings be aware,

the faults of others spare.

Whoever takes ten qualities to be his text⁴

acquires advantage in this world and the next:

towards God, truthfulness; towards men, justice; towards self,

harshness; towards his betters, civility; towards children,

gentleness; towards the poor, generosity; towards friends,

giving good counsel; towards enemies, clemency; towards

fools, silence; towards the wise, humility.

The Lord of the World⁵ was asked: "What sayest thou concerning this present world?" He replied: "What shall I

say of a thing which

men with labour get

retain with sweat,

and leave with regret?"

O my friend, count this life a capital to gain,

and seek from self in service refuge to obtain

death is the universal bane.

Give not thy soul its lust,

and in an ignorant man put not thy trust.

(1) The gnostic is, in Sûfi language, the man who possesses *ma'rifah* or gnosis, the spiritual knowledge of God.

(2) Literally, "houris," the "dark-eyed maidens" of Paradise.

(3) Through *fanâ* (see p. 378, n. 4) the mystic passes away from his own selfhood, and becomes absorbed in the all-pervading Selfhood of God.

(4) Literally, "watchword."

(5) Sc. the Prophet,

Seek help of God in every affair
of friend and enemy alike beware.

Not having seen or heard, speak not thy mind :
be conscious of thy faults, to other men's be blind.

On God's path seek not liberty to win,
And look not harshly on another's sin.
God knows the secret of each human heart
Think not to make thyself His peer therein.

Twist not the truth ; answer not in haste ; until men ask thee,
do not speak,

and go not forth, unless they seek.

Sell not what men will not buy.

Take not up again what thou hast once set down.

Reckon not as done what is not done.

Make not thy soul a plaything of the devil.

In secret be a better man than publicly.

Eat no man's bread, but grudge not thine to any man.

Of thy soul's commands beware.

Though thy enemy be weak, do not despise him.

Make not a journey with a fool.

Reckon thy little better than other men's much.

Grieve not to no purpose : know that God's friendship rests in
making little trouble.

Know that happiness in this world and the next is won by the
companionship of those who know.

Associate not with men who do not know.

Make generosity thy habit, and take pride in poverty.

Acquiesce in God's decree : be of good manners, and make
little trouble.

Do not unto others what thou wouldst not do unto thyself.

If thou desirest happiness, endure pain.

If thou wouldst attain joy, be patient, and make humility
thy habit and boast not of thyself.

It is a sin, to hold oneself too high,
To please oneself, and others to deny.

My life, alas, is spent in worthless ways;
 Vain penitence my streaming cheek displays.
 Drunken by day, and drowned in sleep at night,
 Remorse at dawn—so pass the precious days.

In childhood thou art powerless;
 thy youth is spent in drunkenness;
 in age thou all too languid art:
 when wilt thou take God's service to thy heart?

Thy faith is but a word, a barren token:
 A hundred idols stand, not one is broken.
 Tonight brings revelry, remorse tomorrow:
 Faith is not proved, when "God is Great" is spoken.*

A fine place is this world, I trow!
 Wherever thou dost go, men ask thee, "Who art thou?"
 If thou comest, open stands the gate:
 and if thou comest not, no man is disconsolate.
 If this world thou lovest, give it not away, that it may stay
with thee;
 but if thou hatest it, devour it, that it may vanish utterly.
 Yesterday is gone, and will not come again:
 Tomorrow may not come, to trust in it is vain.
 Count today for a gain:
 it will not long remain.

O my friend, be a man, if thou wouldst go upon this way:
 let anguish ever in thy spirit stay.
 Do naught indiscreet,
 and stand not in vile passion's street.

If thou wouldst leave thy empty lusts, and know
 What will release thee from this earthly woe,
 Consider who thou art, whence thou hast come,
 What here thou dost, and whither thou must go.

Give not thy heart to men, or thou wilt have but little peace:
 yield thy heart to God, and thou shalt find release.
 All things that fill this world for man's delight were made,
 but all his happiness is on God's service stayed.

* To say "*Allah Akbar*" ("God is Greater"), the Islamic formula of faith, is not enough to prove true belief. If the hundred "idols" (of personal desire and sinfulness) are still not overthrown, then the worshipper still has the greater part of the journey to make.

Every man, be he a door-keeper or a king,
must unto God Almighty service bring.

In God's sight he must make his soul's ablution,
if he would taste the water of absolution.

God said: "I made creation, that men might call Me
Artisan:
then I destroyed it, that they might know I have not need of
any man.

To whomsoever I gave leave to be,
I gave him life that he might worship Me."

O dervish, worship God with patience, till thy earthly
labour endeth,
and God's providence descendeth;
till God's Throne shineth clear,
and the dawn of Union draweth near:
then cometh thy supreme felicity,
then God's eternal beauty thou shalt see.

ARTHUR JOHN ARBERRY.

CALIPHATE AND KINGSHIP IN MEDIÆVAL PERSIA

CALIPHATE AND SULTANATE

AT the time of the appearance of the Saljûqs¹ as a political force in Persia, the temporal power of the Caliphate had been reduced to its lowest ebb both in Baghdâd and the neighbouring provinces by the Buwayhids, and in Persia by the Ghaznevîds. It is true that, with the decline of the Buwayhids' power at Baghdâd, the Caliphs were making some tentative efforts to assert their importance either by figuring as champions of good government against the misrule of the later Buwayhids, or by interposing themselves as arbitrators between the Sunnîs and Shî'as in their religious quarrels.² But, in fact, during the later period of the Buwayhids neither the Caliphs nor the Amirs were in a position to assert their authority against the turbulent Turks who always needed a strong hand to control them. The Turks themselves were neither able to produce any capable leader to manage the affairs of the State, nor would they allow any capable Buwayhid Amîr to control the machinery of the Government. In 418/1027 they approached the Caliph to appoint some

(1) See article on Saljûqs in *Encyclopaedia of Islam*.

(2) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 235-236. The religious innovations introduced by the Buwayhids at Baghdâd resulted in a series of bitter quarrels between the Sunnîs and Shî'as, and offered an opportunity to the Caliph to assert his authority. In 415/1024 in a quarrel between the 'Abbâsîds and the 'Alîds at Kûfa, the former lodged a complaint with the Caliph who compromised the matter temporarily. The 'Abbâsîds, being dissatisfied, came to Baghdâd, did not allow the khutbah to be read on Friday, and insisted on the removal of the prefect at Kûfa; and appointed the one whom they wanted. When the Caliph complied with their request, the wazîr Abû'l-Qâsim, owing to his relationship with the deposed prefect, began to take hostile action against the Caliph. Thereupon the latter issued an order for the expulsion of the wazîr from Samarrâ, which was duly carried out.

commander over them to take charge of 'affairs; but when Jalâl al-Daulah was called by the Caliph they several times revolted against his authority, besieged his house, maltreated his family and subjected him to various indignities; and obliged the Caliph on several occasions to drop his name from the khutbah.¹ Both the Amirate and the Caliphate during this period of inactivity had become politically ineffective, and in the absence of a strong hand to curb the activities of evil-doers, misrule, anarchy and licentiousness reigned supreme.²

Though the Buwayhids had usurped all the temporal power of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate in actual practice, yet in theory they found it necessary that certain functions, for political reasons, should be fulfilled under the signature of the Caliph. As already shown, the latter was still required to issue orders under his name affecting certain temporal affairs and even the partial right of appointing the wazîr and the governors was allowed to be retained by him. The ceremony of issuing the deeds of investiture to individual rulers enabled the Caliph to enter into direct political relations with them. Besides, the Buwayhids, being unable to fulfil the obligations of the Caliph were not granted the title of Sultân. Thus the Sultanate set up by them, though an accomplished fact, had not yet reached the stage of full emancipation, and was never complete in the eye of the law.³ Likewise, though the Ghaznevids had actually assumed the title of Sultân, they too, owing to the exclusion of their political authority from Baghdâd, could not obtain official recognition of the title. The Sultanate in fact existed, but as an usurped authority, lacking any legal sanction, and unrecognized in official correspondence and coinage. Nothing short of the combination of the functions of the Ghaznevids and the Buwayhids by a Sunnî ruler would form the basis of a legally constituted Sultanate. Such was the situation and the position of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate at Baghdâd and in

(1) Ibn Athîr, IX, pp. 288 and 308-309.

(2) A robber named Al-Burjumî terrified the citizens in 425-26/1034 so much that they had to call him 'The chief Abû 'Ali.' He had fixed tribute paid to him by the citizens, caravans, and several professionals; and even the Sultân had to surrender some of his revenues. Cf. *Levy Baghdâd Chronicle*, p. 173-174.

(3) No Buwayhid Amîr was ever granted the title of Sultân; and none of them even assumed it as their coinage shows. It is wrongly stated by Amîr Alî that Mu'izz al-Daulah received the title of Sultân, vide *A History of the Saracens*, p. 503.

Persia when the Saljûqs burst like a storm on the scene and displaced both the Ghaznevîds and the Buwayhîds.

It is an established fact that the Saljûqs, being recent converts to Islam, were orthodox Muslims, and as such they considered it their duty to recognize the institution of the Caliphate. In a petition which they sent to the governor of Khurâsân requesting him to ask Mas'ûd to allot them the districts of Naşa and Farawa, they called themselves protégés of the Commander of the Faithful.¹ The Caliph, on the other hand, never hesitated to assert his authority and claim obedience from them, whenever an opportunity was offered. In 429-1038 when Tughril was declared king at Merw and Nîshâpur, and his name was mentioned in the khutbah in all the places which fell to him, his brother Dâ'ûd carried on such ravages in these provinces that rumours of his malpractices reached the ears of the Caliph Qâ'im who, realizing his responsibility for the welfare of the people, despatched an ambassador to Tughril forbidding him to tyrannise over the people. The mission of the Caliph had the desired effect, since Tughril, after paying due respect and honour to the ambassador, stopped the malpractices complained of.²

It was, however, after the defeat of Mas'ûd at the hands of the Saljûqs at Dandanqan in 431/1040 that, for the first time, the latter came into direct relationship with the 'Abbâsid Caliphate. The Saljûqs, after their victory over Mas'ûd, held a consultation among themselves and wrote a letter to the Caliph Qâ'im saying that they were a people always obedient and well-wishing to the Caliph as well as to the Prophet and that they had always carried on jihâd and performed pilgrimage to the Ka'bah. They complained against Mahmûd for imprisoning their uncle Isrâ'îl, without any provocation on their part, and emphasized the negligence exhibited by Mas'ûd in the affairs of his government and his indulgence in wine-drinking, luxuries and enjoyments. They also pointed out that the nobles and great men of Khurâsân requested them to stand by them in overthrowing the power of the Ghaznevîds. Then they mentioned their victory over Mas'ûd which was attained through divine aid and, in order to thank God the Almighty, they were administering the country with justice, and equity and were refraining from exercising any sort of tyranny. At the end there was a request to the Caliph to bestow on them the sovereignty of

(1) Bayhaqî, p. 583.

(2) Bundarî, p. 7; Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 312.

the already-conquered lands in order that they should be able to rule the country according to the Shari'ah and the command of the Commander of the Faithful.¹ The contents of the above letter show very well the motives of the Saljûqs, which obliged them to approach the Caliph for authorization to rule the country. In making this request, they fulfilled a religious obligation. It was still believed that, without such sanction from the Caliphate, the religious institutions, i.e., the appointment of Qâdîs, etc., would not be considered valid from the point of view of the Shari'ah. However, it seems that it was done more to satisfy their own conscience than the public mind, which had already accepted them as their rulers by mentioning their names in the khutbah and by calling Tughril Sultân al-Mu'azzam.² That the sanction from the Caliphate was necessitated purely from the religious point of view is evident by the very fact that, immediately after they despatched the messenger, they proceeded to divide up the vast territories which had so quietly passed under their control.³ When the letter reached the Caliph he sent one of his trusted officers to Tughril with kind messages and charged him to ask Tughril to come to Baghdâd.³

Tughril could not find time to pay attention to the affairs at Baghdâd till 447/1055 when, with the permission of the Caliph, he paid his first visit to the metropolis of Islâm, where he was received with great honour, and orders were

(1) Rawandî, p. 1031, Bundarî, p. 8;

Browne and Sykes wrongly put the despatch of this letter after the defeat of Mas'ûd at the hands of the Saljûqs, i.e., three years later. Cf. *Literary History of Persia*, II, p. 172; Sykes, *History of Persia*, II, p. 30.

(2) Although Tughril was addressed by the people and even mentioned in the khutbah in different places that had fallen into his possession, as Sultân al-Mu'azzam in 428/1036 (Cf. Athîr, IX, p. 328; *Zubdat al-Tawârikh*, p. 6) yet this title does not seem to appear on his coinage till the year 439/1047. Such coins in addition to the above title also bear the title of Shâhînshâh—a title whose bestowal to one of the Buwayhid rulers had been a subject of controversy and had led the celebrated Qâdî al-Qudât, Al-Mâwardî to vote against its award. How the times were so changed that such important and even objectionable titles were assumed by the Sunnî rulers without any commotion. There is no historical evidence to show whether and when such titles were granted to Tughril. According to Ibn Athîr, IX, pp. 312-7 the Caliph, in his letter of 429 A.H. mentioned above, addressed them by "exalted titles." Raverty holds on his own authority that in 432 A.H. Tughril obtained the Caliph's consent to his assuming sovereignty, and the title of Sultân. Cf. Jurjânî, *Tabaqât*, Trans. Raverty, p. 132.

(3) Rawandî, p. 104; Bundarî, p. 8.

• (4) Rawandî, p. 105; Bundarî, p. 9.

given to mention his name in the Khutbah and on the coinage in preference to that of Malik al-Rahîm; and he was granted the title of Rukn al-Daulah.¹ In spite of this, relations between the Caliph and Tughril Beg were not very cordial owing to the turbulence of both the Ghuzz troops and the citizens. The population suffered very severely and Malik al-Rahîm, in spite of the protests of the Caliph was sent to the fort of Sirwan to be interned here.²

In 449/1057 Tughril, in reward for his signal services in defeating Dubays b. Mazayd and Bassasiri, a Shî'ite Turkish general who had revolted at Mausil against the authority of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate and had recognized that of the Egyptian Caliphate, was received with the most elaborate ceremony at Baghdâd,³ and was entrusted with the affairs of the State in the following words: "The Commander of the Faithful," proclaimed Râ'is al-Ruasa, "thanks you for your efforts and appreciates your services. He delegates to you authority over all the countries whose government has been bestowed on him by God, and transfers to you the care of God's people. It is incumbent upon you to be God-fearing in what he has entrusted to you. Acknowledge the favours of God, strive to exercise justice abroad, to prevent wrong-doing and to benefit the subjects." The Caliph then invested him with a 'robe of honour, a collar

(1) Rawandî, p. 105.

(2) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 421. The ceremony was marred by an unfortunate incident which led to a fight between the citizens headed by Malik al-Rahîm and the army of Tughril Beg. The Ghuzz troops committed all sorts of atrocities. Even the tombs of the Caliphs were spoiled and the envoy of the Caliph, who was sent to effect a compromise between Tughril and Malik al-Rahîm, was robbed. In consequence of this, Tughril, during the thirteen months of his stay, did not once meet the Caliph personally. Owing to the presence of a huge Turkish army at Baghdâd, the people experienced great sufferings. The Caliph sent word to Tughril to remove his army from the city. The latter, expressing his apologies for the misbehaviour of the troops, insisted on maintaining them in the city. Only a censure by the Prophet in a dream obliged him to comply with the order of the Caliph. Cf. Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 431.

(3) The Râ'is al-Ruasa was sent by the Caliph to receive Tughril. On the latter's request for admittance into the presence of the Caliph, a grand assembly of court dignitaries and other high officials was called. One of the Caliph's horses was given to Tughril to ride. The latter, amid a great procession, presented himself before the Caliph who was seated on the royal throne dressed in the Prophet's mantle and holding his staff. On Tughril's approach, the curtain behind which the Caliph was seated was lifted and the latter was disclosed. Tughril Beg kissed the ground before the Caliph who asked him to sit down. Cf. Ibn Athîr IX, p. 235-36 Bundarî, p. 13-14.

and bracelets, and also with a scented gold embroidered turban symbolizing the combination of the Arab and non-Arab crowns. He was also presented with two swords by the Caliph and addressed as 'King of East and West.' Tughril in token of servitude kissed the Caliph's hand and laid it upon his eyes.¹ This memorable document was the first of its kind of which we have any knowledge in the history of the Caliphate. No-one before Tughril had been given jurisdiction over "all the countries whose government had been delegated to the Caliph by God." The Sultanate now at last received legal sanction from the Caliphate itself.

The prestige of the Sultanate was further raised when Tughril paid his third visit to Baghdâd in 451/1059, and reinstated the Caliph Qâ'im who, during the former's absence from Baghdâd, was imprisoned by Bassasiri who had proclaimed the recognition of the Egyptian Caliphate at Baghdâd.² The Caliph, on this occasion,³ presented to the Sultân the only sword which was left with him; and substituted the title of Rukn al-Dîn for Rukn al-Daulah.⁴

Tughril had not even conceived the idea of taking over the administration of Baghdâd, but, in fact, had thought of leaving it with the Caliphate. It was only due to the lack of aspiration on the part of the Caliph and the wit of Tughril's wazîr in detecting it, that Baghdâd was thrown into the

(1) Bundarî, p. 14; Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 436; Levy, *Baghdâd Chronicle* p. 188.

(2) In 450/1058 Bassasiri, a Shî'ite Turkish general who had not been on good terms with the Caliph, came to Baghdâd, defeated his forces, arrested him and sent him to Ana. He caused the khutbah to be read for the Egyptian Caliph, Mustansir at Baghdâd and had dînârs struck in his name. The Sunnî formulæ in the Adhân was replaced by that of the Shî'ah, and the black standard of the 'Abbâsîd was changed to the white. Cf. Rawandî, p. 108; Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 441; Ibn Qalanisi, p. 88-89; *Żubdat al-Tawârikh* F. 13. As soon as Tughril heard of this, he rushed back to Baghdâd, defeated Bassasiri and re-established the 'Abbâsîd Caliphate. Cf. Ibn Qalanisi, p. 90; Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 448; *Żubdat al-Tawârikh*, p. 13.

(3) It was a strange and unprecedented scene when the Caliph and the Sultân met on this historic occasion in an unceremonious manner, the Caliph presenting to the Sultân his sword, the latter giving proof of the utmost humility by leading the horse of the Caliph by the bridle to the palace, Cf. Rawandî, p. 110; Bundarî, p. 18 *Żubdat al-Tawârikh*, F. 13; Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 446.

(4) Rawandî, p. 110.

direct possession of Tughril.¹ Thus, so far as the temporal power of the Caliphate was concerned, it was now left in as sad a plight as it was during the Buwayhid regime. Be that as it may, the Sultanate created by Tughril was of a higher status than that enjoyed by any before or after him.²

With the establishment of a Sunnî Sultanate at Baghdâd a new era was inaugurated in the history of the institution of the Caliphate. The Saljûqs, by conquering Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria and Asia Minor, once more re-united the scattered provinces of Islâm, belonging to different dynasties hostile to each other, under one sovereign. In the words of Lane-Poole, "They put a new life into the expiring zeal of the Muslims, drove back the re-encroaching Byzantines, and bred up a generation of fanatical Muhammadan warriors to whom, more than to anything else, the Crusaders owed their repeated failure."³ The rise of the Saljûqs also meant the victory of the Sunnî creed, as far as their power extended, over the Shî'a tendencies which had been gaining more and more ground under the Buwayhids and the Fatimids. Since the Saljûqs regarded the 'Abbâsid Caliphate as the head of orthodox Islam, they 'constituted themselves the champions of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate and were naturally the declared enemies of the Fatimid Caliphate.'⁴ They took energetic

(1) A few days after the re-establishment of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate Tughril asked his wazîr 'Amid al-Mulk to approach the Caliph for the allotment of a certain portion of territory in the neighbourhood of Baghdâd to meet the expenses of his army as he would be required to come so often to Baghdâd in connection with administrative affairs. The quick-witted wazîr asked Tughril to wait as he expected a move by the Caliph himself to provide him with a fixed grant for his own upkeep. Actually, as it happened, 'Amid al-Mulk, on his way to the Caliph, saw the latter's wazîr, coming to the Sultan. Guessing the mission of the Caliph's wazîr, 'Amid al-Mulk hurriedly retraced his steps and informed the Sultân about the approach of the Caliph's wazîr, advising him at the same time that if the Caliph's message was to the same purpose as he had anticipated, the Sultan should welcome it saying that he was already concerned about it. By chance it so happened that the Caliph's message was to the same purpose as was anticipated by 'Amid al-Mulk, and naturally the Sultan sent the same reply to the Caliph as was suggested to him by his wazîr. Shortly afterwards the Sultan sent for the record-book from the Dîwân and noted down therein the personal allowance of the Caliph. Cf. Rawandî, p. 110-111; *Târikh-i-Guzida*, p. 435.

(2) A gold coin minted at Baghdâd in 455/1063 bears the following inscription on the reverse side, Al-Sultan al-Mu'azzam Shâhin-Shâh Tugril Beg. The word Sultân does not appear on the Baghdâd coinage after Tughril. Cf. *British Museum Catalogue*.

(3) Lane-Poole, *Muhammadan Dynasties*, p. 150.

(4) *The Damascus Chronicle*, trans. H. A. R. Gibb, p. 19-20.

steps against the dangerous activities of the Ismailites and furthered the interests of Sunni theologians.¹

With the rapid conquests of the Saljûqs, the religious authority of the 'Abbâsid Caliphate was established in all lands that fell under their political control. Besides, the prestige of their power prompted many an independent prince to reject the religious authority of the Fatimids and recognize that of the 'Abbâsids instead.² It was during this period that the name of the 'Abbâsid Caliph was inserted in the khutbah in the sacred cities of Mecca and Medinah whose inclusion within the sphere of the 'Abbâsids' control must have raised the prestige of the Caliphate.

As regards the institution of the Caliphate itself, the Saljûqs, considering it a religious institution, left it to run its normal course. In the election of the Caliph a formal sort of consultation took place between the wazîr, qâdis and other high officials and usually a son of the deceased Caliph was raised to the Caliphate. Since most of the Caliphs nominated their successors in their own life-time there was little choice. It, therefore, became practically a matter of hereditary succession based on nomination by the late Caliph.³ Paradoxical as it may appear, the election of the Caliph was not influenced by the Saljûq Sultâns.⁴ Hence-

(1) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 24. When Alp Arslân was engaged in the war with Qutulmish, Nizâm al-Mulk said to the former, 'I have brought soldiers from Khurâsân who will assist and not desert you, and who will shoot arrows that never miss, viz., the 'Ulama and the ascetics, whom by my favour I have made your best auxiliaries.'

(2) In 462/1070 an envoy from the Amîr of Mecca came to Alp Arslân informing him that he had established the khutbah for the 'Abbâsids and discontinued it for the Egyptian Caliph Mustansir, whereupon the Sultân bestowed upon him thirty thousand dînârs and an annual salary of fifty thousand dînârs to the Amîr of Madinah if the latter followed the same example. Cf. Bundarî, p. 36; Ibn Athîr, X, p. 41. In 463/1070 the khutbah was read for the Caliph Qâ'im and Sultân Alp Arslân at Halab when the people there beheld the supremacy of the Saljûqs' authority, and the decline of the sway of the Egyptian Caliph. Cf. Bundarî, p. 37; Ibn Qalanisi, p. 98; Ibn Athîr, X, p. 42.

(3) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 65.- The Caliph Qâ'im nominated Muqtadi during his own life-time.

The Caliph Mustadhir nominated Mustarshid during his own life-time. Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, p. 376. The Caliph Rashîd was also nominated. Cf. Ibn Qalanisi, p. 251; Ibn Athîr, XI, p. 17.

(4) In spite of all his efforts, Sultân Mas'ûd could not set aside the election of Rashîd whom he did not want to succeed owing to his enmity with his father. Cf. Ibn Qalanisi, p. 251.

forward the Caliphs were not deposed arbitrarily¹ by the Sultâns as was the case during the time of the Buwayhids. They were now left in the peaceful enjoyment of their allowance and the income of their personal estate without the fear of any demand being made or of their estate being confiscated.² Besides, the Sultâns despatched huge sums of money and costly presents to the Caliphs on different occasions.³

The Caliph was also allowed to appoint his own wazîr. But since the *de facto* position of the Caliph had not improved, the functions of the wazîr remained practically the same as those of the Secretary in the past regime; and the change effected therefore merely meant a change of title. However, such prestige was attached to this office that persons were desirous of occupying it even without any remuneration.⁴ Nor were the Sultâns unmindful of its importance, because smooth relations between the Caliph and them largely depended upon the wazîr; consequently they tried as tactfully as they could to interfere in the appointment of the wazîr. Most of the wazîrs were appointed and dismissed under instructions from the Sultân.⁵

With regard to the Caliph's prerogatives, the latter was more independent in exercising them during this period than under the Buwayhids. At Baghdâd the coinage not only bears the name of the Caliph on the obverse side but also with the epithet Amîr al-Mu'minîn which had disappeared during the Buwayhid regime; and no coins minted at

(1) The committal of the Caliph Rashîd in a document that if he waged war against the Sultân he should be considered as deposed, gave an opportunity to Sultân Mas'ûd to secure a Fatwa from the 'Ulama to this effect after the Caliph had fled from Baghdad. Cf. Ibn Athîr, XI, p. 26.

(2) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 209. Barkyaruq being hard pressed for money asked and secured from the Caliph Qâ'im fifty thousand dinârs.

(3) Ibn Athîr, IX, p. 397. In 443/1050 Tughril sent ten thousand dinârs to the Caliph, 5,000 dinârs to his officials and 2,000 to Râ'is al-Ruasa; and some precious jewels and other valuable presents to the Caliph.

Malik Shah despatched precious presents to the Caliph on his first visit to Baghdâd in 479/1086. Cf. *ibid.* X, p. 103.

(4) In 433/1061 Abû'l Fattâh Mansûr Ahmad was appointed Wazîr on condition that not only would he not accept an Iqta but that he would pay something to the Caliph. Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, p. 9.

(5) Ibn Athîr, X, pp. 74-75. In 471/1078 wazîr Fakhr al-Daulah Abu Nasr Ibn Jahir was dismissed on the Sultân's request. The next appointment was made on the recommendation of the Sultân, and the person who, in the meanwhile, had already been appointed, had to vacate the position for the nominee of the Sultân.

Baghdâd after Tughril bear the title Sultân. This shows that the temporal authority of the Saljûqs was not legally recognised at Baghdâd. In other parts of the Saljûqid empire the Caliph's name with the same title appears on the obverse or reverse side indiscriminately.¹

In the case of the khutbah, the Saljûqid Sultâns were punctilious in mentioning the Caliph's name in the khutbah all over their empire. Though several times the Sultân's name was dropped from the khutbah at Baghdâd,² the Sultâns could never retaliate by omitting his name.

Even in granting titles³ the Caliph was more free than before, though he was obliged to grant high-sounding titles even to minor Sultâns.⁴

The Caliph was now shown more reverence by the Sultâns not merely out of political consideration, but as being their religious head. With the curtailment of his temporal power, the Caliph began to attach more sacredness to his office and person;⁵ and not only laymen but the Sultâns themselves believed in his spiritual powers, and sometimes attributed mere accidents to his supernatural powers.⁶ Owing to his eminent position it was considered a great honour if the daughters and sisters of the Sultâns were accepted in marriage by the Caliphs.

The existence of a Sunnî Sultanate was not wholly without a disadvantage to the 'Abbâsid Caliphate. Since the

(1) Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, III, p. 30-37.

(2) Ibn Athîr, XI, p. 23. Sultân Mas'ûd's name was dropped from the khutbah at Baghdâd.

Sultan Sanjar's name was also omitted from the khutbah from the whole of 'Irâq in 526/1131. Cf. *Ibid.* X, p. 476.

(3) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 57; Arnold, *Caliphate*, p. 83. When in 479/1086 the prince of Ceuta and Morocco, Yûsuf b. Tashîfîn recognized the 'Abbâsid Caliphate, the Caliph Muqtadî on the prince's insistence, granted him the title of Amîr al-Muslimîn—a much more flattering title than any granted to a Saljûqid Sultân.

(4) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 145. Muhammad whose age was only four years was granted the title of Nâsir al-Daulah wa'l-Dîn.

In 498/1104, Barkyaruq, a four-year old son, was granted the same title which was given to his grandfather, Malik Shâh. Cf. *Ibid.* X, p. 260.

(5) Bundarî, p. 81; Ibn Athîr, M. p. 103-104. In 79/1086 Malik Shâh was not allowed to kiss the Caliph's hand. His request to kiss the Caliph's ring only was granted.

(6) Bundarî, p. 70; Suyûtî, trans. Jerrett. p. 446.

Malik Shâh's death in 485/1092, was taken to have been caused by the prayers of the Caliph.

In 521/1127, Sultân Mahmûd attributed his illness to his war against the Caliph. Cf. Bundarî, p. 152.

institution, as already shown in the first chapter, had become a mere figurehead, it could not be left alone by the stronger and more capable rulers. But its existence was tolerated on the one hand because of the reverence attached to the 'Abbâsid family and its claim to the office based on supposed traditions, and on the other hand the absence of any line of demarcation between the religious and temporal duties of the Caliphate had made the whole politico-legal structure so complicated that there was no way but to maintain the institution. The above argument can very well be supported by the remarks of one of the greatest philosophers of Islâm, Imâm Ghazzâlî who lived during the early Saljûqid period. The learned Imâm says: "There are those who hold that the Imâmâte is dead, lacking as it does the required qualifications, but no substitute can be found for it. What then? Are we to give up obeying the law? Shall we dismiss the Qâdis, declare all authority to be valueless, cease marrying and pronounce the acts of those in high places to be invalid at all points, leaving the populace to live in sinfulness? Or shall we continue as we are, recognizing that the Imâmâte really exists and that all acts of the administration are valid, given the circumstances of the case and the necessities of the actual moment."* If there had been a real election, the fittest and most competent person might have been definitely designated to the office of the Caliphate; but in its absence, the natural force came into play and the man who possessed most strength asserted his authority and claimed the power. In fact the Sultanate was the necessary consequence of the kind of institution which the Caliphate had become. In such circumstances, the Caliphate had to be maintained, but at the same time the Sultanate had to be accommodated. To get out of this awkward position, a *via media* was sought. The Sultanate was legalized by means of a legal fiction, i.e., by the issue of a deed of investiture to the Sultân by the Caliph himself—a mere formality created in order to give a show of legitimacy to the Sultanate, which was in fact based on force.

Now, for the first time in the history of the institution, there stood by the side of the Caliph a legally constituted Sultân whose power depended on the sword and could not very well be set aside by any means other than the sword itself. A Sunnî Sultân was not only required to fulfil certain obligations as prescribed by the Muslim jurists to an 'Amîr by Force' but he was expected to take over and fulfil entirely

*Levy. *Sociology of Islam*, vol. I. p. 306.

the duties set forth for the Caliph himself. As long as the Sultân fulfilled these obligations, administered the country according to the laws of Sharî'ah and thus gave peace and security to the people, there was none to lift a finger against him.

During the Saljûq period, the word Sultân¹ assumed a new significance. There is an attempt to confine its meaning to the sole possessor of the temporal power of the Caliphate.² In theory there should now be only one Sultân and down to the reign of Muhammad b. Malik Shâh the other ruling princes of the dynasty in Persia contented themselves with other titles of less importance—e.g. Malik, etc.³ It was perhaps for the justification of the above interpretation that Nizâm al-Mulk, in order to place the Sultanate on a legal basis, made an effort to formulate the theory of the Sultanate in his celebrated *Siyâsat-Nâmah*.

Nizâm al-Mulk, according to the well-known story, had been asked, amongst others, to write a book dealing with administrative problems so that the principles enunciated therein might serve as a model in governing a Muslim State. Though primarily a book which deals with administrative problems and conduct and the deportment of kings from a strictly practical point of view, yet the author devotes a few pages to the origin of kingship and to the duties and responsibilities of kings. He does not even acknowledge the Caliph as the ultimate source of the temporal authority of the Sultân; but instead he substitutes a sort of divinely ordained kingship when he says that "in every age God the Almighty selects one from amongst his creatures, and adorns him with kingly attributes; and entrusts him with the peace and welfare of His subjects. His fear and grandeur is created in the hearts of the people, so that the latter may live peacefully under the banner of his justice."⁴ As regards the duties of kings, he requires that they should deal with their subjects with justice and equity and tempts them with the double reward of perpetuating the sovereignty in their own family and of enjoying the fruits of their justice in the next world.⁵

(1) See Art. By Kramers, on Sultân, in the *Encycl. of Islam*.

(2) Barthold, *Caliph and Sultan*.

(3) The Saljûqids of Kirmân called themselves Malik, while the Saljûqids of Rûm styled themselves Sultân al-Mu'azzam. Cf. Lane-Poole, *Coins of the Saljuqs*, vol. III, p. 48.

(4) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 5.

(5) *Ibid.* p. 8-9.

Though not expressly, yet by giving interesting and instructive anecdotes, he holds the Sultâns responsible for the slightest injustice, injury or even negligence shown not only by themselves but even by their officials.¹ He in no way holds the rulers responsible to their subjects, and by a mystic argument seeks to prove that as long as the people obey the laws of the Sharî'ah, God will continue to grant them a good ruler. "If the people show any sign of disobedience or contempt towards the Ordinances of the Sharî'ah or if they fail in their duties towards God, then His displeasure manifests itself in the disappearance of the just king from amongst them. Consequently disorder prevails, blood is shed and whosoever is powerful snatches the power into his own hands, and rules over the subjects despotically and does as he pleases. In consequence of this, the sinners are destroyed and with them the pious people as well. Ultimately one of the people through God's grace, gets the power and control, and God grants him sufficient wisdom and intelligence to carry on the affairs of the State."²

To a superficial observer, the theory of kingship as propounded by Nizâm al-Mulk gives the impression of a sort of Divine right of Kings, and misleads one into thinking that it bears a close resemblance to the theory of pre-Islamic kingship in Persia, more especially as he frequently quotes anecdotes of the Sasani kings as examples; but a critical study dispels any such misunderstanding. For example, while the pre-Islamic kings in Persia called themselves gods³ and as such considered themselves above the law, our author ties the Sultân hand and foot to the observance of the Sharî'ah.⁴ Any opposition to the orders of a pre-Islamic Persian king was inconceivable and punishable with death.⁵ But our author,

(1) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 9.

(2) *Ibid*, p. 6.

(3) Christensen, p. 88. Khusru II called himself an immortal man among gods and a very illustrious god among men.

(4) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 54.

(5) Christensen, p. 98; Huart, 147-148. When Khusru I reformed the system of taxation and established new principles of collection he assembled his council and invited their opinion. A man asked respectfully whether the king meant to establish a certain tax for perpetuity which, in his opinion, as time went on, would lead to injustice. "Accursed and rash man," cried the monarch, "To what class do you belong?" The man replied that he was one of the secretaries. The king ordered him to be beaten to death with a writing-case. This was done and the beholders exclaimed, "O king, we find all the taxes which you have imposed on us are just."

in dealing with the administration of justice, gives some instructive anecdotes suggesting that in this respect rulers stand on the same footing as ordinary men.¹ On the other hand, his theory is in complete contrast to that of Mâwardî, who also wrote at a time when the Caliphate had scarcely a vestige of temporal power. While Mâwardî suggests that a Caliph should be elected and should be responsible to the people, who had the right to depose him in case of the non-fulfilment of his duties, Nizâm al-Mulk entertains no such ideas and develops an argument by which he tries to prove that it is entirely through the faults of the people themselves if they do not have good rulers, whom he makes responsible only to God. His departure from the established Islamic theory can be explained by the fact that the very nature of the situation he was in made it impossible for him to follow the lines of Mâwardî; and if he had done so it would have defeated his own object. The chief aim of Nizâm al-Mulk was to establish a justification for the Sultanate in its own right without any external agency being responsible for it; while recognizing at the same time the 'Abbâsid Caliphate as a religious institution. Since in theory the Sultân derived his power to rule from the Caliph, his office could neither be made elective, nor could he be made responsible to the people. That Nizâm al-Mulk was prepared to acknowledge the Caliphate as a religious institution only is easily proved by the fact that while in the case of temporal power he ignores the Caliph as the source of the Sultân's authority and attributes it to God, he acknowledges the Caliph as the ultimate source of religious authority to the Sultân, when he says, "The Qâdis are the Nâ'ibs (representatives) of the Caliphs and, as such, possess their ways, and they are appointees and deputies of the Sultân, and as such perform his duties."² In other words he commits himself to the fact that the Sultân has been delegated authority to appoint such officials from the Caliph. Again, on the chapter of 'Titles,' he acknowledges the legality of the titles that were bestowed by the Caliphs on the Saljûqid Sultâns.³ In fact this was an effort to find a *via media* that the Caliph was the religious head and yet the Sultân too held divinely ordained authority.

(1) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 39.

(2) Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 41-42.

(3) *Ibid.* p. 136. How is it possible for Nizâm al-Mulk to talk about the titles of the successors of Malik Shâh when he himself died during the former's life-time. Cf. Nizâm al-Mulk, p. 137. It shows that this chapter was not written by Nizâm al-Mulk himself.

It may seem even more extraordinary that much the same views are expressed by Imâm Ghazzâli: 'Know that God hath chosen from among the sons of men two groups, (1) The Prophets to make clear for His servants the way to His service and illuminate for them the way to knowledge of Him, and (2) He hath chosen kings to protect His servants from injuring one another, and hath given them possession of the reins of binding and unloosing, and hath bound upon them the well-being of His creatures in their lives by His wisdom, and established them in the most honourable place by His power; as it is to be heard in the Traditions..... wherefore it is fitting that it should be known that he to whom God hath given the degree of kingship and hath made His shadow upon earth, the love of him is incumbent upon all men, and they are bound to follow him and obey him, nor is it lawful for them to disobey him or oppose him, and it is fitting that every man to whom God hath given the Faith should love the kings and Sultans and obey them in what they command.'¹

In his later work² he returns to this subject and attempts to define the relationship between Caliphate and Sultanate. "An evil-doing and barbarous Sultân, so long as he is supported by military force, so that he can only with difficulty be deposed and that the attempt to depose him would cause unendurable civil strife, must of necessity be left in possession and obedience must be rendered to him, exactly as obedience must be rendered to Amîrs. For in the Hadîths³ regarding the duty of obedience to the Amîrs and the prohibition of withdrawing one's hand from assisting them, there are expressed definite commands and restraints. We consider that the office of the Caliphate is contractually assumed by that person of the Banu 'Abbâs who is charged with the responsibility of it, and that the function of government in the various lands is carried out by means of Sultâns, who owe allegiance to the Caliph..... For if we were to decide that all governments are now null and void, all institutions of public welfare would also be absolutely null and void; thus the capital would be lost in straining after the profit. Nay, but government in these days is a result solely of military power, and whosoever he may be to whom the holder of military power gives his allegiance, that person is

(1) Ghazzâli, *At-Tibr al-Masbûk*, p. 40-41.

(2) Ghazzâli, *Ihyâ al-'Ulum*, p. 40-41.

(3) Remarkable that the author transfers to the temporal princes the Hadîths which were invoked by early writers to claim obedience to the Caliphs.

the Caliph. And whosoever exercises independent authority, so long as he shows allegiance to the Caliph in the matter of his prerogatives of the khutbah and the Sikkah, the same is a Sultân, whose orders and judgments are valid in the several parts of the earth."

Nothing could have been more fatal, however, to the smooth working of this dual system than the arrangement suggested by 'Amid al-Mulk to Sultân Tughril, i.e., the occupation of Baghdâd by him. Outside Baghdâd the conflict of authorities might be avoided; within the city any harmonious solution was an utter impossibility. In the presence of the Caliph at Baghdâd, no Sultân could exercise unquestioned authority in the city, especially through a subordinate. The absence of any clear line of demarcation between the religious and temporal powers in Islâm gave an opportunity to any energetic Caliph to play at Baghdâd the rôle of the temporal as well as the religious head of Islâm: and it was natural that his interference was more effective than that of a Sultân who was always absent from the place. Again, as during the Buwayhid occupation, there were certain things connected with the personal office of the Caliph, which could be performed by no other. Such obligations could be transferred to any lieutenant of the Caliph in a far off territory, but the delegation of such powers at the residence of the Caliph had no justification. For instance, the appointment of Qâdis, khatîbs, Imâms and all other religious functionaries had to be made by him personally at Baghdâd. Whether the Qâdis drew their salaries from the Caliph's or the Sultân's exchequer, they were not subject to any outside influence in the exercise of their duties. Some of them were so independent and fearless in the discharge of their duties that they did not spare even the Sultâns from fulfilling certain obligations.¹ Even the Mudarris of the Nizâmîyah Madrasah could not hold the office without the permission of the Caliph. For not having obtained such permission the Mudarris Yûsuf al-Dimishqî was excluded from the mosque on Friday, and even the substitute sent by Sultân Ma'sûd was not allowed to undertake his duties until the Sultân himself had interceded with the Caliph.²

(1) In a particular case the chief Qâdi Abû Bakr Muhammad b. al-Muzaffar al-Shâmî, refused to accept the testimony of a witness on the ground that he was dressed in silk. When the complainant protested that on similar grounds the evidence of the Sultân and of his minister, Nizâm al-Mulk should be disallowed, the Qâdi agreed with him and said that he would not accept their testimony either. Cf. Ibn. Athîr, X, p. 173.

(2) Ibn Athîr, XI, p. 100.

The Caliph was also held responsible for the moral and sanitary conditions, of the city. In the year 466/1073 before the inundations, petitions had been sent by prominent citizens to the Caliph Qâ'im complaining of the excess of wine-drinking and vice in the city and requesting him to abolish the places of ill-resort. The Caliph Muqtadî enacted several laws in order to safeguard the morale of the people. Singing women and prostitutes were banished from the city and their houses were sold, people were forbidden to enter the public baths without wearing a cloth, and the removal of various structures of reed and high towers used ostensibly for bird houses, but in reality for the unlawful purpose of spying on the private quarters of the people was ordered. Lastly the Caliph issued an order forbidding the ferrymen to carry men and women across together in their boats.¹ In the religious quarrels which broke out sometimes between the Shî'ites and Sunnites and other times between the Hanbalities and the Asharites, the Caliph's help was invoked, and his authority was regarded as supreme.² In all other matters connected with religion, his was the chief authority that could not be easily gainsaid.³

That the Caliph did not divest himself of his temporal power at Baghdâd is evident from a study of the coinage. After Tughril, no Saljûqid Sultân was allowed to add the title Sultân after his name on the coins minted at the metropolis of Islâm.⁴ The fact that the Caliphs were still able to levy tax on the people at Baghdâd also goes to prove this statement.⁵ On the other hand the Sultâns farmed the revenue of Baghdâd and held themselves responsible for the government of the city. For this purpose they appointed a prefect (*Shihna*) at Baghdâd who was charged with the duty of maintaining peace and the security of the citizens. The position of this prefect was most precarious. On the one hand he was the representative of the Sultân and must

(1) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 156; Levy, *Baghdâd Chronicle*, p. 203.

(2) Levy, *Baghdâd Chronicle*, p. 202.

(3) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 123. Over the jew Abu Sa'd ibn Simha's highhandedness with a huckster, the Caliph issued an order that all Dhimmis must mark themselves with the special tokens and wear the garments prescribed for them by the Caliph 'Umar.

(4) Lane-Poole, *Coins of Muhammadan Dynasties*, vol. III, p. 30-37.

(5) Ibn Athîr, X, p. 435. The Caliph Mustarshid, in order to meet the expenses of construction of a wall, levied a tax on all exports leaving the city through its gates.

therefore carry out his duties in accordance with his orders; on the other hand he had to deal with a still higher authority than that of the Sultân, i.e., the Caliph, who still considered himself the supreme authority in all matters at Baghdâd at least. In cases of negligence or malpractices started by the prefect, the people, instead of complaining to the Sultân, approached the Caliph who was at Baghdâd and thus easily accessible.¹ Thus a sort of dual government was established at Baghdâd, and sooner or later it was to bring about a serious conflict between the two authorities.

No serious rupture in the relations of these two authorities took place, however, during the Nizâm al-Mulk period. This was due partly to the occupation of the Sultâns in their wars with non-Muslims, and partly to the wise administration and good counsel of Nizâm al-Mulk, whose chief aim was the unity of the Islamic world under the guidance of the Caliph.² During this period, the occasional interference of the Caliph in temporal affairs at Baghdâd was met with a compromising attitude adopted by Nizâm al-Mulk.³ The Caliph, on the other hand, adopted a similar attitude; and did not like to create trouble over petty things. Even the assumption of the royal prerogatives, e.g., the sounding of drums, by the Shihna as representative of the Sultân at Baghdâd, was tolerated by the Caliph.⁴ But it required the

(1) Several times the Caliph, by sending the Qâdis, stopped the malpractices started by the Shihnas. Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, pp. 163 & 231.

(2) Houtama, Art. *Indian Journal*, September, 1924.

(3) An illustration of this can be found in the following case. Aytagin al-Sulaymânî, the prefect at Baghdâd, who was appointed by Alp Arslân had left his son to officiate for him during his absence. He maltreated the people and killed one of the servants of the Caliph Muqtadî. The people of the Caliph's Dîwân complained against him to the Sultân asking him to remove the prefect from his post. Since his father was in great favour with Nizâm al-Mulk, the request of the Dîwân was not favourably considered. Nizâm al-Mulk sent the prefect Aytagin to Baghdâd in 464/1071 and requested the Caliph to forgive him. When the Caliph rejected the request of Nizâm al-Mulk, the latter sent him to Takrit and granted him an Iqta there. On hearing this, the Caliph sent orders to the governor of Takrit not to allow him admittance into his country. This affair opened the eyes of Nizâm al-Mulk and the Sultân and they had to remove Aytagin and send Sa'd al-Daulah in his place to Baghdâd. Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, p. 47.

(4) In 471/1078 Sa'd al-Daulah had drums beaten at his gates at prayer-times (five). This was the first innovation introduced by a prefect. Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, p. 72.

Muayyid al-Mulk, b. Nizâm al-Mulk did the same thing in 475/1082. Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, p. 83.

greatest political prudence to maintain concord between the two authorities, and the ability of Nizâm al-Mulk to achieve this is illustrated by the fact that for so many years no serious quarrel arose. Even the rupture between the Caliph and Malik Shâh was not caused by any political incident, but was the outcome of the unhappy marriage of Sultân Malik Shâh's daughter with the Caliph Muqtadî.*

A. H. SIDDIQI.

(To be continued)

*The unhappy relations between the Caliph and his wife, the Sultân's daughter, brought about their separation, and ultimately the premature and tragic end of the princess caused Malik Shâh to conceive a hatred against the Caliph, whom he looked upon as the author of his misfortune. He completely ignored the Caliph's presence during his visit to Baghdâd in 484/1091 and showed his public displeasure by not even seeing him. This was bad enough ; but worse was to follow, for the Sultân ordered the construction of various buildings for the use of himself and his officials, indicating thereby that he intended to make Baghdâd his winter resort for the future. (Cf. Ibn Athîr, X, p. 135.) Any serious step against the Caliph at this juncture was avoided by the wise counsels of Nizâm al-Mulk, but, after the latter's death, the way was open to the Sultân to give vent to his feelings. He sent instructions to the Caliph to retire from his residence to Basra or, if he desired, to the Holy Cities in Arabia ; and to nominate the little Ja'far as his successor, without even realizing the consequences of such an unwise step as to declare a child.

MUSLIM INTERCOURSE WITH BURMA

(From the Earliest Times to the British Conquest)

THE last Census Report of 1931 records that the total population of the province of Burma numbers 14,653,977. Of this number, it has been enumerated that some 584,839 profess Islam as their religion. Of these Muslims resident in Burma, 30 per cent. approximately are from the Indo-Burmese races, and about 68 per cent. comprise Indian Muslims most of whom were, however, domiciled in Burma.¹

The Muslims of Burma have never in their annals numbered many, but considering their small numbers the part which they have played in Burma has been prominent.

Burmese history proper begins in the 11th century A.C., and to trace the main streams of Muslim intercourse with Burma, we have to begin from that period. At first there were no Muslims living together as a community. Only here and there do we come across a solitary figure stalking through the procession of semi-barbaric Kings and their courts. It is with the record of the activities of these isolated figures that I must begin my account.

The first definitely Muslim name that attracts our eye in the Burmese chronicles is that of one Sheikh Abdulla Law (?). It seems that the part of the country now known as Hanthawaddy, which was the home of the Talaing race,² ages ago was submerged under the sea. According to Buddhist traditions, the Gautama Buddha once happened to visit this place, and he saw a pair of geese basking under the sun on a sandbank. Thereupon, it is said, the Buddha prophesied that in course of time, on this very sandbank there would spring up a great city and a populous Kingdom, and that, after the incident of the geese, the place would become known as Hanthawaddy

(1) Vide Mîr Suleymân, *Muslims in Burma*, 1872-1931, in the Islamia School Annual, 1935.

(2) An indigenous race living in Southern Burma, distinct from the Burmese, and held to be the descendants of Indian immigrants.

(Hamsa-wati).¹ Hundreds of years later a trading vessel from the Kingdom of Vijjhanagar,² laden with merchandise, bound for the Suvarna Bhumi (the Golden Land, i.e., Burma), sighted the sandbank. On the return of the ship to its native port, the sailors lost no time in reporting their discovery to the King, who despatched a body of troops to occupy the newly-found land. The Vijayanagar troops occupied the sandbank, planted an inscribed stone column some seven cubits high to mark their possession and leaving a few soldiers as guards, sailed back home. Those left behind and their descendants continued to watch over the territory faithfully, but some years after their occupation two Talaing princes, who had been driven out of their original home Thaton, came to this place and desired to found a city here. The officer in command of the Indian troops, who were mainly the descendants of the original guard, was Sheikh Abdulla Law.

Abdulla refused to give up the territory, and this led to a battle with the Talaings, in which the latter said to have been aided by the God Thagya Min (Indra), were ultimately victorious.³ Divesting this incident of its legendary embellishments, we come to the fact that there were settled at Hanthawaddy at this early date some Indian colonists, among whom there probably were a few Muslims besides Sheikh Abdulla. There are some who attempt to discredit this story by casting doubts on the probability of a Muslim leading a band of soldiers and colonists from a Hindu Kingdom at such an early date as somewhere in the 12th century A.C. Fitch and Lloyd hold that this is the period when the above events happened, and if their estimate is correct there is no reason why the story is to be disbelieved. Mr. Suleyman Nadvi in his article on "Muslim Colonies in India before the Muslim Conquest," states that in the 13th century A.C. in the new Vijayanagar Kingdom,⁴ there was a considerable number of Muslims and that there were other places near Vijayanagaram in South India, where long before the Muslim conquest of North India, "there were colonies of Muslim Arabs and 'Iraqis who did not

(1) Hansa or Goose, meaning in effect Land of the Geese.

(2) Spearman in the *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. 1,—suggests this to have been the Vijayanagram (i.e., the Vijayanagar) Kingdom. This is a probable suggestion.

(3) Vide *Hanthawaddy District Gazetteer*. Also Fitch's *Burma, Past and Present*; Spearman, *British Burma Gazetteer*, vol. 1, pp. 244-45; Lloyd, *Rangoon District Gazetteer*, pp. 7-11.

(4) Arose in 1232 A.C.

come to the South by the land route from the North but travelled on the sea-coast until they settled down in those parts.”¹ The same writer mentions a little later that there were Muslim mercenaries in the service of a Hindu King.² Sheikh Abdulla Law, therefore, could very well have been one of these early Muslim mercenaries in the service of a Hindu King. If, however the date given by Spearman, 570 A.C. is correct then obviously there could have been no Muslims at that time.

In the reign of the Burmese King Anawrahta (1044-1077) we have our first definite glimpse of Muslim adventurers in Burma. A trading vessel was wrecked in the Gulf of Martaban, and two of the survivors managed to reach the Burmese shore by holding on to a piece of driftwood. They were two brothers, named Byatta and Byat’wi, held to be two Arab sailors. These “Kala brothers”³ after spending a few days in the home of a Yogi, proceeded to the court and were appointed to be members of the body-guard of Manuha, the Talaing King of Thaton. Byat’wi, after some time, was killed at the command of his capricious master; thereupon Byatta fled to the Burmese court where the mighty Anawrahta was ruling. Here also he was given the post of a body-guard to His Burman Majesty.

Both the brothers while in the service of Manuha had taken to themselves native women as wives, and had several children by them. The surviving brother Byatta died in the natural course of events, and in his place his two sons Shwepyinyi and Shwepynnge were appointed to be equerries of Anawrahta. Thus for some years they lived in peace, but their days of happiness were numbered. The Burmese King once led an expedition towards the North, to the Non-Chao Kingdom⁴ and while “returning home down the Irrawaddy on a barge of barbaric splendour,” he halted near Wayindok in the Mandalay district, and “built the Taungbyon pagoda and put his henchmen Shwepyinyi and Shwepynnge to a cruel death because they were remiss in bringing each a brick, as others did, for the construction of the pagoda. They are now spirits, worshipped at the annual festival there, and the religion of their father is indicated by the fact that nobody connected with

(1) *Islamic Culture*, July, 1934, p. 478.

(2) *Ibid.* pp. 484-485.

(3) Kula a Burmese word meaning a foreigner, literally one who comes crossing the sea.

(4) Modern Bhamo.

the shrine will touch pork."¹ These were the first two Muslim martyrs in Burma, whose sacrifice has been so long unknown and unrecognised.

Some challenge the statement that Byatta, Byat'wi and their children were Muslims, taking exception presumably to their roasting and eating the dead body of the faqir mentioned before.² But it must be borne in mind that this addition to the story proper is the creation of a people whose chronicles are intertwined with supernatural beliefs and legends, and may be safely discarded. The residual facts that Byatta and Byat'wi were "Kala" sailors from a wreck, and that the two brothers Shwepyingyi and Shwepyinnge refused to contribute bricks for the construction of Anawrahta's pagoda at Taungbyon, that even today, none concerned with their shrine will touch pork, a delicacy among the Burmese Buddhists, go to show that the "Kala" brothers and their descendants professed a faith other than Buddhism and in all probability Islam.

Anawrahta was, incidentally, the first Burmese Monarch to institute an Indian body-guard which must have included many Muslims. These soldiers were noted for their bravery. Henceforth we see Muslim mercenaries playing prominent parts in Burmese politics.

Sawlu (1077-1084) succeeded his father Anawrahta; in his childhood he had been placed in the charge of a tutor, who, we understand from later events, was a foreigner and a Muslim. This teacher had a son, named Rahman Khan (written Yaman Kan in Burmese³), who was blind of one eye, and who from infancy had been a playmate of Sawlu; in fact they had both been suckled by the same person, probably Rahman's mother or a wet-nurse. When Sawlu on the demise of his royal father, ascended the throne, he showered signs of his favour upon his foster-brother. Rahman Khan was made the governor of Ussa,⁴ and the King idled away his days in bad company. But very soon there was a rift in the lute, and the erstwhile boon-companions changed into inveterate enemies. It happened in this way.

(1) G. E. Harvey, *History of Burma*, pp. 24, 27 and 31; *The Hmannan Yazawin* (The Glass Palace Chronicle), translated, Tin and Luce, sections, 132; 133.

(2) See, *Hmannan*, pp. 132-133. Harvey, Appendix pp. 317-318.

(3) The sound "r" is absent in Burmese; it is substituted by "Y."

(4) Modern Pegu.

"He (Sawlu) gave the town of Ussa to Nga¹ Raman Kan, his tutor's son. One day the King and Nga Raman Kan played at dice, and Nga Raman Kan won and he rose and clapped his elbows. Said King Sawlu, 'Thou hast won a mere game of dice and dost thou arise and clap thine elbows? If thou art a man, rebel with Pegu thy province!' In sooth?" asked Nga Raman Kan. 'We kings' quoth the King, "Should we utter aught but sooth?"²

Thus the gage so lightly flung by Sawlu was picked up by Raman who, had, as a matter of fact, been conspiring against the King and collecting helpers. He hastened to Pegu and returned to attack Sawlu at the head of his army of Talaings. Sawlu advanced to meet him and a battle was fought at the "Stockaded Island" of Pyedawthagyun in Thayetmyo district in which Rahman's better use of tactics won him the day. The Burmese King himself was taken prisoner, and though his half-brother Kyanzittha attempted to rescue him, Sawlu's violent distrust of his brother led him to awake Rahman's troops by shouting, "Kyanzittha is stealing me." Thus Kyanzittha had to leave the King and save his own life. He then took to collecting forces and conquering places hoping to crush Rahman ultimately. Meanwhile, Rahman Khai, thinking to remove the obstacle between himself and the throne ill repaid his erstwhile friend and benefactor Sawlu, by having him executed. He thought, "Now I shall rule in the city of Pugarama!"³ But when he tried to assert his authority, the ministers and the headmen of villages said, "Lo! Kyanzittha ruleth the eleven Lèdwin villages. We may not yet open the gate. It will be like two buffaloes wallowing in one pond. Let him not be King till he hath fought and conquered Kyanzittha."⁴ So Rahman had to test his strength with his chief rival, Kyanzittha, a mighty man of valour, before he could be crowned with complete victory.

In the ensuing battle, terror stricken by Kyanzittha's name, the Talaing troops of the rebel Rahman, broke and fled without, so to say, giving battle. Defeated and in despair Rahman fled down the Irrawaddy "on a golden raft of the nine gems." Kyanzittha sent a hunter to dispatch him; this man caught up with Rahman, "climbed a fig-tree and

(1) "Nga" a prefix to a name applied contemptuously to accused persons, convicts, etc.

(2) See *Hmannan*, p. 138.

(3) Pagan.

(4) *Hmannan*, p. 138.

uttered lovely notes like the voice of a bird. When Nga Raman heard that sound he opened the window of the golden raft and looked out saying, 'What bird is that, uttering notes so sweet and wonderful?' Now he had but one good eye; and Nga Sin the hunter, from the place where he waited, peeping, drew his bow and shot. And it hit the eye of Nga Raman and he died."¹ Thus ended the picturesque career of a picturesque villain. His was the first Muslim attempt to establish a monarchy in Burma; in design it was bold, and in execution it nearly achieved success. What would have been the subsequent history of the country under a line of Muslim Kings is an interesting topic for speculation.

Kyanzittha's reign (1084-1112.) saw the settlement of batches of Indian captives at various places like Singu, Ngathayauky, Kalade, Nwahtha and Seik Tin; many of these were Muslims from the Muslim settlement of Ramu, Ngathanapalle and the Thandaung in Ramree district. These are the nucleus of the Burma Muslims of today.

Skipping over a period of nearly two hundred years, we come to our next glimpse of Muslims in Burma. In the reign of Narathihapate (1254-1287), the last important ruler of the Pagan dynasty, took place the celebrated battle of Nga-saunggyan (1277 A.C.), between the Tartar army sent by a governor of Kublai Khan, the Mongol Emperor, and the Burmese host. The events leading to this important event may be summarised here.

Under the first great Khan Jengiz and his immediate successors, the Mongol Empire grew and spread from the far eastern regions of Asia, to the confines of Central Europe. It was in the course of this Imperial expansion in the reign of Kublai, the grandson of Jengiz, that the Tartar invasion of Burma took place. But for the fact that Kublai, by nature, was not warlike, there is no doubt whatsoever that Burma would have been completely absorbed into the Mongol Empire. In 1259 A.C. Mangu Khan had died; he was succeeded by his younger brother Kublai who in 1253 had Yunnan occupied by his troops.² Eighteen years after this occupation, the

(1) Harvey, pp. 31-32, 34-37, *Hmannan*, s. 138.

(2) The Tartar Invasion of Burma is noted for the coming of Turkish Muslim troops into Burma. But the Mongol rulers of this time were not Muslims, neither were there any permanent effects of this temporary incoming of Muslims.

governor of Yunnan upon the instructions of the Great Khan sent envoys to the Burmese Court demanding the "usual tribute" from Burma.¹ After some procrastination the envoys were sent back empty-handed with mere professions of friendship. In 1273, therefore, a second Chinese embassy was sent to Pagan, requiring the Burmese King to do homage to his Tartar overlord. The King, contrary to all usages of civilized rulers, had these ambassadors beheaded. This ill-considered action precipitated the war which began in 1277. Of the war Mr. Harvey says that, "what follows was in Burmese eyes a titanic war in which the whole resources of the Chinese Empire were strained to the uttermost, pouring in millions of men to destroy Burma. But it was really a frontier affair, disposed of by the Yunnan government." The Tartar army of 12,000 horsemen and archers many of whom were Muslim Turks, was under the command of Nasir-ud-din son of the governor of Yunnan, but he was not present in person at this battle. This engagement at Ngasaunggyan ended in a signal victory for the Tartars and total defeat of the Burmese.² The fruits of their success were not, however, reaped by the Tartars; they were content with placing a garrison of 3800 men at Kaung Sin near Bhamo. The garrison was harassed by the Burmese troops and had to fight a second battle which proved equally disastrous to Burmese arms. Nasir-ud-din dared not attack Pagan without express commands from Kublai, and so this indecisive state of affairs lasted for some time until Kublai's spirited grandson, who was quartered with the Yunnan army, decided to fling discretion to the winds and disobey the behests of the Emperor. He advanced on Pagan at the head of seven thousand tried warriors, easily captured the city and received homage from the different parts of the Kingdom. The city was sacked and destroyed by these Tartars but under the strict orders of their leader, they spared all temples and buildings and places connected with religious purposes. But in spite of their sack of the town, says Harvey, "the Tartars probably did less architectural damage (to Pagan) than Narathihapate (the Burmese King) as they had orders to respect religious buildings." It is not improbable however, that, having lost 7000 comrades, they acted up to their name, 'The scourge of God,' so far as the population

(1) It was held by the Tartars that Burma had sent tribute on previous occasions. See Harvey, pp. 13, 14, 43, 48 and 65.

(2) For a description of the battle see, Yule, *The book of Sir Marco Polo*, pp. 11, 99.

was concerned, and the terror which is patent in the Burmese account must have some basis."¹

Thus we close our account of Muslim adventurers in the earliest epoch of Burmese history. Of the few Muslims who strut on the stage of Burmese history during the rule of the Pagan dynasty, none, except Rahman Khan, was of much consequence. As a community the followers of Islam did not exist in Burma at this period. It was left for the subsequent period to witness the growth and spread of Muslim activities and a parallel increase in the Muslim population.

B. THE AGE OF MUSLIM COMMERCIAL ASCENDANCY

Persia had developed her commercial navigation as early as the Sasanid period and so Hadi Hasan, the Chronicler of Persian navigation states that "Persian navigation was merely a continuation of Sasanian navigation and the Persians in China were the initiators of the Arabs in the trade with the Far East." From the time of Mutawakkil, the Arabs began increasingly to displace the Persian sailors on the seas, and, in the course of this process it seems, the first recorded appearance of the Arab sailor in China was in the year 751 A.D.

From the ninth to the end of the fifteenth century A.C. was the golden age of Persian and Arab navigation, when Muslim sails dotted the seas from the Red Sea in the West to the Pacific Ocean in the East. In the first two centuries of this period, it was the Persians who held the monopoly of the Eastern trade and in the course of their maritime activities Persian traders had spread to all the coastal regions of India and the East, and in some places had settled down in trading colonies. One such colony was in Bengal, the homonymous capital of the province of Bengal. Describing this colony, a writer said "Many foreigners from various ports live in this city, both Arabs and Persians, Abyssinians and Indians, who congregate here on account of the country being very fertile and of a temperate climate. They are all great merchants and own large ships of the same build as those of Mekkah, and others of the Chinese build which they call Jungos, which are very large and carry a very considerable cargo. With these ships they navigate to Chholmendar, Malabar, Cambay, Peigu,² Tarnasari,³ Samatra, Ceylon and

(1) Harvey, pp. 64-67, 69, 73, 336-37.

(2) Pegu.

(3) Tenasserim.

Malacca."¹ In the same work Joao de Barros, a Portuguese historian of the time, is quoted as mentioning how different races of sailors and merchants, the Javanese, the Siamese the Peguans,² the Bengalis, the Quelijo, Malabaris, Gujaratis, Persians and Arabians mingled together in an eastern port. Professor Hadi Hasan further quotes an Arabic writer, Muqaddasi,³ who in a work compiled in 985 A.C. mentions thirty-six varieties of trading vessels, among which are mentioned the "Zirbadiyah" and the "Burmah." The former kind probably traded with Burma, the Malaya peninsula and the East Indian Islands. The latter, as the name implies, must have been solely employed to sail to and from Burma.⁴ Thus we have evidence to show that from very early times during the period of Muslim commercial supremacy, trading colonies may have been established in Pegu, and that voyages to Burma by Arab vessels were frequent.

A parallel growth of *wanderlust* marked the spread of Muslim commerce, and hundreds of Muslim travellers, mainly Arabs, set out on journeys to hitherto unknown lands. Many of these came towards the east, into China and India, and the East Indies. Of these, some referred in their works to Burma, which they called Rahma. The majority of these travellers were bound for the distant land of Cathay, to the port of Khan-Fu (Canton), and sailed from ports on the Persian Gulf, passing through India. In reality, however, it seems that only a very few came to Burma, most of the others describing the land of Rahma from mere hearsay. Among the accounts which seem to be authentic are those of the famous 9th century Persian traveller Ibn Khordadbeh, the 9th century Arab traveller, Suleyman, and the 10th century Persian Ibn al Faqih. Their descriptions, though rather exaggerated and uncritical, yet shed interesting light on the country.

Ibn Khordadbeh mentions that "the King of Rahma (Lower Burma) has fifty thousand elephants. His country produces cloth made of velvety cotton, and aloe-wood of the sort, called *hindi*." Suleyman gives an ampler description. Says he, "The King of Rahma enjoys no great repute....."

(1) Hadi Hasan, *A History of Persian Navigation*, p. 145.

(2) It is to be noted that the Burmese were never a seafaring race. When Joao de Barros mentions the Peguans here he is probably referring to Arabs and Persians and their hybrid descendants who had settled in Pegu. Harvey, p. 341. "The Peguers abroad."

(3) Should be Maqdisi—Editor "I.C."

(4) Hadi Hasan, p. 131.

His troops are more numerous than those of Ballahra, Gujra and Tekin. They say that when he marches into battle he is accompanied by about fifty thousand elephants..... In his army the washermen amount to between ten and fifteen thousand. In his states are found cloths not found elsewhere; a dress made of such cloth is so fine and light that it can pass through a signet ring..... For barter the people use cowries, which form their currency. But gold, silver, aloes are also found..... The same country produces the rhinoceros, an animal which has on his forehead a single horn.....”

Ibn al Faqih's account varies from these, “In Ind lies a realm, called Rahma, bordering on the sea. Its ruler is a woman. It is ravaged by the plague, and any man who comes from elsewhere in Ind and enters the country dies there,” he says: but he goes on to throw light on human nature, “Yet many come by reason of the great profits to be made.”*

From a study of the various Arab and Persian writers it becomes apparent that, to the maritime Arabs and Persians, the various parts of the land of Burma, and more especially the coastal regions of Arakan, the Irrawaddy Delta, Pegu and Tenasserim were well known. Naturally, therefore, when from the eighth century onwards, Muslim traders and navigators were spreading over the eastern seas from Egypt and Madagascar to China, and forming commercial settlements at points of vantage, the coastal regions of Burma were not overlooked. Originally, the intention of these traders and sailors had not been to establish permanent colonies, but owing to peculiar circumstances these acquired the nature of permanent settlements. The first Muslim colonies in Burma were large-sized settlements of the floating trading population.

The earliest entry of Muslim ships into the ports of “Rahma” seem not to have been so much deliberate as accidental. The vagaries of the trade winds and inclement weather drove these sailing vessels into Burmese ports for shelter.

The science of navigation in those days was primitive and as Hadi Hasan states, “when the ships had passed out of sight of land, and in the words of ‘Amr there was nought but the

* Ferrand, *Relations de voyages et de textes géographiques arabes, persans et turcs relatifs à l'extrême orient VIII^e au XVIII^e siècles*, quoted in Harvey, p. 10.

stars above and the waters beneath, the nakhuda had to rely on 'the regularity of the monsoon and steer solely by the sun, moon and stars, taking presumably soundings so frequently as possible'..... From the fifth to the twelfth century this mode of sailing in the southern sea was common to all ships, whether belonging to the East or Far East."¹ The forced entries into Burmese ports for shelter led to the founding of the settlements before mentioned and established regular Arab commercial relations with the seaports of Burma. It was not until the beginning of the sixteenth century that, with the advent of competition from the ever-increasing foreign merchants from the West, like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English and the French, that the Muslim commercial monopoly began to decline. And in due course, the English, who had at first merely tried to claim a share of the lucrative Eastern maritime trade, not only came to exclusive possession of Burmese trade but became the political masters of the country as well.

There are frequent references to these Muslim settlers in Burmese seacoast towns. Some European travellers, of whom there were many in the 15th, 16th and 17th centuries, may be quoted here. Athanasius Nitikin, a Russian merchant from the great emporium of Tver, travelled in the East about 1470 A.C., and pictured Pegu as "no inconsiderable port, inhabited by Indian dervishes. The products derived from thence are, manik, akhut, Kyrpuk, which are sold by the dervishes."² By dervishes he presumably meant Muslims, and though he mentions that they were "Indians," it is quite probable that these "dervishes" were mainly Arabs, as it is quite probable that at this time some Indian Muslims might have settled in these places.

Ralph Fitch, the first Englishman to visit the "Golden land," came in the 16th century. Of Dalla he says that "it is a very faire town, and hath a faire Port into the sea, from whence go many ships to Malacca, Mecca,"³ and many other places." Syriam was "a good town, and hath a faire port into the sea, whither came many ships from Mecca, Malacca, and Sumatra, and from divers other places. And there the ships stay and discharge, and send up their goods in Paroes to Pegu."⁴

(1) Hadi Hasan, p. 111.

(2) Quoted in Harvey, p. 121; Scott. p. 100.

(3) Mecca is frequently mentioned by travellers and in the East India Co.'s records. Spearman suggests that they meant Mocha.

(4) Vide *Purcha, His Pilgrimes*, vol. X, p. 186.

On the whole the scene can be reconstructed as one in which, as in all the other seaports from the Red Sea to China, Arab merchants played the dominant role as agents of trade. In this occupation, they came to be well acquainted with all the Burmese seaports like Rachem in Arakan, Cosmin,¹ Syriam, Dalla, and Pegu, in the Delta region, and the great emporium of the Tenasserim coast, Martaban.

The merchandise that these traders dealt in was various and expensive. The chief imports as listed by Fitch are as follows: "In India there are few commodities which serve for Pegu, except opium of Cambaia, painted cloth of Saint Thomé" or of Masulipatam, and White cloth of Bengala which is spent there in great quantities. They bring thither also much cotton yarns, red coloured with a root called saja, which will never lose its colour; it is very well sold here, and very much of it cometh yearly to Pegu. The ships which come from Bengala, Saint Thomé and Masulipatam come to the barre of Negrais and to Cosmin. To Martaban, a port of the sea, in the Kingdom of Pegu, comé many ships from Malacca laden with sandall, porcelaine and other wares of China, and with Camphora of Borneo, and Pepper from Acheen in Sumatra. To Cirion (Syriam) a port of Pegu, come ships from Mecca with Wollen cloth, Scarlets, Velvets, Opiums and such like."³

The chief exports of this time were, "Gold, Silver, Rubies, Sapphires, Spinels, Benjamins or Frankincense, long Pepper, Tinne, Lead, Copper, Lacca, whereof they make hard waxe, Rice, and Wine made of Rice, and some sugar."⁴ Another interesting and important item of export from Burma was earthenware jars from Martaban and Pegu. They were popularly known as Martaban jars or Martabans. "This name was given to vessels of a peculiar pottery of very large size, and glazed, which were famous all over the East for many centuries, and were exported from Martaban. They were sometime called Pegu jars."⁵ The jars were big in size and often used to store water and provisions on seafaring vessels. They were highly prized as articles of merchandise,

(1) Most probably Bassein.

(2) The list was apparently made at a later date, but it gives a fairly correct idea of the imports of the period of Muslim monopoly. This list condenses that of Caesar Fredrick, the Venetian traveller.

(3) Ralph Fitch, quoted in Scott, p. 108.

(4) *Ibid*; Scott, p. 108.

(5) Vide *Hobson-Jobson*, by Yule and Barnett, p. 559.

and were well known from Mecca to the Moluccas. In the middle of the 14th century, the great Arab traveller Ibn Batutah, mentions receiving "four Martabans or huge jars, filled with pepper, citron and mango, all prepared with salt, as for a sea voyage." In 1516 A.C. the Portuguese writer Barbosa, talks about these jars, "which are highly valued among the Moors, and they export them as merchandise."¹ So common articles of commerce in fact, did these jars become, that the word "Martaban" was added to the Persian vocabulary to denote these vessels.

Besides these articles, there were other natural products which, however, were not regular items of export, various Burmese Kings, at different times, stopped the export of such products as rubies, teak and rice, fearing that free commerce in these would impoverish their land. The Burmese had very few industries and therefore practically no finished articles for export; teak which was to be had in abundance could have been a very profitable article of export, yet owing to the lack of perception on the part of the Burmese Kings, even this, if permitted at all, was exported in a very small quantity. Since foreign traders could not always receive payment in the shape of goods for export, they either invested their sale proceeds in Burma-built ships,² or received the value of their merchandise in precious metal. The coins in use in Burma at that time were Ganza (Kamsa) or bronze coins. Besides these Ganza coins, which were hardly very alluring in the eyes of foreign merchants, Fitch mentions that "the Gold and silver is merchandise, and is worth sometimes more and sometimes less, as other wares be." But as mentioned before, even these metals were not always exportable. Therefore Burma's foreign trade was not always profitable or certain. Even in the face of all these difficulties, there was no lack of traders, for when profits could be made these would amply recoup them for their speculation in drier times.

The building and repairing of sea-going ships was a most flourishing industry in Burma, from those times up to the middle of the nineteenth century. The abundance of excellent teak, cheaper than Malabar and Surat teak, was the main reason for this; Syriam and later Dalla and Rangoon became important shipbuilding centres. The purchasers were mainly Arab and Armenian merchants, but some of these ships

(1) *Vide Hobson-Jobson*, by Yule and Barnett, p. 560.

(2) See below.

(3) J. G. Scott, *Burma*, p. 109.

were re-sold and some later ones even "found their way into the battle squadrons of the English East India Company." As late as in 1824 A.C., Major Snodgrass in *A Narrative of the Burmese War*,¹ records that "when the British army took possession of the place (Rangoon) they found a twenty-eight gun frigate on the stocks for the Imam of Muscat; it has since been launched, and is considered by judges, both as to model and workmanship, a very fine vessel; she was built most probably at one-third the expense that it would have cost in any other dock-yard in the world."²

On the whole, it would seem, merchants who came to the country once did not care to come again.³ Why then do we find such a big floating population of Muslim merchants in these Burmese ports at this period? The answer is not difficult to find. In spite of the prohibitions and injunctions of the Burmese monarchs, and the exactions of their officials who lived not on salaries but perquisites, a lucrative trade could still be carried on, more especially as these same officials could often be prevailed upon by *douceurs* to contrive at the flagrant violation of royal orders. But another more important reason was that the Burmese ports had become half-way houses for Muslim vessels bound from the ports in the Persian Gulf, the Red Sea, and the Coromandel, Malabar and Ceylon ports, for China and the Malayan spice islands. The caprices of winds and waves drove many ships for shelter into Burmese harbours. Frequently, ships came in voluntarily to pick up provisions and water, or for necessary repairs. The Muslim sailors of these were merely birds of passage; there were others who were forced to become more or less permanent residents of these maritime ports. The Arab sailing ships had solely to depend upon favourable winds for swift and regular voyages. These could only voyage during the dry season. Hall states that "the Moor merchants made the yearly excursion from the Coromandel Coast to Syriam at the end of the wet monsoon."⁴ This is corroborated by the experience of the sixteenth century English ships trading between India and Burma.⁵ In the rainy season all ships in Burmese ports had to wait patiently during the long six months of the wet monsoon.

(1) The first Burmese War of 1826.

(2) Snodgrass, p. 290; also cf. "French and Shipbuilding," p. 353 of Harvey; also Hall, p. 200.

(3) Harvey, pp. 350, 357.

(4) Hall, *Early English Intercourse with Burma*, p. 87.

(5) *Ibid.* pp. 93, 95.

Such sojourners, in course of time, came to comprise a great part of the population of these Burmese seaboard cities. They were assigned residences in foreign quarters of the town known as Kaladans and were kept under the supervision of Burmese officials known as Kalawuns.¹ It happened very commonly that these Muslim sojourners in Burma, like those of other races took unto themselves Burmese wives. This practice of intermarriage was encouraged by the Burmese Kings and the people, who wanted the population of the country to increase. "Apparently it was a long-established Burmese custom to provide with wives all foreigners who were forced to make a protracted stay in the country, either by shipwreck or for commercial reasons. The custom was commented upon by Linschoten in the sixteenth century."² No foreigner leaving the country, however, might take away with him either his Burmese consort or his children."³

Hamilton, an English trader of the eighteenth century, also remarks on this time-honoured custom that "the women are very courteous and kind to strangers. . . . and most part of the strangers who trade thither, marry a wife for the term that they stay."⁴

The progeny of these Arab, Persian and Indian Muslim traders formed the original nucleus of the Burmese Muslims or the Pathees as they are called by the Burmese. With the passing of years, the number of Muslims in Burma began to swell, partly because of the increase in the number of the offspring of these intermarriages⁵ and partly because of the influx of more and more Muslim adventurers from all parts of the East. The Pathees or Burma Muslims as they style themselves today, are either the lineal descendants of these first Pathees or the offspring of mixed marriage of later days, for this much is certain that Islam did obtain a foothold in Burma not by proselytization, but by the settlement of Muslims from other lands and by the rise of the descendants of mixed marriages. History does not lend support to the palpably erroneous view held by some that there existed a class of purely "Burmese" Muslims, and that the Burma Muslims or at least a part of them, can trace their descent from them.

The most common appellation by which the "Burma Muslims" have been and are known is the term "Zerbadi."

(1) See below.

(2) Linschoten's voyage to the East Indies, II, pp. 62-63.

(3) See Hall, p. 100.

(4) Hamilton quoted by Hall, p. 100; also cf. Harvey, p. 350.

(5) Vide Fitch, p. 31.

This term Zerbadi has been interpreted in several ways, some not very flattering to the Zerbadis themselves. This fact is no doubt partially responsible for the desire of these people to be known nowadays by the nomenclature "Burma Muslims" rather than by their name "Zerbadis." The theory advanced by my friend Mr. Meer Sulaiman, to explain the origin of this last word, appears to be the most reasonable and probable explanation. "Zirbad" seems to be a word of Persian origin and it is explained in Yule's "Hobson-Jobson," as "'Zirbad' n.p. Pers. 'Zir,' plus 'bad,' 'below the wind'" i.e., leeward. This is a phrase derived from nautical use, and applied to the countries eastward of India. It appears to be adopted with reference to the Monsoon. Thus in extracts from the "Mohit" or "Ocean" of Sidi Ali Kapudan (1554), translated by Joseph Von Hammer in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, we find that one chapter treats of the Indian Islands above and below the wind. The islands 'above the wind' were probably Ceylon, the Maldives, Socotra, etc., but we find no extract with precise indication of them. We find, however, indicated as the 'tracts below the wind' Malacca, Sumatra, Tenasserim, Bengal Martaban, Pegu. The phrase is one which naturally acquires a specific meaning among seafaring folk, of which we have an instance in the Windward and Leeward Islands of the West Indies. But probably it was adopted from the Malays, who make use of the same nomenclature, as the quotations show. . ." (Here follow quotations).¹ The particular class of vessel, the "Zirbadiyah," (mentioned before) may be presumed to be specially engaged in voyaging to the places below the wind, e.g., Malacca, Sumatra, Martaban, Tenasserim, Bengal, Pegu and other such places.

Basing his theory on this and other pieces of evidence, he comes to the conclusion that the Zerbadis of Burma were so called by Arab seafarers because they lived in the land of Zirbad, a land below the wind. This may be said to be a very probable solution of the question.²

In connection with the Muslim traders and settlers in Burma, we may mention certain things of interest which may be traced to their connections with the country. A theory has been advanced that the port of Syriam (spelt Cirion by

(1) *Hobson-Jobson*, p. 984, quoted in Meer Sulaiman's "The word Zerbadis," in *The Cry*, Jan. 1935.

(2) Vide Sulaiman, "The Word Zerbadee," in *The Cry*, Jan. 1935.

early English sailors), received its name from these Muslim sailors. The original name of the port, as given by Arab and Persian sailors, is supposed to be Sir-i-am or head of the river. The Burmese name was Than-Hlyin. The theory sounds plausible but needs fuller examination before it can be accepted.

There are other relics of Muslim intercourse with Burma which deserve our attention. The spread of Islam and the increasing intercourse of Muslim merchants and navigators with Burma led to the dotting of "the coast from Assam to Malaya with the curious mosques known as Buddermokan revered by Buddhists and Chinamen as well as Mahomedans."¹ The Buddermokans in Burma are to be found on some islets on the Arakan coast (e.g., one of the promontory at Akyab, and at Sandoway), and another on a small island of the Mergui Archipelago on the Tenasserim coast. According to that famous scholar, Sir Richard Temple, these Buddermokans or more properly Badarmaqams, are the shrines of Budar and "Badar is no less a personage than Pir Badar of Chittagong, known throughout Muhammadan hagiology as Badru'ddin Aulia. Now, Badru'ddin Aulia represents by his attributes Khwaja Khizr in modern Bengal."²

Other common terms introduced into Burmese ports was the titles of the Nakhuda and the Shahbandar. "Nacoda" was a Persian word meaning (according to *Hobson-Jobson*) "a shipper?, the master of a native vessel. (Perhaps the owner of the ship, going with it as his own super-cargo)." We frequently come across this term, especially in the records of the East India Company, with references to Burmese ports. The title "Shahbandar," was another Persian word applied to a high port official, or the lord of the harbour.³

The designation of "Shahbandar" was "applied at native ports throughout the Indian Ocean to an officer vested with special authority over foreign traders and shipping, and hence often chief Customs officer."⁴ This office in Burmese ports

(1) Harvey, p. 137.

(2) Vide an article on "Buddermokans," *Journals of the Burma Research Society*, vol. XV, Part 1.

(3) Hall misinterprets this word as "the King of Heaven," it should mean "King of the Port."

(4) Vide Hall, p. 133, footnote; *Ibid*, Appendix III; also cf. *Hobson-Jobson*.

was often filled, probably, by Armenian and Muslim incumbents.¹

Another interesting feature about the activities of the Muslims in this period was that numbers of them began to serve as mercenaries under the Burmese Kings and princes. From Anawrahta's reign in the 11th century, Indian troops and body-guards, among whom there must have been many Muslims, esteemed for their valour and warlike qualities, began to be engaged in the Burmese army in ever-increasing numbers. Thus we hear that the King, Minkyiswasawke (1368-1401) in his attack on Martaban, the capital of the Talaing prince, Byata-Taba who had fled, met with an unexpected and spirited resistance offered by two Muslim officers in the defending army, who were, however, finally vanquished. In this period also when Binnya Nwe, more famous as Razadarit, (1385-1423) rebelled against his father Binnya U, he was faced with the machinations of his step-mother and her brother Laukbya, "the Lord of Myaungmya." The last named besieged the rebel prince in the stockaded town of Dagon (modern Rangoon), and it was largely due to the able help of "Mohamedan shipmen" that he warded off the attack.² When later, in his turn, Razadarit proceeded to retaliate on his inveterate foe, Laukbya, finding that the citadel of Myaungmya was invulnerable, he turned his attention to the reduction of the nearby city of Bassein, then under the three sons of Laukbya, where he was faced with a body of "Indian adventurers," among the defenders, most probably Muslims, who possessed "what are called cannon but were probably mere jingals or culverins."³ The attack proved to be expensive for the invader who was beaten off with the loss of his general. The introduction of firearms into Burma, was due to Muslim adventurers. Harvey agrees that "it is possible that Mahomedan shipmen, when hired to fight, used in Burma on a few occasions towards the end of the fifteenth century something that could be distinguished as a firearms."⁴ And up to the end of the eighteenth century there seems to have been a number of Muslim musketeers and gunners besides some Portuguese, engaged as regulars in the Burmese army.

(1) See below.

(2) Harvey, p. 112.

(3) Vide Scott, p. 55.

(4) Harvey, pp. 340-341.

This period of Burmese Muslim history came to a close with the beginning of the sixteenth century and the advent of European traders in eastern waters. The Portuguese were the pioneers and in their train came the Dutch, the English and the French. With the beginning of their struggle for the Eastern trade, Muslim traders began to lose ground until by the beginning of the next century, their commerce had dwindled into insignificance. What little part they played in the commercial history of the subsequent age, will be related in another article.

M. SIDIQ KHAN.

(To be continued)

THE DECCAN'S CONTRIBUTION TO INDIAN CULTURE

(Continued from "Islamic Culture," Vol. X, No. 1.)

LITERATURE

TELUGU literature includes the legends and traditions of both Buddhism and Jainism, but Kanarese literature is purely of Brahmanism. Hem Chand (d. 1088 A.D.) is a writer worthy of mention. Although he was born near Ahmadabad, he influenced the whole of the Deccan, where the gems of Telugu literature were produced. Most of the literature of Jainism is found in the Telugu language. Much of it is in inscriptions which are found by the thousand in the Deccan and which are of historic as well as literary value. There are many well-known legends about Raja Vikramaditya before mentioned. The most famous book of his period is *Mitakshara* which is still followed practically by the Telugu people of the Deccan. Some inscriptions are important; especially that of Munirâbâd.

"The Chalukyas arrived from Ayodhya and held the sway up to the middle of the eighth century. Buddhism gave way to Jainism and a revival of the Brahmanic sacrificial system along with a worship of the Hindu deities, chief among whom was Siva. The greatest of all the early Chalukyan monarchs was 'He with the Lion Locks,' or Pulakesin II whose rule forms a landmark in the early political and literary history of India."

Next in importance as a language comes Marathi, which is spoken throughout Maharashtra of which a large portion is in the Nizam's Dominions. It ranks among the important languages of India. Many saints and scholars have arisen in this Maharashtra, of which the centre was Pandharpur. Pandit Dnaneshwar wrote his great work *Dnaneshwari* in 1290 and it is still popular with Marathi scholars. The teachings of Dnaneshwar generally follow the principles of Unitarianism, while the teachings of Tuka Ram and Nam Deo, two other great writers of the Marathas, are works of mysticism based on concentration of the mind on, and its absorption in, the

Divine Essence, leading through ecstacy to the revealing vision. *Dnaneshwari* is a commentary on the Bhagwatgita. After these great writers, we find the name of Bhanu Das, a poet of the middle of the fourteenth century whose verses are still in the mouths of the people. After him, in the sixteenth (Christian) century flourished Eknath, who is considered one of the greatest mystic poets of the Marathas. Through his mystical writings he imparted ethical teaching with good effect. There have been many other great writers of Marathi.

Kanari, (or Canarese, the language of the Carnâtic), which is also one of the chief languages of the Deccan, has its centre further south in Mysore. This language is not without its literature and great writers in the Nizam's Dominions.

Coming now to the Muslim period in the Deccan, we find many fine works of Persian literature produced here, and it was here that the Urdu language had its origin and first development, here where it has now culminated in the Osmania University.

Most of the Persian literature in the Deccan was produced under the patronage of the Muslim kings, whose court language was Persian. Recently the poetical works of Mîr Ḥasan (who lies buried at Khuldabâd) and was a contemporary of Amir Khusrau of Delhi, have been published under the ægis of His Excellency, Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, President of the Nizam's Executive Council, a munificent patron of art and letters. Also the only existing MS. of the *Tughlaq-Nâmah* of Amir Khusrau has recently been published by the Persian Manuscript Society of Hyderabad. The literary works of Khwâjah Maḥmûd Gâwân are among the finest Persian writings: and there are many other Persian writers of the Deccan who must be named in any general account of the literature of India.

Urdu has now found its place as a medium of instruction both in the Schools and in the University. The Nizam's Government is justified in adopting Urdu as the *lingua franca* of the State because it is more widely known than any other Indian language. But government has been careful to keep up the Deccani languages too, in the curriculum of study as alternative subjects. Many scholarships have been founded for special researches in these languages. We can say with confidence that no other ruler of an Indian State would have given such impartial care to all the Deccan languages as the Nizam has given.

Since the majority of the Hyderabad population speaks these languages, it may well be asked why Urdu has been made the State language. It is because Urdu has become the *lingua franca* not only for the Nizam's Dominions but for the whole of India. It is understood all over the continent by people of all creeds and races. Speak to a Telinga in Marathi, he will not understand, but speak to him in Urdu and he will reply in the same tongue. The same is true of a Maratha when he is addressed in Telugu. So Urdu has been made the language of instruction in the Osmania University.

Among the services rendered by Hyderabad to Urdu literature, I must mention two great works *Tamaddun-i-Hind* and *Tamaddun-i-Arab*, which are translations from the French works of Le Bon by Sayed Husain 'Ali Bilgrami, a member of a family renowned and revered among the people for its public services.

In English literature Hyderabad can claim Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, "the Nightingale of India," and another poet in the person of Nawab Sir Nizam Jung Bahadur, as well as several promising younger writers.

THE PROGRESS OF URDU

When the Muslims came to this country the problem of the languages, more than twenty-one in number, confronted them; compelling them to adopt Persian as their court and official language; and within a short period this became a part of the institutions of the country. From the mixture of the language of the conquerors, Persian, and the languages of the country, sprang Urdu. This local dialect became a particular Deccani language which in Central and Northern India took the name Hindustani and, later Urdu. The word *Urdu*—the Turkish word for the Imperial camp—is first applied to this language by Mashafi in his Dictionary of the Biographies of Urdu poets recently published by the Anjuman Taraqqî-i-Urdu, Aurangabad. Prof. Shirani of the Punjab University has alleged, as the result of I know not what researches, that Urdu had its birth in the Punjab.

Deccani or Hindi or Urdu came into being in the Deccan at the courts of the Qutub Shâhî and 'Adil Shâhî sultans. Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh replaced Persian by Hindi as his court language. It was a time of peace for the Deccanis and through the munificent patronage of these kings many scholars, poets and artists of repute flocked to their courts. Ibrâhîm 'Adil

Shâh II exchanged this Hindi for the Deccani Urdu, written in Arabic characters. This king was called *Jagat Guru*—the Guardian of Mankind and he himself was a great scholar, poet and artist. His famous book *Nouras-Nâmah* on Indian Music shows him as an expert also in that art; a contemporary MS. is preserved in the Library of the *Daftar-i-Divani*, Hyderabad, which is profusely gilded and decorated. It is beautifully written by the court calligraphist.

‘Ali ‘Adil Shâh II had a great inclination for Urdu and his court was full of Urdu poets upon whose works we rely to-day for the history of Urdu, such as Mulla Nusrati, the author of *‘Ali Nâmah* giving a vivid account of the ‘Adil Shâhî wars against the Mughals and the Marathas, Syed Bulaqi and others of like merit. Urdu, at that time, although in its primitive form, was patronised by the court and so progressed amazingly. Sikandar ‘Adil Shâh, the last of the ‘Adil Shâhî line, maintained the tradition of his house in Art and Literature until Aurangzêb came on the scene.

Similarly the Quṭub Shâhî kings, contemporaries of the ‘Adil Shâhîs were famous for their patronage of Arts and Letters, and fostered Urdu. Muḥammad Qûlî Quṭub Shâh’s poetical works—the *Kulliyat*—fill a huge volume. Of his successors, ‘Abdullah Quṭub Shah and Abû’l-Hasan Tâna Shâh were also poets and prose writers in the Urdu language, Tâna Shâh being really a great imaginative poet. Among his contemporaries Wajih, Shahi, Aḥmad Ghouthi, Ibn Nashâti and Razi are poets whose works are found to-day in the great Deccan libraries. The poetry of those courts made an epoch in the history of Urdu literature.

All the Nizams of the Aṣaf Jahi dynasty have been well-known poets of their time while many eminent poets flourished at their courts. Their poetry was often written in the Urdu language. The present Nizam, His Exalted Highness Mir Osmân ‘Alî Khan, is a fine poet both in Urdu and Persian, with Osman as his *nom-de-plume*.

The lavish patronage of the Deccani Sultans produced a succession of great scholars who were concerned with the local language and literature. When times changed and the Mughal Emperor prevailed the literary atmosphere changed also and Persian once again became the language of the court. This was the time when the Aṣaf Jahi Dynasty arose.

Persian remained as the official language till that great lover of the country, Sir Salar Jung Bahadur, became Prime Minister in the middle of the nineteenth (Christian) century.

He replaced Urdu as the court language in 1293 A.H., thus reverting to the old traditions of the Deccan. The change was beneficial, particularly in the realm of education. Urdu could replace Persian in the Government Offices without causing any hitch or confusion, since it is written in the same (Arabic) characters; and Urdu was admirably adapted to become the *lingua franca* and language of instruction for a population speaking twenty-one different languages, according to the last census, since it is the most widely known of all Indian languages. To-day in the curriculum of the Osmania University, every subject is taught in Urdu by competent professors on most modern lines; and to meet the requirements of this higher education, standard works from various languages have been translated into Urdu, and a Translation Bureau constituted for that special purpose which is still busily supplying the needs of the University and at the same time producing a number of books in Urdu of use to the general public of India. The vocabulary of a language which can draw on the Sanskrit, Arabic, Persian and Turkish dictionaries to any extent is, of course, very rich. No other language of India can compare with it in this respect. With the establishment of the Osmania University, Hyderabad has become the metropolis of Urdu, and His Exalted Highness the Nizam the greatest patron that language has ever had. The time is not far distant when scholars of other countries will come to this university to specialize in Urdu as Indian students flock to Cambridge or Oxford to-day.

To my mind the Osmania University recalls two ancient Deccani Universities which were formerly established in this country and were its great attraction for outsiders. One of them was the University established at Ajanta by the Buddhist monks and the other that which Khwâja Maḥmūd Gâwân founded at Bidar.

The first capital of the Asaf Jahi kingdom in the Deccan was Aurangabad, where the old throne of Asaf Jah is still preserved. On A'îd-days this throne is occupied by the Subedar of Aurangabad, as representative of the Nizam, though but for a moment. At Aurangabad a society called *Anjuman Taraqqî-i-Urdu* for the advancement of the Urdu language has been founded by Maulvi 'Abdul Haqq, the great authority on Urdu, who now holds the position of Head of the Urdu Section of the Osmania University and was once the chief of the Translation Bureau. This Anjuman issues a quarterly journal, *Urdu*, which has rendered valuable service and publishes noteworthy literary works in Urdu at a very low price.

It has done much for the literary life of the Deccan and indeed of India. It is shortly to publish a comprehensive standard English-Urdu Dictionary due to the collaboration of a number of eminent scholars—a work of which the need has long been keenly felt.

ARTILLERY AND SWORDSMANSHIP

The Deccan has always been renowned for martial exercises. Archery was the sport of the aborigines of India; it was also the means of getting their daily livelihood, a fact of which ample proof is to be found in the *Mahabharata* and the *Ramayana*. But the renown of the Deccan for swordsmanship dates from the Muslim conquest, though the old Arab poets sang the praise of Indian swords because of the fine quality of steel found here.

When Muslim kingdoms were established in the Deccan their rulers made arenas for military training and to promote a martial spirit in the general public. The use of guns and cannon in war was known, and such weapons were made in special manufactories.

After the lapse of centuries the forts of Bîdar, Bijapur, Warangal, Golconda, Daulatabad and others still have so many huge cannons lying about that the stranger visiting these forts for the first time is amazed to see such costly engines of war with heaps of cannon balls of various sizes abandoned. These forts have never been inhabited since they were stormed and sacked, therefore they represent that moment of despair and so we can see just how it happened. Many cannons were known by name on account of special qualities attributed to them, e.g., *Malik Meydân*, Master of the Battlefield, *Fâtih Meydân*, Victor of the Battlefield—*Mendah*, Ram and so forth. They all invariably bear inscriptions in relief on their body of cast iron and generally their makers were Arabs, for always I have seen inscribed Muḥammad 'Arab, Huseyn 'Arab, etc. The biggest of all these cannons is that in the Bijapur fort in whose barrel a man can sit with ease as I have proved. It is possible that such cannon may be found in other parts of India but in the Deccan these are found intact and in their proper places. They are vivid illustrations of a chapter of the Deccan history.

I have already said that there were arenas for the display of feats of swordsmanship. It is noted in the account of Daulatabad fort that in the days of the Nizam Shahi monarchs there was a custom that whenever the king appeared in public two spearmen used to play before him and this was regarded as the public salutation to the monarch;

and whenever any plaintiff appeared with any complaint against anyone at the royal court then both the complainant and respondent were ordered to fight with swords to try their luck ; whichever of them struck the first blow on his enemy had judgment given in his favour. Many people daily came to the court and tried their luck in this way, and many of them lost their lives. Afterwards the relatives of the beheaded people came and carried away the corpses. This procedure went so far that litigants began to fight at the gate of the fort because the courts were filled with corpses. The relatives of the parties concerned never interfered in the strife. There was no retaliation or ransom system, only this trial at the risk of life. Consequently swordsmanship was very popular among the Deccanis ; even kings and nobles studied it, and skill in it was counted a great qualification for a ruler. Farishta, the historian, has mentioned an incident of his own observation. Sayyid Murtaḍa and Sayyid Ḥuseyn, two old men of Arab stock, holding great honour at the court of Ibrâhîm 'Adil Shâh (988-1035 A.H.) at Bijapur were eminent personalities of the Deccan. They were brothers and well known amongst the people. There was a law-suit on a certain point. In the beginning the son of Sayyid Murtaḍa, who was still a youth of twenty-four years, gave up his life to swordsmanship in defending his father. Sayyid Murtaḍa came before the Deccani who had killed his son and instantly met his end at the point of the sword as his son had done. When Sayyid Ḥuseyn saw his brother and nephew slaughtered in his presence, he at once attacked the Deccani, and also lost his life on the same spot. Still even the corpses of these Sayyids were not removed from the bazar of Bijapur till the Deccani and two others who had also received fatal wounds in the duels, gave up their lives. In short, six persons, without any previous enmity, lost their lives simply on account of the craze for fencing. Indeed the Deccanis sought that sort of heroic fate.

The Deccanis are deficient in horsemanship because of the lack of horses in their country ; they are accustomed to use the sword on foot. There are few instances to show that the inhabitants of the Deccan were ever great at riding. Once Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân presented a number of fine horses to his patron, Sultan Nizâm Shâh Bahmanî, of the rare breeds of Arabia and Turkistan. Great prominence has been given to the present by historians simply owing to the lack of horses in the Deccan.

If to-day anyone desires to study the old weapons and technique of fighting, a trip to the Deccan will teach him more

than can be found in book. Here are still to be found many expert swordsmen. I give here some special terms connected with the sword that so, perhaps, they may be preserved; because it is to be feared that, with the decline of swordplay, the terminology will lapse into oblivion. Everyone knows that there are two parts of the sword—the handle and the blade, The Deccani divides these further into eight parts, viz., *Meydan*, *Ghat*, *Pipla Patta*, *Fani*, or *Pipla*, *Dumbala*, *Barah* or *Dhar* and *Khoti*. I regret my inability to expound them adequately. A thick sword is called *pur gosht*—full of meat—and when it becomes thin from constant use it is named *Ghuli hui*—melted. There are several names of the sword: *Farrukh begi* which is both bent and straight, and perhaps named after some famous swordsman whose name was Farrukh Beg; *Nawâz Khânî* and *Mîr Funlî* attributed to a certain Nawâz Khân and Mîr Jumla; *Almân* attributed to Germany; *teggha* of extraordinarily large size; *misri* made of Egyptian steel; *Nagdol* of a different shape; *dârâshâhî*, which is perhaps the invention of Dârâ Shikoh; *selapah* having a large curve; *sos patta* so named because it has the shape of a bud or leaf of the flower *sosan*; *zafar takia* with another piece fixed on its handle (this sword is used as a pillow when the swordsman takes his sea); *aftab garmi* straight as the rays of the sun and very sharp; *nag phani* like the head of a small snake; *do shala* or *do paikar patta* are weapons of ancient India known to-day as *Ẓûlfiqâr-i-Haidarî*. These names of the sword are confined to Hyderabad people. Similarly they have several special names for the handles of swords; '*Arabî qabza*, *hakim khani*, *panah dar*, *Irânî*, *Aurangzêbî*, etc. A good many specimens of all these swords are preserved in the State Museum at Hyderabad, many of them with important inscriptions. I was once told by a reliable person that he had seen a dagger of Aḥmad Shâh Bahmanî with his name inscribed on it.

There are other weapons to be found here but I content myself with mention of the above.

HANDICRAFTS

In India the Deccan, Gujrat and Dacca were famous for their special manufacture of textiles in old days. These were not only used by the people of those countries but also were exported to other regions for presentation to sultans, nobles and other well-to-do folk. My concern here is with the Deccan only. I find that to this day children of the elementary schools in the Nizâm's Dominions have on their lips the

names of various fabrics manufactured in the Deccan. They are:—*Himru*, *Mishru*, *Kimkhawb* in Aurangabad, *sarian* of silk and cotton in Gulbarga, *Pitambar sunahri sarian* and different silks in Raichur and Medak, *tassar* in Mahbubnagar, Warangal, Karimnagar, and Nizamabad, *Lungian*, *rummal*, *tallian* in Nalgonda and Warangal; *suznian*, *shatranjian* in Raichur; many soft blankets and *jazman* in Mahbubnagar and Gulbarga. The carpets of Warangal are still very popular. In history we find that even in the Hindu period these industries of the Deccan had more than local fame. Many travellers from foreign countries, who visited the Deccan, mention with praise these manufactures. Just before the arrival of Marco Polo (1294-5) at Warangal, Rani Rudra Devi of the Kaktya dynasty had abdicated her throne in favour of her grandson of whom I treat in the next section. Marco Polo has especially described the rare and delicate fabrics produced here, which were widely appreciated and purchased by wealthy people of those days. Samples of them even found their way to Europe.

The Muslim rulers of the Deccan used to include the textiles of the country in their gifts to foreign rulers. Aurangabad later became a great manufacturing centre. *Kimkhawb*, *Žarbaft*, *Bel chishm*, *Murgh-zala*, *Chand tara*, *Ganga jamni*, *Mushajjar*, *Char jama*, etc., were all woven at different places round Aurangabad and to give beading of gold and silver to these cloths *salma stara* of great variety were also manufactured. Generally the velvet was profusely decorated with embroidery. In 1608, under the Qutub Shahi kings of Golconda, when the Persian envoy left on his return to Persia, he carried away with him a piece of *Kimkhawb* which had been prepared by the artizans of Paitan (Aurangabad) who had worked for five years on those pieces. It is mentioned in Mughal history that Akbar and Jahângîr used to receive many presents of textiles from the Deccan Sultâns. Faizî, the well-known scholar-courtier of Akbar, mentions in a letter this industry of the Deccan carried on at Paitan. "The art of manufacturing cloth in Paitan is matchless. Moreover, it is also noted in the account of Malik Ambar that, when Rafi-ud-dîn Shîrâzî was staying in Ambar's palace as a guest, he inquired from the accountant of Malik Ambar, how much silken cloth was manufactured in Kirkee (Aurangabad) and exported to other parts. He replied three *Kharwar* within a year (about eight hundred pounds weight) of which the income was about seventeen millions of rupees." In short, this Deccan industry was held in high esteem throughout the

world. After Malik Ambar, when the Mughals ruled the land, the country knew less peace, but still, in the absence of royal patronage, the people carried on this industry with the same vigour. When Aurangzêb's coronation took place in Delhi, the 'Adil Shâhî and Qutub Shâhî kings sent their envoys with rare presents consisting largely of pieces of the finest cloths manufactured in the Deccan.

Carpets and decorative woven cloths in a marvellous variety of colours were the chief speciality of the Deccan. The people here have always loved bright colours and a great variety of colour is still found among them. Their taste in colour and design was shown in their weaving and embroideries. There were many artists who were special experts in designs for textile purposes. Many specimens of such designs are still found in the Deccan art collections.

These ancient industries are still kept alive in the Deccan side by side with modern methods of cloth production; for several cloth-mills have been started to give employment to the people of the country.

Bidar is famous for a certain kind of decorative metal-work, and when any Hyderabadî wishes to give a present characteristic of his country to an outsider, he almost invariably chooses a vase or some sets of studs or buttons of this work of Bidar, which is much admired.

There were only a few places in India where paper was manufactured and in many such places it is still manufactured either by the old process or by modern machinery. Some old manufactories are still existing such as that at Sialkot in the Punjab and that at Daulatabad in the Deccan. Near Daulatabad fort, there is a small village which is mainly populated by the experts who make old paper and that village is called *Kaghzipura* from their trade. Also in the Nizam's Dominions there are other districts, Warangal, Karimnagar and Medak where very fine old paper is prepared. It is specially used here for official purposes because this paper is less perishable than the new machine-made paper. In particular the Government Gazette—*Jarîdah*—is printed on it with a view to permanency.

QUEENS OF THE DECCAN

When Sultan Rukn-ud-dîn son of Sultan Shams-ud-dîn Altamish of Delhi was murdered, his only sister Razia was enthroned with the title of Sultana Razia. She ruled from 1236-39 A.D. with great success. She used to ride in the

streets on horseback, fully armed and unveiled. She was perhaps the first Indian woman to wield sovereign power successfully.

When the Venetian traveller Marco Polo came to India in 1294-5, he paid a visit to the Deccan at a time when Rudra Devi, the rightful heir of the Kaktya dynasty, had just abdicated the throne of Warangal in favour of her grandson. She also was a queen whose name is great in Indian history. In 1260 A.D. Raja Ganpati Deo Raj of the Kaktya dynasty of Warangal died childless, and his widow Rudra Devi ascended the throne amidst universal acclamation. Her period of forty-one years is regarded as the most glorious reign in India. She was very conscientious in performing all her duties as a rule. She paid attention to public works and reforms rather than to military exploits. She rebuilt the fort of Warangal. She had a wise minister, Shiva Deo, a Saivite Brahmin, in consultation with whom she transacted the business of the State to the entire satisfaction of the people, by whom she was very much loved. Marco Polo in his vivid picture of his visit to Warangal, shows how well Rudra Devi had ruled the country for forty-one years. Many historians have mentioned her great love for her deceased husband which made her scorn the thought of remarriage.

This Rani founded a town in Parkal District, which was named Amalia and to-day is misspelt and mispronounced Ambal. A village, Muri Kunda was also built by her, which has recently been discovered by the Nizam's Archæological Department through an inscription of Kotagiri, which has been published with commentation by the Department. She was very old when the fear of the Muslim invaders came upon the country for they had reached the walls of Deogiri. At that time a strong ruler of Warangal was needed, so she abdicated in favour of her grandson Pratab in 1295 and herself retired into seclusion. Pratab came to the throne as Rudra II at the age of fifteen years. He died in 1317.

I have mentioned Makhdûmah-i-Jahân, the mother of Nizâm Shâh Bahmanî and Muḥammad Shâh Bahmanî, in the course of my brief sketch of Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân, showing how she ruled as regent with success during the minority of her two sons, with Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân for counsellor.

Of all the queens of India the most popular is Chand Bibi of Aḥmadnagar. Everyone is familiar with the bravery and chivalry shown by her in the wars against the Mughals. Her

exploits have become proverbial. Chand Sultana was a woman of great character. She was born in 957 A.H. in Aḥmadnagar when a great calamity loomed over the whole Deccan, where at that time five different kingdoms existed side by side: the 'Imâd Shâhî (Berâr), the Barîd Shâhî (Bîdar), the 'Adil Shâhî (Bijâpur), the Quṭub Shâhî (Golconda), and the Nizâm Shâhî in whose household Chand Sultana was born. Her father was the grandson of Sultân Ḥuseyn Nizâm Shâh, the founder of the dynasty of Aḥmadnagar. Her mother was Khonza Humâyûn, a descendant of the royal family of Azarbaijan. She was married at the age of fourteen to 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh of Bijâpur who was a great enemy of the Aḥmadnagar kings. 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh was killed by a slave sent by the Barîd Shâhî king in 988 A.H. Chand Bibi felt it her duty to save the country from great danger and a civil war. She set the nephew of the late 'Ali 'Âdil Shâh on the throne and herself ruled as regent with great prudence and intelligence till the young king came of age. Thus she kept up the prestige of the Bijâpur kings, transacting all the State affairs with justice and a firm hand. Ibrâhîm 'Âdil Shâh used to consult her in all business of the State. When order was restored in the Bijâpur kingdom Chand Bibi went back to her motherland Aḥmadnagar. She was then thirty-five. When Murtaḍa Shâh, the ruler of Aḥmadnagar died at a moment when the foreign relations of the State were strained to breaking-point and war was imminent, she went to Bijâpur where she gathered some reliable troops and leaders with a view of the defence of Aḥmadnagar fort against the huge army of the Mughals led by their greatest general. It was a question of saving the whole Deccan from the Mughals, so the Bijâpur and Golconda kingdoms sent contingents. The strength of her defence was such that the position seemed secure. But the Mughals dug three tunnels to undermine the fort. Chand Sultana discovered and destroyed two of them, but did not detect the third which made a breach in the wall of the fort. At that moment of disaster Chand Bibi came out of her apartments and with matchless bravery faced the Mughal army, fighting to the last; and many other women fired by her desperate valour fought beside her. Her bravery held back the Mughal army, whose leader Prince Murâd was compelled to come to terms of peace with her. This action of Chand Sultana has been the theme of many writers and many artists who have portrayed her in full armour defending the fort.

These women of the Deccan are the heroines of all India.

IMPORTANT PERSONALITIES

The Deccan can boast of several statesmen of outstanding merit who have rendered most valuable service to the State. They have loyally helped their sovereign to build up his kingdom and consolidate his power, and at the same time have been unsparing in their efforts to devise measures for improving the lot of the masses. Their sagacious handling of critical situations, especially where communal problems have arisen, has borne such excellent results that it is an object lesson to the whole of India. In the following sketch I mention only a few of the ancient and modern notabilities of the Deccan owing to the small space at my disposal:—Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân, Malik Ambar, Salar Jung, Maharaja Śir Kishen Pershad and Sir Akbar Hydari—all of them persons who have devoted themselves to the service of this country and its people.

Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân belonged to a highly esteemed family of Gîlân (Persia). He came to India at the age of forty-three, as a traveller combining business with the search for knowledge. At that time India was passing through great political changes. The Lodis held the central kingdom of Delhi; Malwa was under the Khiljis with Mandu as its capital; Bihâr was under the Sharqî kings of Jaunpur; Rajputana had many petty States of the Rajput Chiefs; 'Al-i-Muzaffar were in Gujarat; the Central provinces were under the Farûqî dynasty, and the Deccan was under the Bahmanî dynasty with whom the Khwâja found the opportunity to show his worth in a kingdom almost surrounded by the Hindu States.

Sultan 'Ala-ud-dîn Bahmanî paid a tribute to the Khwâja which so pleased him that he quite abandoned the idea of going back to his native land. He was made the representative of the Bahmanî kingdom in Bijâpur in the days when Jalâl Khân, the governor of Nalgonda, met his end. Humâyûn Bahmanî after a long and strenuous reign died in 865 A.H. and his minor son Nizam Shâh came to the throne, whose mother Makhdûmah-i-Jahân governed as regent. She appointed the Khwâja viceroy of Bijâpur. When the Raja of Orissa invaded the Bahmanî kingdom Makhdûmah-i-Jahân went out with Nizam Shâh to face the enemy at the head of a great army. The whole danger was controlled and averted by the good advice of Khwâja Maḥmûd. There was a great battle; the Raja of Orissa was defeated and fled to his country.

When Muḥammad Shâh Khiljî of Malwa made great preparations for an attack on the Deccan, the Khwâja thought it wise to seek the help of the Gujarat Sultâns, who sent an army of eighty thousand men and thus the Malwa Khanwada was repulsed.

After that Maḥmûd Gâwân wisely strengthened the alliance, sending precious gifts to the king of Gujarat as a token of gratitude.

In 868, when Nizâm Shâh met his death suddenly just after his marriage, Muḥammad Shâh, the second minor son of Makhdûmah-i-Jahân, came to the throne and she governed as before. In all State business she consulted Khwâja Maḥmûd and Khwâja Jahân Turk. When Muḥammad Shâh came of age and married with great pomp, his mother Makhdûmah-i-Jahan retired into seclusion. Then the Bahmanî kingdom was safe from any outside attack and the Sultân could devote his attention to reforms for the welfare of the people, which were carried out by Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân.

First he divided the country into provinces and in each province he allotted a certain part to the Sultân as *Sarf-i-Khaṣ*—i.e., the Sultan had a personal stake in every province. To maintain the forts in fighting order special regulations were made for every officer in charge of them. The wages of the soldiers were regularly paid whereas formerly the commanders used to squander the amount at their disposal. Many other reforms were due to the genius of Khwâja Gâwân.

His literary achievements were considerable. His two great works *Manâẓar-ul-Insha* and *Riâd-ul-Inshâ* are still instructive. The chief purpose of the Khwâja's coming to India was a literary one: he wished to make the acquaintance of Shâh Muḥibh-Ullah Kirmânî, a famous scholar of those days. Owing to the Khwâja's literary fame many scholars of great merit gathered round him at the court of Bîdar and many were invited from other parts of the Islamic world. For the love of knowledge he founded his great University (*Madrasah*) on the model of the Samarqand College which was built by Timur. He desired to give this University at Bîdar an international status, for the Khwâja invited from Central Asia Maulâna Jâmi, Muhaqqiq Dawanî and others, the great authorities of Muslim thought in that age, but they were unable to accept the invitation.

When the fame of Khwâja Maḥmûd reached its height, many Muslim monarchs invited him to pay a visit to their

countries. The invitation of Sultân Huseyn Baiqra of Herât was brought to him at Bidar by Syed Qâsim in person who tried his best to persuade the Khwâja to go to Herât. The Khwâja's two compilations of correspondence mentioned above show that he had friendly and scholarly dealings with almost all the great literary personalities of his time all over the world. His own vast knowledge of Arabic and Persian literature is evident from those works. I chanced to come across a big Turkish MS. of correspondence in the British Museum mainly belonging to the period of Sultan Muḥammad II, the conqueror of Constantinople. There were many letters addressed by the Sultan to great men of those days and I found two addressed to Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân, and the replies to them were also noted. I regret to say I could not follow the letters of the Sultan because they were in Turkish but the replies from the Khwâja, being in the Persian language, were intelligible to me. Bidar owes all its fame in the Muslim period to the Khwâja's personality. It is the same place to which 'Abdu'r-Razzâq, the author of *Matla'-us-Sa'dain* came from Mîrza Shâh Rûkh, the son of Timur.

The most horrible event which occurred at Bidar is the martyrdom of Khwâja Maḥmûd Gâwân at the age of seventy, when his fame had reached to the ends of the earth. He was the man who had enthroned the king and saved the country from its enemies, yet it was the king who murdered him. The reforms which he had carried out had roused great hatred in the minds of some chiefs whose prestige was reduced by the reforms. Nizâm-ul-Mulk Bahrî was an old enemy of the Khwâja. He was the first Governor of Telingana. The reforms had divided Telingana into parts and this had enraged Nizâm-ul-Mulk, as also his son who was more capable than his father. He was given a Jagir in the province of Mahur which was at that time under an Abyssinian, Khudawand Khan. Nizâm-ul-Mulk's son was made Commander-in-Chief, which strengthened the hostile faction. These enemies held a drinking party and the slave of Khwâja Maḥmûd, who was in charge of his seal as Minister, was also invited. He took so much wine that he became tipsy. Then they asked him to stamp the Khwâja's seal on a paper in order that the life of one of their friends might be saved. He complied without any hesitation, upon which they prepared a despatch addressed to the Raja of Orissa from the Khwâja as Prime Minister of the Kingdom. The purport of this document was ".....we have been overpowered by the oppressions of Muḥammad Shâh Bahmanî; if the assault be

hurried against this kingdom, the victory is sure." This forgery was presented before the Sultan with many other accessories making the case appear more heinous against Khwâjâ Gâwân. The Sultan was enraged past measure. He summoned the Khwâja. At that time many friends of the Khwâja, who knew of the matter, advised him to run away and did their utmost to dissuade him from going before the king. But the Khwâja, being loyal to his master and faithful to his country, replied that his hair had turned grey in the service of that Bahmanî kingdom, if today his hair were to be dyed with his own blood, where was the harm? He would never turn his face from obedience to the king, whatever fate might be in store for him. So saying he set out for the palace. The king was waiting for him in a dreadful rage. He said "If any person dared to commit a breach of faith against his master and the case was proved, what punishment would you propose for him?" The Khwâja, who was innocent and unaware of the conspiracy, replied "My most generous master, the punishment for such a traitor should be death and nothing else." The king then placed the forged document before him. When he had read it, he was spell-bound and uttered "Glory be to Thee, O Allah! This is awful calumny" and confessed that the seal was his own but not the writing. Nothing could appease the king, who was drunk at that time. He at once ordered his slave Jouhar to behead the Khwâja. The Khwâja uttered the Kalimah-i-Tawhîd. Jouhar beheaded him in the twinkling of an eye while he was reciting "Praise be to Allah for the grace of martyrdom." Someone has composed the chronogram of this horrible event: *بیگنه محمود گوان شد شهید*.

"Innocent Mahmûd Gâwân was martyred" (i.e.) 886 A.H. Soon afterwards, the Bahmanî kingdom came to an end, which may be taken as the price of the Khwâjâ's murder.

Malik Ambar rose in the decline of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty. He was the Governor of Daulatabad, by origin an Abyssinian slave. He had been first in the army of the Golconda kings, then he went to Bijapur and then forsook Bijâpur in 1000 A.H., intending to join Obhang Khan; but he ultimately came into the service of the Nizâm Shâhî dynasty at a critical moment. Murtaḍa Shâh (1007 A.H.—died in 1308) then reigned at Kirkî (Ahmadnagar having fallen). When Malik Ambar saw the disorder in the State, he took command and made his own plans against the Mughals. By so doing he postponed the downfall of the kingdom and

prolonged the reign of Murtaḍa for fifteen years. By his tactics he recovered Aḥmadnagar from the Mughals and neither Akbar nor Jehângîr his successor could prevail against him. It was only when Ibrâhîm 'Ādil Shâh of Bijâpur joined the Mughals, against the wishes of Malik Ambar, that he was at last compelled to surrender. After that the country was divided and the Mughals advanced to Kirkî.

But Ambar thought it a shame for the whole of the Deccan that the Mughals should rule his country, so he raised new forces and reappeared upon the scene, having specially trained the Maratha people to fight for him against the Rajputs and Pathans of the Mughals because his Muslim troops were few.

In the intervals of warfare, he effected many reforms in the country. He invented the system of water-supply at Aurangabad, bringing water from the hills around by means of pipes—a simple method but the only one of its kind in India. It is working satisfactorily to this day. Many tanks in the streets of Aurangabad fed with water by this system can be seen always full to the brim for public use. He also instituted reforms in the Settlement and Revenue Departments which are still followed here. Many palaces and splendid mosques were built by him in Aurangabad and in the suburbs. His tomb in the famous cemetery of Khuldâbâd is a fine piece of architecture. Through his personal heroism the country which he served enjoyed internal peace. In the midst of his untiring efforts for the people's good, Malik Ambar breathed his last in 1035 A.H. He has left the reputation of an individual who achieved what the nation as a whole could not have done.

Today everyone cherishes Malik Ambar's memory for the sake of his defence of the country and the reforms he introduced. Jehângîr, his adversary has particularly mentioned him in his memoirs, being much impressed by his many-sided genius "Ambar, in military tactics, leadership and organisation, had no match; in swordsmanship he was unique, and it is a wonder that an Abyssinian slave reached such high dignity."

Though there have been many great historical figures in the Deccan, none have equalled Khwâja-i-Jahân and Malik Ambar in self-sacrifice for the service of the country in the past. The present constitution of the Nizam's Government owes much to Sir Salar Jung I, the great Minister who refashioned it on modern lines, and to Salar Jung II, who

organised the Education Department. The present Salar Jung III (Mîr Yûsuf 'Ali) has also been Prime Minister to the Nizam.

Maharaja Sir Kishen Pershad, the present Prime Minister of the Nizam's Dominions belongs to one of the chief Hindu families established in the Deccan. He held the office of *Pêshkâr* in 1892 and in 1893 became *Şadar-ul-Muhamm*. Since 1926 he has been the President of the Executive Council of the State. He belongs to an order of mystics for which reason he is called a *Şûfi*. He is a great calligraphist, a fine poet with *Shâd* as his nom-de-plume, a painter of high merit and a great expert in music. Gatherings of scholars, poets and artists are held at his palace. He is renowned for his patronage of scholars and his charity to the poor. He has never said a word of discouragement to anyone. This veteran statesman is a perfect model of the courtesy and culture of the Deccan.

His Exalted Highness the Nizam, Sultân-ul-'Ulûm Mîr Osman 'Ali Khân, who has recently completed twenty-five years of glorious reign, has set a great example to his people of progressive zeal, sobriety and public service, and he has had loyal help from men of great ability and earnestness. Of these Sir Akbar Hydari, who has kept the finances of the Nizam's Dominions in a flourishing condition when all the world outside was suffering from financial depression, deserves especial mention. For thirty years he has done yeoman service to the State. He, too, is famous for his patronage of art and literature, as well as for simplicity of life and courtesy. When the Round Table Conferences took place in London Sir Akbar, as the Nizam's representative, won reputation as among the greatest of Indian statesmen. He played a great part in the formation of the Osmania University.

SACRED PLACES

Mosques, churches and temples in the Nizam's Dominions all receive grants and other facilities from the Government—a state of things hardly to be found in other States. To many of these sacred places pilgrims come from all over India and even further. I give below a brief account of some of them.

Hindu Temples

In Wemelwara the pilgrimage to Rajeshwar's temple attracts thousands of pilgrims from distant places. It is one of the greatest Hindu temples in Telingana. Dharampuri is a Brahman centre where there is a temple of Narasimha. Sri Rangapur is a great object of pilgrimage, and pilgrims

stay here for fifteen days while a cattle-fair takes place. In Ellora village the temple was founded by the Maharani of Indore; it attracts many pilgrims from outside the State. Paitan is a most sacred place for the Marathas where devotees recite the hymns of Bhanu Das and Eknath. In Deogarh near Jalna a great pilgrimage takes place annually, bringing thousands of pilgrims from distant places. Aundah, a very ancient shrine of Naganath, is a place of pilgrimage. Nander, on the bank of the Godavari, is of great importance as possessing the shrine of the last Guru of the Sikhs, which is visited by Sikhs from all parts of the world. The temples of Gai-mata at Munirabad, of Baijnath at Parli and of Nal Dhuni at Talwara are very sacred places of the Hindus. There are four temples in Osmanabad of the Jains which are much frequented and there are also temple-caves of the Vishnu cult of considerable antiquity. In that the remains of Buddhist monasteries take the place of shrines and worshippers come from far and near to them. At the temple of Tuljapur, called after Tulja Bhawani, huge crowds of devotees assemble. This temple is of historical interest because, it is said, it contains a tablet of a metal plate fixed on its gate which bears a *firman* from Aurangzêb endowing the temple with grants of land—grants still maintained by the present ruler of Hyderabad. It is a proof of Aurangzêb's tolerance and regard for the sacred places of other religions. At Alampore, Rama Chandra stayed for a few days during his famous exile and for this reason it is called Deostan and has become a place of pilgrimage.

Muslim Shrines

At Maulâ 'Ali near Secunderabad a fair is held annually in the month of Rajab with great pomp. Maulâ 'Ali is an old place of pilgrimage. In Hanamkonda there is the shrine of a saint named Abdul Ghanî where a great 'urs or annual fair in honour of the saint takes place. Qandhar is noted for the 'urs of the local Saint, who was a great traveller. The 'urs of Khwâja Banda Nawâz at Gulbarga is noted throughout India. Khuldabad, the great cemetery near Aurangabad, has a number of tombs of other important personalities such as Âsaf Jâh, Malik Ambar, Aurangzêb and Tâna Shâh the last of the Qutub Shahi kings. Many fairs are held there annually to which a great number of visitors come from distant places. Bijigir has the tomb of a saint Jamal Bahar and has its annual 'urs. In Hyderabad City also there are many shrines where commemorations are held annually.

Mosques

Almost all the great mosques have Arab Imâms to lead the congregational prayers with a view to preserve the original order of *tartîl*—reciting the Qur'ân—which only an Arab can do. This special feature is only found here. There are many mosques which have an international reputation such as the Mecca Masjid, begun under the Qutub Shâhî kings and completed by Aurangzêb, which is without domes. The mosque of fort Yalangdal with one minaret, the mosque of Malik Ambar in Aurangabad, the mosque of Amber without pillars, the Jâmî mosque and Selu mosque at Gulbarga, Aurangzêb's mosque of Ossa, and the sixteen pillared mosque of Bîdar, all are famous buildings possessing specialities of architecture.

Churches

There is a remarkable church at Kaliani which was built in the sixteenth century by the Portuguese and there are many modern churches in the city of Hyderabad belonging to both Protestants and Roman Catholics.

The tomb of Monsieur Raymond, a very popular French general, of the Nizam's army in the late 18th century is one of the pleasure resorts outside the city to which people go for picnics; curiously enough, it is honoured as a saint's tomb by both Hindus and Muslims.

LITERARY MOVEMENTS

Apart from the University and the various technical colleges, which are in a highly flourishing condition, the following cultural activities deserve special mention:

Dâ'iratu-l-Ma'ârif:—This is a Society founded for the publication of ancient Arabic works. It is equal in the standard of publication and editing with the work of Cairo, Beyrût and Europe. It has been fortunate in securing the services of a great European authority, Dr. F. Krenkow, as well as those of competent Eastern scholars. The value of its activities in publishing a large number of valuable works in scholarly form is recognised throughout the world. Many standard works in manuscript have thus been saved from destruction by ants or worms in private libraries.

Majlis-i-Makhtûât-i-Farsî:—This Society has recently been established in Hyderabad under the secretaryship of Mr. Syed Hashimî of Farîdabad. In 1934 it published its first work, the *Tughlaq Nâmah* of Amîr Khusrau, edited

by Syed Hashimî, from the only MS. copy known to be in existence. Other important works will follow shortly.

Islamic Culture:—This is an English quarterly review devoted mainly to Islamic civilization, which was started in 1927. Many eminent scholars and well-known Orientalists contribute to it. Its late editor, Mr. Marmaduke Pickthall, was well known as a writer and as a translator of the Holy Qur'ân. This Review, printed at the Government Central Press, Hyderabad, is in no way inferior in print and general get-up to the best European reviews, and the value of its contents is recognised by Orientalists and Universities all over the world.

Dâru't-Tarjamah:—About the Translation Bureau, in connection with the Osmania University, I have already written something. It had published in Urdu 358 works on History, Geography, Mathematics, Engineering subjects, Medical subjects, Physics, Chemistry, etc., when the catalogue of 1932 was drawn up. By now the number of publications must be much larger. The Nizam's Government have spent enormous sums on this Translation Bureau, which, in addition to all other State and State-aided cultural activities, makes an expenditure on learning and literature which few, if any, other Governments can show. Rightly has the Nizam been entitled *Sultânul-'Ulûm*. It is the most appropriate title ever conferred on a ruler by his subjects.

The Osmania University's department of Extension lectures has enabled the people of the State to hear views of men of great repute from India and abroad on different topics—among others, Dr. Rabindranath Tagore, the founder Shantiniketan (Calcutta) who has been to Hyderabad more than once, and at whose disposal the sum of a lakh of rupees has been placed for the maintenance of the seat of a professor of Islamic Culture at Shantiniketan in the name of the Nizam. Upon such gifts of the Nizam all over India a whole book could be written.

CASTLES

Daulatabad, of which the ancient name was Deogiri because it was founded by Ram Deo, was given its present name when Muhammad Tughlaq captured it and made it his capital. Here the victory of 'Alaud-Dîn Khilji is represented by two monuments, a lofty minaret and the mosque under the minaret. This minaret catches the eye of the traveller from a great distance. This is the same place where Khizar Khan son

of 'Alâu'd-Dîn Khilji and his bride Deval Rani, the daughter of a great Rajput, took refuge. This romance is still talked of here among the masses. Daulatabad has witnessed many historic scenes. It was the seat of Malik Ambar; it was the place of confinement of Abûl-Hasan Tâna Shâh, the last of the Golconda kings. He was interned here by Aurangzêb. This fort is placed high upon a rock.

Golconda was founded by the Raja of Warangal of the Kaktya dynasty and later was rebuilt by the Qutub Shahi kings, which was the main reason why they are called kings of Golconda. Its height is not less than that of Daulatabad.

Among many other great forts are those of Bîdar, Bhongîr, Warangal and Udgîr which are all of historical importance. In 1747 the French built the fort of Jagtiyal in the Karimnagar District.

IRRIGATION

The Deccan plateau cannot live solely on the annual rainfall as do many countries in the plains. Owing to the scarcity of water in some parts of the country, which have lain barren for centuries, the Nizam's Government have built huge dams securing vast supplies of water:—Osman Sagar and Himayat Sagar near Hyderabad City, and Nizam Sagar which is the second largest reservoir in India. Besides these modern works there are very many old tanks great and small for water supply to towns and fields and villages. Few of these are natural. The Houz-i-Qatlagh, the most famous and among the largest of these artificial lakes, is on the hills near Daulatabad fort. It supplies the whole of Daulatabad. This tank is attributed to Qatlagh Khan, a tutor of Mûham-mad Tughlaq. The tanks of Paler Dhera, Raim Palli, Band Marchand, Shankar Bhopalam, Pojarum, Paklol Rampa, Lankawarum, Husain Sagar and Mir 'Alam are noted for their scenery. No other part of India has so many reservoirs for the benefit of the people. Those constructed under the present Nizam are by far the most extensive and most costly.

The whole surface of the Deccan is hilly and very rich in minerals. There are mines of coal, copper and gold, and quarries of good building stone. The Mineralogical Department of Government is very busy in researches touching the mineral wealth of the land. The Shahabad cement factories of the Nizam, in connection with the Shahabad stone quarries, are famous for the finest quality of cement.

The Nizam's State Railway is equal in its services with other great railways of India with which it is connected. Its network spreads throughout the country. Travel by air is soon to be made possible, and several young Hyderabadis have become air pilots. Where there is no railway there are roads, and in the matter of roads, Hyderabad leads all India. Highways of reinforced concrete and road metal run in all directions, guarded and cleaned and kept in good repair. It is interesting to note here that one of the oldest types of conveyance, the *Jhatka*, extinct elsewhere, is still used here. It is a small moving wheeled tent, and its use is a sufficient proof of the observance of the purdah by the Deccani women.

The Nizam's Post Office (*tappa*) affords to the whole country the same postal facilities as the Post Office affords to the public in British India. The postage stamps bear pictures of famous monuments such as the Char Minar, Ajanta and so forth. There are British Post Offices in Hyderabad City, Secunderabad and Aurangabad.

British Indian coins are stamped with the embossed impression of the King Emperor's profile while the Nizam's coins bear only the *Tughra* style and the Char Minar. Gold coins, as well as silver, nickel and copper coins, are still current here, when they are out of use in other countries on account of the scarcity of gold and its raised value. The Nizam's currency notes are artistic productions of the oriental type.

One personality is seen to be the moving spirit of all these many-sided activities, cultural and progressive, so indispensable to Indian culture as a whole. It is that of the seventh ruler of the Âşaf Jâhî dynasty, His Exalted Highness Mir Osman Ali Khan Asaf Jah VII, who is known to all the world as the Nizam of Hyderabad. He has maintained most nobly all the royal traditions of his house and country. During his reign there has been, from every point of view, amazing progress in his State. The Deccanis have every reason to be proud of being subjects of so good a ruler. May God reward him both in this world and Hereafter!

M. ABDULLA CHUGHTAI.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY

ل

لازم ملزوم (lāzim-e malzūm) : “ an inseparable accompaniment.” (1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 2) .

از تشکیل وتاسیس مجلس سنا که لازم ملزوم حکومت مشروطه است
منصرف و ممنوع شدند -

They have been turned away and hindered from forming and establishing a Senate, which is an inseparable accompaniment of a constitutional Government.

لاسی (lāsi) : “ Flirtation.” (Oral communication, and Persian newspaper).

لا قید (lā-ḵaid) : “ Heedless.” (1927, No. 55, p. 2, col. 4).

وکلاى آذر بايجان در سایهٔ تفاق وشقاق لا قید صرف هستند -

The Members for Āzarbāyjān under the shadow of this hostility and dissension are absolutely heedless (of the matter).

لا قیدی (lā ḵaidī) : “ Indifference.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5).

این تصمیم بواسطهٔ احساس بی اعتنائی ولا قیدی دولت نسبت به
پیشنهادهاى آن کمپانى است -

This resolution (to depart) is on account of the feeling of the want of interest and the indifference of the (Persian) Government in regard of the proposals of the (Sinclair) Company.

لا یحه (lāyiḥa) : a “ bill ” (in parliament). (Persian newspapers, *passim*).

لايشعر (la-yash'ur) : "Insensate." (پيك 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 3).

حالا تصور خرايد کرد که نويسندگان پيك سفيه ولايشعر شده اند که اين گونه سوالات سفيهانه کرده بديهيات را مورد بحث قرار ميدهند -

Now you will imagine that the writers of the "Paik" newspaper are stupid and insensate to put questions so silly and to make self-evident things subjects of discussion.

لبخند

ايران جوان (lab-khand zadan) : "To smile." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

کسانی که آشنائی باصول تعليمات دارند در مقابل اين منطقي کودکانه لبخند خواهند زد -

People who are acquainted with the principles of education before logic so childish will (only) smile.

لحاظ

ايران (of). : "In respect" (az lihāz; with gen.) از لحاظ (1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1-2).

مجلس اعيان انگليس قانونی گذرانیده است که بموجب آن کلیه اعتصابات غير قانونی مجازات خواهد شد و اتحاديه هائے کارگران از لحاظ مالی مسئول خواهند بود -

The English House of Lords has passed a law by which all illegal strikes will be punished, and Trades' Unions held responsible in respect of money matter.

Cf. a passage in col. 3 :

مدعی العموم حق خواهد داشت از کلیه تقاضا نامه هائے اتحادیه اصناف برائے تهیه وجوه که مخالف با مقررات قانون باشد جلوگیری کند -

طوفان (lahn) : "Tone" (used metaphorically in 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3).

یادداشت مزبور بهیچ وجه عنوان اولتیماتوم ندارد و برخلاف لحن یادداشت خیلی دوستانه است -

The above-mentioned memorandum has in no way the significance of an ultimatum, but, on the contrary, the tone of it is very friendly.

لذا (li-zā): "For that" (reason). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2).

ازان جائیکه جناب عالی را حامی و دادرس خود میدانیم لذا از حضرتت
ممنی هستیم شرح ذیل را * * درج فرمائید.

Knowing you as our defender and helper—for that reason—we beg you to insert the following statement (in your journal).

لزوم

لزوم داشتن (luzūm dāshtan). See ضرورت داشتن.

لفا (laffan): "Enclosed with something else in an envelope."

لکد مال (lakad-māl; as lakad-kūb لکد کوب): "Trampled underfoot," (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 5).

که آیا آن دولت در نتیجه انتخاب عمال نالایق و لکد مال کردن قوانین
موضوعه مورد اعتراض واقع شده بسوء سیاست داخلی محکوم است و یا آنکه
بر روی دسایس و تحریکات است.

Whether that Government in consequence of the choice of unfitting officials and the (consequent) trampling underfoot of established laws is subject to stricture and judged guilty of bad internal policy, or whether (such judgment) is based on the devices and instigations (of intriguers).

لم یزرع (lam-yuzra'): "Uncultivated." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 1 sub-col. 3).

تمام زمینهای قابل زراعت بهمین واسطه ویران و لم یزرع مانده.

Through this, all (these) lands (though) susceptible of cultivation remain wasted and uncultivated.

له (lahu): "To him or it."

بله (ba-lah-e): "For, in favour of." See under بله.

لیست (Fr.): a "list." (تجدد 1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 5).

م

ستاره ایران (Fr. marque): "Brand, trade-mark." (1924, No. 9, p. 4, col. 3).

ما سبق (mā-sabāq): a "predecessor." (1927, ایران جوان, No. 24, p. 4, col. 4).

اما این بدگوئی جز حسادت و خصومتی که معمولاً بین يك جانشین و ماسبق خود وجود دارد دلیل دیگری نداشته است -

But this detraction had nothing to support it but the envy and animosity that usually subsists between a place-holder and his predecessor.

ماشین (Fr.): a "machine." (1927, No. 191, p. 4, sub-col. 3).

اجاره. See under مال الاجاره.

مالایطاق (mā lā yuṭāq): "Insufferable." (Steingass has, incorrectly, yaṭāq).

مالایطاقی (mā lā yuṭāqī; as mā lā yuṭāq), the adj. being emphasised, as commonly in modern Persian, by the addition of ی (ī): "Insufferable." (1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 4).

تحمیلات و تکلیفات مالایطاقی بر ملت وارد نیاید -

(So that) insufferable burdens and impositions should not come upon the nation.

مالی (mālī): "Relating to taxes on land."

—"Financial."

حالات مالیّه (ḥālat-e mālīya): "One's financial state or circumstances."

مالیات (māliyāt; pl.): "Taxes on land: taxation of land."

به این وسیله شکایت آقایان علما از اجرائی قانون مالیات جدید در املاک مزبوره مرتفع گردد -

By this means the complaint of the learned (petitioners) against the execution of the new law of taxation of the before-mentioned lands would be obviated.

—————“Taxes” generally. (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

مالیات گذاردن (māliyāt guzārdan): “To impose taxes.” (ibid.).

اما از نظر مالیات گذاردن بدیهی است برای سهولت کار انواع بیشمار عایدات را در تحت چند عنوان باید قرار داد -

But in view of the imposition of taxes, it is evident that to simplify the matter we must bring the innumerable sources of revenue under a limited number of headings.

مامور (ma'mūr; sometimes with gen.): “Commissioned” (to act). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

در مالکی که تحت رژیم کاپیتولاسیون نیستند قنسولها فقط مامور حفظ منافع تجاری * * * میباشند -

In countries not subject to the Capitulation regime the Consuls are commissioned only to protect commercial interests.

—————“Agent.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2).

در مسائل گمرکی و قضائی و مالیاتی از همان حقوق و مصونیتها و معافیتهای مامورین سیاسی بهره مند میشدند بدیهی است ادا مه آن ترتیب دیگر مورد نداشته -

In questions of the Customs, Trials, and Finances (the Consuls) participated in the same rights and immunities as political agents, (such as ambassadors, etc.). It is self-evident that the continuance of the system can no longer serve any purpose.

—————“Commissioner”; as مامور عالی (ma'mūr-e 'ālī): “High Commissioner.”

مامور (ma'mūr; with به): a “functionary” (having the care of). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 3).

مامورینی که تا مین شهر بعده آنان وا گذار است در صورت سوء ظن حق دخول بمنازل و اجرائی تحقیقات خواهند داشت -

Functionaries to whom is consigned the security of the town shall have the right, in case of suspicion, of entering houses and conducting enquiries.

ماندا (Fr.): "Mandate." (1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 2).

ماندن (māndan; with از): "To be restrained or turned" (from). (1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 4).

و این رود بزرگ * * در هر موقعی که اراده شود مسدود و از جریان طبیعی می ماند.

And this great river wherever desired is dammed and turned from its natural course.

ایران جوان (Fr.): "The English Channel." (1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

مانور (Fr.): "Manœuvre." (1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 5).

ماه

باماهی (bā mähī, archaic mähē): "monthly, a-month," (1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 2). See under برداشت (bardāst), برداشت کردن.

ماهی (mähī, mähē): "monthly, a-month." (1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

ولی امروز بلدیۀ طهران ماهی هفتاد و پنج هزار تومان * * عایدات مستقل * * دارد.

But at the present time the Municipality of Teheran has a separate and independent revenue of from 80 to 90 thousand tūmāns a-month.

در ماه (darmāh): "monthly, a-month." (1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

آروز بلدیۀ پنج شش هزار تومان در ماه بود چه داشت.

In those days the Municipality (of Teheran) had an income of 5 or 6 thousand tūmāns a-month.

مبادرت (mubādarat; with به): "Setting about" (some act). (Redhouse; and ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

معهدا مدت يك سال نبايد به انتظار مبادرت دول به اين اقدام قناعت نموده بلكه بايد جدیت كامل در تهیه موجبات شروع مذاكرات ابراز نماید.

(Persia), notwithstanding, must not be content to wait a year for these (foreign) States to set about this undulating, but must put forth the greatest efforts towards furthering the opening of Conferences.

مبادله

مبادله کردن (mubādala kardan; with را and با): "To exchange" (something for another). (ترقی 1924, No. 8, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

قدم هائی برائی رفع ذلت و نکبت خود بر می داشتیم یا اقلا حیات تنگ آلوده را با مرگ مبادله می کردیم.

We should have taken steps to remove the disgrace and misfortune, or at least exchange a dishonoured life for death.

مبادی (pl. of مبداء mabdā).

اتحاد (mabādī-e umūr): "The authorities." (No. 219, p. 2, col. 2). Cf. مصادر امور.

واگر از مبادی امور بنام خود و بنام عموم مردم شکایتی داشته باشیم فقط اینست که چرا از جریان چنین قضیه مهمی * * * افکار عمومی را بی اطلاع گذارده دو چار بدینی و یاس می نمایند.

And if we have any complaint to make of the Authorities on our own part and on that of the public, it is only the expression of our wonder at their leaving the public mind unacquainted with the course of so momentous a business, and (so) rendering them susceptible of suspicion and discouragement.

مباشرت

اداره مباشرت. See under اداره.

مبرز (mubraz): "Prominent, conspicuous." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, pp. 1 and 2).

مانمی دانیم چرا کرسی نشینان بهارستان خاصه وکلای با حرارت و متهورما که در اثبات این خصائص مبرز شده اند در مقابل این قضایا سکوت اختیار نموده -

We do not know why those who have seats in Bahāristān, especially our fiery and bold representatives, who have been conspicuous for the maintenance of these qualities, should in face of these affairs preserve silence.

(muta'assifāna) : "Sad to relate." Sometimes better rendered "We regret to announce." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 4). See under افتخاری .

(mutajaddidīn; obl. pl. of متجددین) : "Indeed with the spirit of the age, those of the young party." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3). See under مراجع (marāji'), مراجع تقلید .

متحد

(muttaḥidu 'sh-shakl) : "Uniform." (ایران 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). جوان

چنانکه برای حذف کلاسهای ادبی و متحدالشکل ساختن دیپلوم متوسطه دو دلیل عمده ذکر کرده اند -

Thus, they mention two principal arguments for discarding the Arts classes and making the Diploma of Middle Schools uniform.

متحد

(muttaḥidu 'l-ma'āl) : a "circular note." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

مراتب را بوسیله متحد المال به ولایات ارسال داشته که اقدام نمایند -

The particulars have been sent by a circular note to the Provinces (enjoining them) to take measures.

(mutakhaṣṣiṣ) : A "specialist," an "expert."

ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, sub-col. 4).

کسیونی مرکب از اشخاص بصیر و متخصص تشکیل و * * ضمنا از اطباء غیر دیپلمه * * جلوگیری بعمل آید -

A Commission composed of keen-sighted experts should be formed, and, incidentally uncertificated Doctors be inhibited (from practising).

—————a “person of note, prominent, distinguished.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2). See under در.

متذکر

خاطر را متذکر ساختن [(khāṭir-rā mutazakkir sākhtan; followed by که (ki)]: “To call the attention” (to the fact that). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 3).

خاطر آقایان اطبا که داد طلب خدمات و ماموریت های صحی هستند متذکر میسازد که (وغیره)

The attention of Doctors who wish to volunteer for service and offices under the Medical Board is called to the following: (etc.)

متصدی (mutaṣaddī): An “official.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

از بین بردن قسمت ادبی متوسطه اقدامی کودکانه بشمار رفته و حالی خواهد بود از عاری بودن متصدیان معارف از امور تعلیمات

To abolish the Arts Branch in Middle Schools will be reckoned a childish measure, and show the officials of the Ministry of Education to be devoid of (knowledge of) educational matters.

متعذر (muta‘azzir; with به): “Expressing inability to act” (in accordance with).

کپانی متعذر بقرار داد شده که جاده باید از کنار خیابان عبور نماید.

The Company, expressing its inability to act in accordance with the decision, (said) that the tramway line must pass along the avenue.

متفقین (muttafiqīn): “Allies” (in war), (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 4, col. 2 and 3). See under جلو گیری jalau.

مقابل (mutaḳābil): “Reciprocal”; as معامله مقابل (mu‘āmila-ye mutaḳābila): “Reciprocal treatment or dealings, reciprocity.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1). See under پایه اصلی.

مُتَقَبِّل (mutakabbil) : “ Undertaking, taking upon one-self.”
(ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 1).

کلیه این اقدامات در نتیجه زحماتی است که دربار و اتیکان برای استخلاص
اروپا متقبل شده است.

All these steps result from the exertions which the Vatican Court has undertaken for the deliverance of Europe.

مُتَقَلِّب (mutakallib) : an “ impostor.” (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3). See under رابط a “ medium.”

مُتَنَاسِب (mutanāsib; with با) : “ Proportionately ” (to).
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

دولت مجاز است * * بهر يك از مهندسين مزبور * * متناسب
بارتبه های آنها ماهیانه از سی الی پنجاه تومان پرداخته -

The Government is authorized to pay each of the above-mentioned engineers, proportionately to his rank, from 30 to 50 tūmāns a-month.

مُتَنَافِز (mutanaffiz) : “ Influential, having some influence ” (فکرآزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, sub-col. 2).

عجبا تا کی هر روز نامه نویس هر آخوند بی سواد هر متنفذ و اعیان هر بقال و
عطار باید يك مملكت يك دوات يك ملت را بیاد فحش و ناسزا و تكفیر گرفته (النخ)

We wonder how long any newspaper-writer, any illiterate “ ākhūnd,” any person of some (little) influence, any town or village elder, green-grocer, or grocer-druggists must abuse and vilify a (whole) country, Government, and nation, (etc.).

مُتَوَجِّه

مُتَوَاجِج (mutavajjih būdan; with به or برای) : “ To accrue ” (to). (فکرآزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 5).

فوائد این قرار داد بآنها بیشتر متوجه است -

The benefits of this agreement accrue most to them.

متوجه

“To make accrue” (to). (به mutavajjih sākhtan; with متوجه ساختن) (to). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

لازم است که اولاً این اداره تعیین کند که بچه ترتیب * * در یک ناحیه میتواند منافع بزراعت و فلاح آن محل متوجه سازد -

The Department (in charge of Irrigation) must first settle by what plans it can make advantages accrue in a district to the agriculture of the place.

متوجه

but mutavajjih shudan; generally with (به متوجه شدن) sometimes with (برای): “To accrue” (to). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

بعلاوة منافع دیگری که برای دولت متوجه میشود -

With the addition of some other advantages which would accrue to the State.

متوسطة (mutavassīṭa): A “Middle or Intermediate School.” (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). (ایران جواب)

در نظر گرفته اند که شعبه ادبی تحصیلات متوسطه را حذف -

They have considered it advisable to do away with the Arts Branch of studies in the Middle Schools.

“(to). Having recourse” (به mutavassil; with متوسل) (1924, No. 18, p. 3, col. 3). (یک)

از روی ناچارى به حاجى همسایه خود متوسل شده و از او طلب مساعدت نمود -

Having no (other) remedy, she had recourse to a neighbouring Ḥājjī and asked him for help.

مثبت (muṣbit): “Affirmative,” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5).

شنیدیم که یکی از نمایندگان سینکدر * * عازم مسافرت و پس از هشت ماه معطلی و انتظار بیهوده برای شنیدن يك مثبت جواب یا منفی بمملکت خود بازگشت می نماید -

We have heard that one of the representatives of the Sinclair (Oil Company) is intending to depart, and after eight months of (enforced) inactivity and vain expectation of an answer either in the affirmative or negative is returning to his own country.

مثل

مثّل زدن (maṣāl zadan) : "To speak of, to adduce as."
(See under شاهد مین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

مجاز

مجاز بودن (mujāz būdan) : "To be authorized." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

وزارت مالیّه مجاز است * * مبلغ هشت هزار تومان برای قنات قزوین * * مصرف نماید -

The Financial Ministry is authorized to expend 8000 tū-māns upon the canals of Kazvīn.

مجانّی (majjānī) : "Gratuitous, free," (as schools).
(فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 3).

آقای آقا سید محمد سیستانی مدیر مدارس مجانی مشهد بریاست معارف و اوقاف نیشابور تعیین شده اند -

Saiyid Muḥammad Sīstānī, Director of free schools of Mashhad, has been appointed Chief of the Department of Education and Pious Bequests in Nīshāpūr.

مجبور (majbūr; with از) : "Obliged, compelled" (to have or be). (مین 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3).

چندین هزار سال قبل هم این ناحیه مجبور از آمدن آبهای مصنوعی بوده است -

For a great number of years past (such) districts have been obliged to have the help of waters artificially supplied.

مجرّی (mujrī) : "Executant," noun; "executive," adj.
کوه مجریّه (kūva-ye mujrīya) : "The Executive." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

اشخاصی که سوء ظن منافقت با دولت مشروطه * * در حق آنها بشود
توه مجریه حق توقیف آنان را خواهد داشت.

The Executive will have the right to arrest persons suspected of enmity to the Constitutional Government.

(مجری بودن (mujrī būdan ; with gen. of مجری : "To give effect" (to), "to carry out." (1924, No. 8, p. 2, col. 1). See under حکم (ḥukm) ; "the requirement or tenour of a matter."

ایران جوان (mujazza') : "Divided, separate." (1927, No. 24, p. 1, col. 1).

باید عهد نامهٔ مودت از عهد نامهٔ تجارت مجزا باشد.

The Treaty of Friendship must be separate from the Commercial Treaty.

مجسم

(mujassam kunanda). Used apparently as مجسم کننده (passive), "Incarnate, incarnation," in 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2]. Possibly, "the maker of a solid or concrete body" (in his own person). See under ملوک (mulūk), . ملوک الطوائفی .

مجلس

مجلس اشراف . See under اشراف .

مجلس اعیان . See under اعیان .

مجلس

(majlis-e shūrā-ye millī) : "The (Persian) National Assembly." (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 3, et passim).

مجلس عموم . See under عموم .

مجلل (mujallal) : "Luxurious." (1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 3).

اتومبیل نوخیل راحت است وخیل مجلل

This automobile is very comfortable and luxurious.

مجموع (majmū'): "The total." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4).

تجزیه های ذره بینی	*	*	*	۱۶۵ تجزیه
تجزیه های شیمیائی	*	*	*	۲۳ تجزیه
مجموع	*	*		۱۸۸ تجزیه
Microscopic analyses	..	..	..	165
Chemical analyses	..	..	..	23
Total	..	..	..	188

مجهول

کلوه (ba-ṭaur-e majhūl): "Obscurely." (بطور مجهول 1921, Apr. 10, p. 1).

محافل (maḥāfil; pl. of محفل maḥfil): "Circles"; as, "parliamentary circles," محافل پارلمانی (maḥāfil-e pārlamānī). (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 3).

محاکمه

محاکمه اداری (muḥākama-ye idārī): A "departmental trial or enquiry;" i.e., one conducted in a Department of State, and not in the Law Courts. (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2). See under طفره رفتن (ṭafra), طفره.

محاکمه کردن (muḥākama kardan): "To try," (in a Court of Law or of a Department of State). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 5).

يك نفر ایرانی که دعای خوانده او را بزندان انداخته که پس از اتمام حج او را محاکمه کنند -

A Persian who was reciting prayers they threw into prison, to try him after the conclusion of the pilgrimages.

محذور (maḥzūr): A "precaution to be taken." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 3).

بعد از پیدا شدن رابط محذور و بزرگتری پیش می آید رابط حقه باز و متقلب است یا درستکار -

After finding a medium, there is a greater precaution to be taken: Is the medium a juggler and impostor or an honest person?

محصل (muḥaṣṣil): A "student." See under مزیت.

محض or محض (maḥz-e or ba-maḥz-e): ("To, for.")
Passim; e.g., محض دیدن شما "To see you."

محکمه

محکمه جنحه See جنحه

محکوم (maḥkūm; with به): "Convicted" (of).
(ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 5).

معلوم است که يك چنین دولتی محکوم به سوء سیاست داخلی بود.

It is certain that such a Government is convicted of bad home-policy.

—————"Sentenced" (to), (يك 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

اشخاصی که عملاً بر ضد دوات مشروطه و امنیت و آسایش عمومی اقدام و خیانت آنها مدلل شده باشد محکوم بقتل خواهند بود.

Persons actively engaged in proceedings against the Constitutional Government, and public security and quiet, shall, on proof of their treachery, be sentenced to death.

محل (maḥall; with gen.): "In, as." [Lit., (in) "the place" (of)].

نخل: A "place."

محل احتیاج (maḥall-e iḥtiyāj): "An object of need," i.e., "a requisite." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 4, col. 5).

صدی چهار از فرش پست الی ذرع ده تومانی معاف و آنرا از فرش ثابت اعلی که محل احتیاج اغنای خریداران است دریافت دارند.

That carpets of low grade up to ten tūmāns in value (about £ 2) should be exempted from the tax of four per cent., and that this tax should be put upon carpets of approved high quality which are requisites of rich purchasers.

محل

محل اعتبار (mahall-e i'tibār) : A "source of assignment."
 محل اعتبار مستمریات (maḥall-e i'tibār-e mustamarriyāt) :
 Lit., a "source of assignment for fixed pay or pensions;" i.e.,
 an assignment the source of which is to be found in taxation
 or some reserve fund. (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3).

وزارت مالیه چنین عقیده دارد که مجلس شورای ملی تصویب فرمایند ***
 مبلغ ۶۰۰ قران در سال * * * از محل اعتبار مستمریات ***
 بعنوان مستمری برقرار گردد -

The Financial Ministry is of opinion that the National Assembly should approve that the sum of 5605 kirāns a-year should be assigned and settled as pensions (upon the learned petitioners).

[محل اعتبار may sometimes possibly have the sense of "as an assignment "].

محل

صرفه جوئی (maḥall-e ṣarfa-jū'ī). See under صرفه جوئی

محل : A "source"; sometimes conveniently rendered a "fund."

وضع محل مخصوص (vaz'-e mahall-e makhṣūṣ) : A "special reserve fund." (Lit., a "deposit from a special source").
 (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

مجلس شورای ملی بادره مباشرت اجازه و اعتبار میدهد * * * از وضع
 محل مخصوص که در هذہ السنہ موجود است * * * مبلغ دو هزار پانصد تومان
 از وزارت مالیه * * * دریافت دارند -

The National Assembly authorises the Executive to receive from the Financial Ministry an assignment of 2500 tūmāns from a special reserve fund in hand this year.

محلی (mahallī) : "Local." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4).

بقراری که حجاج مصری بچرائد محلی * * * مکاتبه شکایت آمیز نگاشته اند
و ها بیها با عموم حجاج * رفتار نا هنجار نموده -

According to letters of complaint from the Egyptian pilgrims to the local journals of Egypt, the Wahhābīs have been behaving very badly to all the pilgrims (of that nationality).

ستاره (muḥīt) : “The *entourage*, surroundings.”
ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 1).

وقتی که نظری به محیط ادارات و وزارت خانه ها افکنیم می بینیم که اولاً
اعضای دولت سردار سپه غیر از اعضای دولتهای قبل هستند -

When we glance at the *entourage* of the Departments and Ministries, we see that for the first time the Members of the General Commanding-in-Chief's Government are different from those of previous Governments.

—————“The atmosphere,” (in a metaphorical sense),
“the surroundings.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

اگر محیط هوچی پرور باشد دیلم شعبه علمی مانع افساد کسی نخواهد گردید -

If the atmosphere be conducive to the fostering of officials, a diploma in the *Science* Branch will not prevent (a student) from becoming corrupt.

—————“Circuit, precincts.” (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148,
p. 3, col. 2).

بهر حال عطا الله خان مردو * * * در محیط اجنبی خواه مشهد
آسوده شد -

At all events ‘Atā’ullāh Khān died and came to peace in the hospitable circuit of Mashhad.

محیط (muḥīt ; as محیطه) : “The whole country.”
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 2).

و همان عادات دیرینه مجدداً مسلط بر محیط می شدند -

And the same ancient customs prevailed anew over the whole country.

مخبره

مخبره شدن (mukhābara shudan): "To be communicated," (as a letter or telegram). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 2).

اینک نطق مزبور را بادو تلگراف که * * * بمسکو و طهران مخبره شده است ذیلا درج می نمائیم -

The above-mentioned speech communicated by two telegrams to Moscow and Teheran has been inserted by us as follows.

مخارج (makhārij; pl. of مخرج makhraj).

1922 اتحاد: "To bear or suffer expenses." مخارج برداشتن (No. 219, p. 1, col. 2).

و باتمام مخارجی که از بابت حمل و نقل بر میدارد دوه مساوی ارزانتر از قیمت معمول در ایران بفروش میرسد -

And notwithstanding all the expenses of transport borne, (the naphtha and benzine) are sold (in London, Paris, and America) at half the price usually paid in Persia.

[The text has ده مساوی but I am assuming دو from a previous passage].

دسته مخالف See مخالف

مخالفین (mukhālifīn; obl. pl.): "The Opposition" (in Parliament). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

لازم است خاطر نشان شود که مخالفین در اظهارات خود متفق الکلام نیستند -

It should be kept in mind that the Oppositions are not unanimous in their statements.

مخلفات (mukhallafāt, pl. of مخلف): "Effects;" (i.e., results of causes). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 3). See under سیاله .

مخیر (mukhaiyar) : “Left open to discussion”; (lit., “to choice”). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

ماده هشتم مطرح و * * تجزیه و قسمت اول آنرا مخیر قبول و تصویب شد.

The eighth article was brought up and analysed; and the first part of it being left open to discussion was (ultimately) accepted and approved.

مداخل (madākhil; pl. of مدخل madkhal) : “Separate items of income.” (Redhouse; and ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1). See under عایدی .

مداخله

مداخله نمودن (mudākhala namūdan; with به) : “To have to do” (with), “to concern one-self” (with). (حیات ایران 1924, No. 129, p. 1, col. 2).

از طرف آقای رئیس الوزرا بآنها تذکر داده شده که در امور پارلمانی مداخله نماید.

The Prime Minister notified them that he would concern himself with the parliamentary affairs.

مدارک (madārik; pl. of مدرک madrak) : “Sources of information, authorities, vouchers.” See under خاطر نشان (khāṭir-nishān), خاطر نشان کردن .

مداقه (mudāqqa) : “Close scrutiny.” (Redhouse, and محسن 1924, No. 55, p. 2, col. 1).

فقط يك موضوع ديگر كه چندان مهم نيست تحت مداقه و مذاكره است.

One other subject only which is not so important is (still) under close scrutiny and discussion.

مدت

از مدتی باین طرف (az muddatī ba-īn taraf) : “For some time past.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191 p. 2, sub-col. 4).

قشون مصر از مدتی باین طرف جلب توجه قسمتی از سیاسیون مصر را نموده -

For some time past the Egyptian army has attracted the attention of a section of the politicians of Egypt.

مدعی عمومی (mudda'ī-ye 'umūmī) : "The Public Prosecutor." (1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4). See under (ikāma).
اقامه دعوی نمودن .

مذلت (maẓallat) : "Degradation." (1924, ستاره ایران) No. 9, p. 1, col. 5).

این يك حسن سیاست داخلی سردار سپه است که * * * از مذلت‌های اخلاقی * * * ممانعت ضمنی بعمل آمده است -

Only from this good Home-policy of the General Commanding-in-Chief is it that the moral degradation (of the people) has also been obviated.

مرباطه (murābaṭa) : "Mediumism." (1924, میهن) No. 27, p. 3, col. 3). See under سیاله .

مراجع (pl. of مرجع marjī) : a "resort."

تقلید مراجع (marāji'-e taqlid) : "Those invested with a charge, having proper authority." Equivalent to ارباب تقلد (1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 3). محشر

بایستی * * از سرنو باستصواب مرجع تقلید * * و روحانین مملکت و متجددین پروگرام جامع الاطراف تدوین -

It would be necessary to draw up anew a comprehensive and detailed programme under the approval of those having proper authority, the intelligentsia of the country, and those of the young party.

C. E. WILSON.

MUSLIM WOMEN IN PRESENT-DAY EUROPE

ALONG the newly built asphalt boulevard, joining the old city of Tirana with the aerodrome stand modern buildings, ministries and antique mosques, adorned with woodcarvings which are painted in the typical national manner of Albania.

Alongside of the American motor-cars on the parking-place for taxis, presses the crowd of Albanian peasants in their black and white national dress, transporting their goods on the backs of patient greyish donkeys. Just beneath the Hotel Continental remains a white space of unutilised ground. Opposite stands the big club of the officers of the Royal Army of Albania. Next to this is a new mosque constructed in the so-called "German style" of practical simplicity. Near this twentieth century mosque lies an old villa amid luxurious rose-gardens, overshadowed by slim cypresses, which still seem to hear in their dreams the whispering of bygone days, when the "beys" and pashas of the Turkish Sultan ruled this country and possessed this little palace. Their ladies never dared to undertake even a carriage-ride to the then small mountain market-town Tirana, without veiling themselves thoroughly in sober black dress.

Now the growing town-life of Tirana, the capital of modern Albania, has already swallowed the exclusive loneliness of the villa; and the daughter of the house, a sixteen-year old girl, attends the adjacent modern college "Nena Bretnesha" or "Mother of the King." She had invited us to come to her parents' home after our visit to the college.

She seems in outward appearance by no means different from any other good-looking European college-girl. She wears the same simple tailored dress as does my wife, and belongs, like so many Albanians, to the same racial type as do we ourselves.

The Albanian population, two-thirds of which belong to the Muslim religion, speaks a Satem-type of Indo-European language as do the Aryans and did the Greeks and Illyrians

of yore. They thus prove an even older relationship to the original bearers of European civilisation than our Teutonic or Roman ancestors. But the medium of our conversation is neither Greek nor Illyro-Albanian dialect, but the *lingua franca* of the world's intelligentsia—i.e., English.

"Within two years I shall be ready," explains our new Muslim girl-friend. "I am the best of my class in pedagogy and I also belong to our college's champion base-ball team. As soon as I have finished college I plan to attend either the university of Rome, of Vienna or of Paris. I have not yet determined which. After that I shall start my work as a teacher in a village school."

A shade of humorous doubt is reflected in my wife's face as she looks into the sunburnt girl's vivid steel-grey eyes. With the sensibility of Orientals our young friend seems to have understood our unspoken doubts and points to an awkward group on the road:

"Married life need not prevent us from working for public health and welfare. So much can be done nowadays toward rebuilding the nation by means of co-operation of the sexes!"

The group, which had meanwhile passed by, consisted of an elderly woman, wrapped in folds of thick black cloth from top to toe, looking just as the average European believed the "Mohammedan woman" to look before the war.* The two daughters of this completely covered mother wore handsome outdoor dresses of the simple and tasteful type of "Paris-spring-fashion," one of them carrying a leatherbag, probably filled with books, both marching sturdily along, carrying the mother with them unconsciously, and making her seem extremely incongruous, "Our generation has to make up for what our mothers and grandmothers have neglected to do," repeats our college-girl, now inviting us to enter the gateway to the beautiful gardens of her parents' home, and then continuing:

"Just imagine that my mother was one of the first women in this country, who learned a foreign European language, besides Turkish. To-day English is compulsory in our colleges and to-morrow we hope to be able to introduce it into the village schools which will be built as soon as we are ready to become useful teachers; we girls of the present generation."

*Full veiling has since been prohibited by law.

It was with this hopeful remark that our young hostess led us into the house, which was furnished in a simple, tasteful manner, blending oriental carpets with the modern line of low couches and simply shaped furniture. This was an unexpected and agreeable surprise after so many tastelessly overloaded saloons, in half oriental and half "Victorian" in style, so characteristic of the majority of oriental indoor-furnishing, which we had seen in our tour in the near East. Most Western observers of such Muslim girls, characteristic of the young generation of three millions of Europeans, believe that Islam is to them of even less importance than the Christian dogmas are for the materialistic type of a Middle-Europeans.

Such beliefs are based on fundamentally false conceptions and have done much harm to both Europeans and Orientals. The more modern traffic, modern economic relations and modern world-literature relations are intensified, the more intensely is this done. I believe, therefore, that what the diligent little college-girl expressed as her personal conviction, but what in reality was the outcome of a whole generation's more or less uniform way of thought and the result of its education, is of general interest and should be more fully discussed.

She well realised that Islam was the first monotheistic religion to give mental as well as full practical civil rights to the woman and to encourage them to educate themselves to the same high degree as the man. That original Islam gives women the same right as men is even more significant. The acceptance of the husband's name was also not customary until Christian influence made it so. Women were thus formerly allowed to preserve symbolically their personal integrity. Whereas European books of law did not acknowledge women's ability to dispose of their own property independently until a few decades ago, the Islamic law already gave women this right to full extent fourteen hundred years ago. The literary and cultural history of France, Austria, England and Germany proves clearly that it was originally due to Arabic influence from Spain, that the minnesong-period of the early Middle Ages started the cultural rise of Europe. It was the model of Muslim-Arabic poetry, Muslim-Arabic veneration of women, and Muslim-Arabic science in Spain that also gave rise to the cultural refinement of Europe's womanhood, which once was more depressed than that of the East to-day. Even outwardly fashions: the knightly custom of kissing a lady's hand as a form of greeting, was originally

introduced into Europe from Arabic Spain. Later on, this fashion, along with so many others became absolutely unknown in the East, which passed through a period of cultural decay which also lowered women's position to a great extent.

Our Muslim girl-friend declared with fervour that it was not due to the religion of Islam that Muslim women led a downtrodden life during the last five centuries, but only to the misconceptions of men and women who scarcely deserved to be called "Muslims"!

So it seems to be not mere accident but the consequence of a necessary evolution, when we find, that the position of women in modern Turkey is at present better than in any other European country except Russia. From this point of view it also seems quite natural that the world's conference of women last year, held in Istanbul, met with great success.

It is in the same way significant, that the European countries under Islamic rule, like Turkey and Albania, led by the spirit of justice for both the sexes, first introduced equal rights. On the other hand, the Muslim minorities who live under Christian governments in Europe follow only hesitatingly. This shows clearly, that the impulse for improvement of the Muslim women's position really was originated by the Muslim centres themselves and not borrowed from the Christian European school of thought.

The Christian kingdom of Jugoslavia yields a good example for the above-mentioned statement. 1,600,000 Muslims live there. The cultural and educational rise of this minority attained considerable proportions after the War. Female education is spread far more than a few years ago. A native Muslim woman has for instance a good reputation on the European musical stage as an opera-singer. Yet it is a fact that the veiling-system among these Jugoslavian Muslim girls is far better preserved at present than among the Muslim girls of the independent countries under Muslim governments, such as Turkey and Albania. This fact holds good to a certain extent even with regard to Egypt, outside Europe, where the girls of the educated classes are to be seen quite freely, swimming in modern bathing-suits, at the sea-side, and where the peasant-women too enjoy approximatively the same freedom as European, Christian peasant-women. Even the women in the deserts of Sa'udi Arabia enjoy a relatively high degree of nomadic freedom. So we find the downtrodden, veiled "Mohammedan woman," as we found

her depicted in our school books of pre-war-time, only in those countries of the near East, which are under foreign Christian rule, such as Syria, Tripolitania, Algeria or Morocco.

The geographical configuration of the area of Muslim women's freedom gives us an interesting lesson. The centres of regeneration, as stated above, are to be found only in the centres of typical Muslim culture of the twentieth century. Here it is that the period of a sleep of 500 years was stopped, and that a new type of modern Muslim women's cultural activity was started. Thus Islamic culture created in the near East out of itself the impulse for progress and co-operation with the whole of humanity and at the same time revived the old Islamic religious ideal of equality and co-operation of the sexes.

Cultural evolution of the greatest importance is in that way started and begins to change the cultural area of Islam, which numerically takes the third place among the world's great religions. This fact shows the necessity of taking an interest in the Muslim women's movement for everyone who wants rightly to understand our changing times.

This will be the basis on which sound investigations may be made into the different details of the various reform movements in the East, which are built on the basis of the general movement characterised above.

International womanhood will take more than ordinary interest in these facts, if fully aware of their importance. Countries like Albania, for instance, have slept for the past five hundred years but have in reality, also been accumulating energies for a new spurt ahead. Their money is not nailed down in railways, steam-engines and gasoline reservoirs, which do not pay. All their hitherto dormant economic powers may be concentrated on the construction of new motor-roads, aerodromes or oilfield-exploitation. Modernisation can naturally be more strictly effected in such a case than in a country, where capital, interest and thousands of people trained to serve an old machinery engine have to be respected.

The better thing is bound to be on hostile terms with the good thing, and the good thing with the better. Perhaps this gives us the key to the comprehension of the great rapidity of growth in women's freedom as well as in the economic conditions. Especially will this be true, where the better

thing, in this case being equality of the sexes, meets an old religious cultural tradition which holds to the same ideal, as in the case of Islam.

Thus misconceptions of a comparatively short historical period of about five hundred years seem to be removed and the original picture of the womanhood of this cultural type of the human race—Islam—to be remodelled into its pristine and yet modern form.

So we find again, that Islam is not only the most active cultural form of life, which knows how to assimilate its form to the necessities of the changing evolution of mankind, but also the ever reforming, never dying force, which gives new impulses of life to the progress of the human race.

OMAR ROLF EHRENFELS.

AL-MANFALŪTI—AN EGYPTIAN ESSAYIST

FORTY YEARS OLD

Now that I have reached the summit of life's pyramid I must begin to climb down the other side, not knowing whether I shall be able to descend steadily and quietly until I reach the plain in safety or whether I shall stumble on the way and crash down headlong in one final fall.

Go in peace, fair Past! You were a spacious world of hopes and dreams; in your clear atmosphere we flew as freely as white doves to the four quarters of heaven, and came and went without complaint or care or pain.

We never thought life dull; we did not even know that pain or care existed; we held that even poverty and need and hardship were admirable things. There was no single aspect of the universe but seemed as fresh and fair as a white flower, a temptation to our eyes, a snare for our hearts.

We thought the pretty boat which sailed with us across your clear pellucid lake would bear us on for ever, that none would stop it nor change its course, straight on for ever and ever.

The only effort that seemed to us wasted was when we tried to achieve two aims at once, and we won the first and lost the second; or we had two desires which didn't agree and one was fulfilled and the other foregone.

Our only griefs were the absence of a friend or the presence of an eavesdropper, or a sleepless night, or an hour's ennui, or an enemy's spiteful glance, or a rival's malignant whisper. A moment later our overflowing happiness had driven the painful thought away as brimming river sweeps away the refuse, and life became acceptable again and clear and carefree.

Go in peace, season of youth! You were like a tree with widespread rustling branches in whose shade we played, as mottled fawns play in the friendly wilds. We looked above

and thought the sky our playground; we looked around and thought the East our racecourse and the West a target for our spears. The whole world was one wide and mighty kingdom for us to rule, making our own whichever of its provinces we willed.

It is not from memory of wanton loves or revelry that I regret you, season of youth, or madcap escapades or wealthy sybaritic ease; but simply that you were the season of youth—that's all.

I weep at your departure, season of youth, because the star of hope which shone and gleamed on your horizon was ever in my sight and kept me twinkling company; its penetrating rays brought into my heart a glowing warmth. But when you went, the star went too; the sky became a desolate, dark desert unlit by gleam of any ray.

No. I enjoyed no special privileges or delights. I realised none of my hopes and aspirations; but I did hope and I did aspire, and in that hope I lived and with those aspirations I knew the happiness of prosperity.

To-day I have begun to descend from life's summit down the farther side; life has no secrets for me now. My chief preoccupation to-day is to prepare myself for that fearsome moment when I step into my grave.

Youth has gone; three medical men are my advisers now, the oculist, the dentist and the hepatist. My steps grow shorter, my league becomes a mile, my yard a foot. My contemporaries begin to warn me of my end. I used to notice the wrinkles and grey hair coming to those with whom I had grown up, and I denied it. But now I know that I have gone farther than they, though they deny in me what I denied in them. And when they greet me and wish me good health and strength and a long life and a good end,¹ I know they mean that my health is less good, my strength abating, my life uncertain and my end not far.² And when I go amongst young men and notice their vigour and energetic happiness, I feel myself a stranger in a world unknown.

Thoughts for my future trouble me no more; my future has become my past, to-morrow a yesterday that never will return again. The name of "Grandfather" on little children's lips does not disturb me; it seems a fitting word. The warnings of my well-wishers that it is time to economise and

(1) i.e., that I may die in the Faith.

(2) Manfalûti died at the age of 48.

save up for my children are like a voice which cries to me, "You are about to journey on; make, then, provision for your family, lest they be destitute in the years when they will see your face no more."

My heart is stilled after its season of tumultuous turbulence. I have become tolerant and gentle; I make excuses for others instead of blaming them; I no longer hate or envy; I have lost the desire to punish offence and give back blow for blow. The world with its good and bad seems no longer a concern of mine since I shall leave it soon; if not to-day, to-morrow.

The past plays a greater part in my conversation than the present; not that the past was better than the present, but because youth is better than age. When I remember how I sat in my student days, in my ordinary little house, with my undistinguished and penurious friends, I regret those days and magnify them in my memory. I am not consoled for them because I sit to-day in a pleasant house with friends of established reputation, honourably known for their merit and attainments. The former house was in the sweet and pleasant land of dreams, the latter is in the real and painful world. I was better off in the company of flattering hopes which came to nought. Nothing gives me now the pleasure that a story from the Arabian Nights gave me then, or the life of Saif-ud-Din¹ or the wars of "Antara" and the battles of Abu Zaid,² and the stories of Jinns and devils. When I fell asleep, my dreams brought me all that I needed to make me content, all that I longed for and loved and desired.

In those days, I still visited the sanctuaries of the Saints, and as I stood reverently before their precincts I felt deep peace within my heart and I was filled with hope and expectation. To-day that satisfaction is denied me; I have learnt that legends of the Saints are senseless fabrications, that tales of visions and heaven-sent dreams are superstitious madness; that saints, alive or dead, have influence over their own selves only, and have no power to work for others' good or harm. As I learnt, I suffered; in my ignorance I was happy.

I had made up my mind to build a home in the world of men wherein to pass a happy and confident life; now my object is to find a little space in the world of the dead wherein my bones may rest.

(1, 2 & 3) Traditional popular poems recited by the professional story-tellers; they are also available in book form.

I used to be delighted by the orator's eloquence, the preacher's penetration, the poet's dexterity, the writer's power, the genius of the creative mind; I was thrilled by every great and noble action. Now I have become indifferent; the mirror of my soul is grown too tarnished to reflect anything except a star more mighty and more solid than any which my eye can find in all the constellations of heaven.

I shall not grieve the day death comes; death is the goal of life. But I see before me an unknown world wherein I do not know what my lot will be; and I leave behind me little children whose means of sustenance when I am gone I do not know. Were it not for what is before me and what is behind me I should not care whether I go to death or death come to me.

God's will be done in this world and in the next. As for what is before me, He knows that I never sinned in my life but I hesitated long beforehand and repented after. I never for a day doubted His signs, His revelation, His angels or His prophets, nor denied His providence and dispositions. I never humbled myself before any authority or might save His. I hardly think He will demand a strict account of supererogatory duties.

As for the children whom I leave behind, surely God Who appoints for the cattle their pastures and for the birds their nests will care for them also and shelter them under His wide-spread compassion.

Goodbye, season of youth. In saying goodbye to you, I say goodbye to life. For life is but the strong pulse of youth's prime; as it ceases, all ceases; all is over.

O season of youth, farewell!

Farewell ye shady, dew-besprinkled boughs!

THE RUBAIYAT OF OMAR KHAYYAM

THE Rubaiyat of Omar Khayyam came into my hands the other day for the first time. Having begun to read I felt like a lost traveller in one of earth's wildernesses or unexplored tracts who comes suddenly upon a pleasant valley, in some place apart, encircled by the desert. The first steps which I took revealed to me a most divine abundance of red roses and white blossoms; the daedal earth was garlanded with flowers, watered by interlacing, everflowing rills that traced their way across the green brocade as white stars mark

the azure veil of heaven. A world of birds inhabited the trees; from branch they passed to branch and flew from bough to bough, uniting, parting; fighting, kissing; climbing up the sky until their wings brushed against the face of heaven, dropping until they shook the water's hand; and singing always, up and down, a harmony for which I find no likeness save the celestial harmony of the Houris singing in Paradise.

Through the windings of that green silk, I made my way, past the white trains of the fountains; but though I looked to right and left I saw no human form, nor, though I listened, caught the sound of human speaker, seen or unseen, until chance led me to a lofty tree, rooted beside a spring. Beneath its boughs a tranquil, smiling man reclined upon the velvet sward, now tracing the image of beauty in the face of a girl who sat beside him, now kissing the lips of the cup which sparkled in his hand. Between the two, he sang the beauty and peace of nature, praising in most melodious verse the serene happiness of solitude. Then he flew on the wings of fancy to a beautiful universe unseen, far from this low world of care and pain, far from all consciousness of evil or sin; perfecting the untroubled savour of the life he lived between his shadow and his stream, his maiden and his wine-cup.

If there passed through his mind the thought of emperor and king, their might and revelries, he let the memory go. "What do I want with princely cavalcades and armies, castles, tilting-grounds? With them march suffering, woeful tears, bitter misfortune, blood and dead men's bones; while here is calm, refreshment in the shade of solitude, and undisturbed peace. Here is no master and no slave, no worshipper nor worshipped; between two pairs of lips, the maiden's and the cup's, and two good friends, the shady branch and open book, there lurks the joyous life in full tranquillity which they all seek, not find."

When the thought of the next world and hell-fire in store for the spendthrift came to his mind, he let the memory go. "What folly to exchange a real, if transitory, happiness for an unknown life to come! To-day I do exist, how shall I but enjoy the enjoyment which exists with me? To-morrow and its content are unknown. Would you have me act as if mankind, and I amongst them, were but blocks of dumb stone in the earth's bowels whose only purpose is to await to-morrow's quarryman?"

But then he called together his straying thoughts and asked God pardon for his sinful doubts and questionings, and cried "O God, Thou knowest that since I first declared my faith in Thee I never doubted; my heart is innocent of all save what is found in every true believer's heart. Forgive my sins and falling short. I never sinned by wilful opposition to Thy word or by rebellion, but ever and anon the cup o'ercame me, and stole my senses from me. Thy nobleness will surely never stoop to dun me, as creditor duns debtor? For art Thou not the All-Generous who niggards not His gifts nor bargains with His loans, but spreads His favours far and wide even upon the unjust and sinners?"

And then, his heart being moved with pity for God's creatures, their living and dying, he shed a tear and spoke to his maiden. "Tread gently on the growing grass, girl; maybe its roots spring from some maiden's heart, as sensitive and tender as you are, as fair and charming. Time struck his blows; she passed into the gloom of that pitch night while you are here engirdled with light's shining rays. Have pity on her; pour your cup's residue above her grave; who knows but it may penetrate and help to quench the burning fire within."

Another time he thought himself a vessel in a potter's hands who makes his furnace ready. "Have mercy, Potter, on the clay you bake. It was man yesterday like yourself. When you have turned to clay, it maybe destiny will place you too between the Potter's hands and you cry out for mercy. Pity the clay, Potter, to-day, that the Potter pity you tomorrow."

Sometimes he assumed the threatening preacher's robes and warned the prosperous of fortune's fickleness, recalling to their minds the old-time monarchs and their fates, the generations gone, the fallen domes, the filling tombs, the setting suns, the footprints lost.

And then he fell to self-commiseration, dwelling upon the day wherein his flowers would fade, his glowing brand grow cold, his strength depart, when grey twilight would dim his raven youth and he go tottering, step by step, toward the open grave wherein, when man has fallen, he becomes again what he was once before, a hidden secret in fate's thoughts, a homeless atom in existence's unknown.

As thus he passed through all the range of eloquent ensample and fair exhortation, from delicate simile to gleaming

fantasy, from speaking imagery to lifelike picture, I saw the soul which dwelt within the poet's heart as a true mirror of the universe wherein were pictured earth and sky, darkness and light, the song of men and birds, the dumb creation and the articulate; and I began to think that the Arabs had no more cause to be proud of Al-Mutanabbi and Al-Ma'ârri, the French of Lamartine and Victor Hugo, the Anglo-Saxons of Shakespeare and Milton, the Italians of Dante, the Germans of Goethe, the Romans of Virgil, the Greeks of Homer, the ancient Egyptians of Bantura or the modern Egyptians of Ahmed Shauqi* than the Persians had of their Khayyâm.

THE LIFE OF THE IMAGINATION

IF man could not sometimes escape into the world of imagination, he would find the life of the senses intolerable and its taste too bitter to be swallowed. The healthy would have no pleasure in living and the sick would only be too glad to die.

Thus it is that we see all living men fleeing desperately from the life of the senses, trying to get at the imaginative life by any path that offers to lead them there, hoping to see what they do not see in this world, visions that reveal unsuspected likenesses and unimagined contrasts, and set their minds at rest and cool their fever and take the nausea and the loathing from their hearts.

It is on account of this longing for the world of imagination that so many people drug themselves, whether it be with wine or hashîsh or opium. For though the felicity thus created is in the eyes of the observer a paradise interpenetrated with pain, it is in the eyes of its addicts better than a life of pain unmixed with felicity. The same longing accounts for the extraordinary number of imaginative poets and religious devotees.

The drunkard knows no sweetness or pleasantness in life until he has surrendered himself to the cup of wine which transports him from this limited tract into a spacious world of wide horizons where he sees all those things for which his heart longed. Though its true aspect be hideous, he finds it a snare of light which tempts the glance, a glowing orb

*The greatest poet of contemporary Arabic literature, known by acclamation as the Prince of the Poets of the Arabic-speaking world. Author of four verse-dramas (Majnun-wa-Laila, Camlyses, the Tragedy of Cleopatra, Ali Beg), which has been produced on the Cairo stage, and of numerous short poems.

around whose beauty the hearts of men are fluttering as little birds go fluttering round a tree. Though he is a penniless pauper, he fancies he is a monarch seated upon a royal throne, his diadem upon his head, his sceptre in his hand. He thinks that all God's creatures are his servants and all the nations' armies at his beck, even the soldier who at that very moment is dragging him face downward to the cell where he must pass the night. Nothing that his eye sees or his ear hears shocks him; he finds a rare beauty in the hag's face and hears soft music in the angry thunder's voice.

Not otherwise, the devotee is restless and unhappy until the dusk fall and he be entered into his favourite sanctuary. Alone within the precincts he feels wings of light grow from his shoulders like angels' wings, with which he flies across the sky; heaven and hell are laid bare before him; he sees the throne and seat of God; he hears the scratching of the pen across the table of God's decrees; he reads what was and will be in the prototypal pages of the Book of God.

So too the poet does not awake from this perplexed, grief-filled nightmare we call life until he is seated at his table, pen ready; imagination takes him by the hand, transporting him amongst the flowery blossoms or high amidst the playbox of the stars or down into the fishes' swimming pools. And then again he comes to rest beside some ancient ruin and weeps for the departed folk; or sits beside a half-obliterated tomb, bewailing the vanished flesh and crumbling bones.

Hope itself is but a gate of the imaginative world; there is no human heart but throbs with hope and fair anticipation. Hope is the portion of the imaginative world in whose protection all men live, whether they are clever or stupid, intellectual or dense. Hope is the brave barrier erected in the face of despair; for if despair can penetrate to human heart man's life becomes an unbearable burden on his shoulders until he seeks deliverance in death; or longs for change and change and something else and something else again.

They say that those who have most common-sense are the unhappiest in this life, and that its pleasantness is only known to the mad. Do you know why? Because the former have a smaller portion in the world of imagination than the latter; their common-sense prevents their flying through the empty spaces of imagination and the vain worlds of phantasy. They recognise only the realities of which the five senses speak;

they know the world too well to think that pain and misfortune are not of its essentials. They know that pleasure cannot last for ever and therefore do not seek enduring happiness in a hoped-for future. They cannot share in the delight with which the mad believe in the non-existent.

Hear the truth! If I myself did not sometimes live the life of the world of imagination in the creations of my pen, I should have such a loathing for life that I would pray for the sun to rise in the West to herald the overthrow and annihilation of the universe.

Change and again change would be my one desire, even though it were the last change unto the mercy of God.

NEVILL BARBOUR.

(Concluded)

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE TURKISH EXPERIMENT¹

ONLY a few years ago it would have been impossible to find an American—particularly an American connected with a Department of Religion in a University—capable of writing temperately, much less sympathetically, about the Turks; and now we find Dr. Allen according to their social and religious problems the same patient and respectful consideration which he would devote to the study of the problems of his own or any other country. Such magic power is in the word “Republic.”² Formerly the Turks were regarded in America as a race of bloodthirsty and barbarous conquerors who had never in the whole of their history produced a work of art or literature or contributed in any way to the treasury of human culture. Now due reference is made to their achievements in the fields of art and letters and we have seen within the past year an old Turkish work on politics published with all the pomp of learned notes and a translation by one of the greatest American Universities. Furthermore we notice that Islam itself is treated more respectfully than heretofore. In fact Dr. Allen is almost prepared upon the evidence to admit that it may be able to survive the impact of modernity. He writes:—

“It has often been asserted that progress is incompatible with the teachings and spirit of Islam. This is vigorously denied by the present apologists, who stress *progressive adaptation* as one of Islam’s strong points.” He then goes on to quote from Yûsuf Zîa: “Though fanaticism is rejected completely in Islam, nevertheless we see unfortunately that fanaticism has entered into our religion. It is fanaticism to call others misbelievers, to become enemies of reform and progress, to hate without cause and to attach oneself blindly

(1 & 2) *The Turkish Translation*.—A Study in Social and Religious Development. By Henry Elisha Allen, D. D., Department of Religion, Lafayette College. Chicago University Press. October. 1935.

to old habits. The religion of Islam is free from these bad morals. Muslims do not hesitate to accept new movements."

There follows a quotation from Professor 'Abdul Bâqi who (somewhat to the surprise of Dr. Allen) "takes the prohibition of painting or carving likenesses of the human figure as an example of a temporary or changeable prescription"; from which it is clear that the Turkish professor regards the prohibition as emanating from the Prophet. We should like to know if he has been able to discover any Ḥadīth prohibiting such likeness. We have heard tell of such a Ḥadīth but have not been able to discover it in any record; the authorities we have been able to consult know nothing of it. The common-sense ground for such a ban in the early days of the religion is self-evident but the scriptural authority appears to be lacking. It is astonishing in these circumstances that the majority of Muslims should think, as Dr. Allen thought until he read the statement of Prof. 'Abdul Bâqi, of the ban on portraiture as an essential part of our religion.

The history of the reforming movement in Turkey is briefly outlined, and here we notice that the important rôle of England as promoter and protector of that movement in the nineteenth century is ignored. The name of Disraeli, founder of Pan-Islamism in the modern sense, is not even mentioned. French influence, upon the other hand, receives more credit than it deserves historically, for it had comparatively little weight in the political, however much it may have had in the cultural, development of Turkey. And the very important part played by the Young Turk movement in reviving the national consciousness and organising the people is overlooked. As Dr. Allen seems to have collected all his views in Turkey, it seems likely that this is the view of history inculcated by the Republic.

On the other hand this author gives a very clear, comprehensive and sympathetic account of the changes that have been made by Mr. Atatürk (formerly Ghâzi Muṣṭafa Kemâl Pâshâ) in so far as they affect religion. It is precisely his pre-occupation with the religious aspect of the changes which makes his book of such absorbing interest to us. "In the midst of the confusion which has attended Turkey's resentful abandonment of many of Islam's unworthy features" he writes "one finds a tendency to cling fast to the Koran, whose truths are regarded as eternal. Conservatism and features incompatible with progress are blamed on later misconceptions and misinterpretations which have incrustated a really vital truth with a host of petrified anachronisms." In other

words, the "unworthy features" were against Quranic teaching and so formed no part of Islam. The Turkish nationalist's view is well stated in the four lines of Zia Genk Alp (a poet who has often been accused of anti-Muslim sentiments) which form the *Envoi* of the book:

- "A land in which the call to prayer resounds from the mosque in the Turkish tongue,
- "Where the peasant understands the meaning of his prayers,
- "A land where the schoolboy reads the Quran in his mother tongue,
- "O Son of the Turk, that is thy fatherland!"

It must be remembered in all our criticisms of the new developments in Turkey that the Turks suffered terribly and gained nothing tangible from their age-long championship of the Muslims of the world, that they are now too weak to think of bearing such a burden, and that, in view of their unequalled sacrifices for Islam, the Muslims of the world have not the right to blame them if, in order to recuperate, they draw apart. It must also be remembered that a strongly nationalistic position was forced upon them by circumstances over which they had no control, as it is being forced in the same way upon other Muslim peoples, and that all that they have done has been in self-defence and with the object of self-preservation in a dire extremity. If they have abolished things which had through long association become endeared to Muslim hearts, in many respects their new régime is more truly Islamic than was the old more picturesque régime which it supplanted. Dr. Allen was an impartial observer, and his book gives us the impression that Turkey has by no means ceased to be essentially a Muslim land though those in power affect indifference towards religion, an attitude which may conceivably be more politic than real.

There may, in short, be factors in the Turkish transformation which veiled themselves from the keen but alien eyes of Dr. Allen. It is at least conceivable that Soviet Russia—the Power to whose arrival in the world the Turks and Persians largely owe their independent status—might object to any evidences of Islamic fervour in the Government of Turkey tending to stiffen opposition among Russian Muslims to her "anti-God campaign," just as she might conceivably object to a flood of literature from the printing-presses of Stambul, Smyrna, Angara in Arabic type at the time when in the interests of "the Revolution," that type had been forbidden to be used in Soviet territories. Then there is the

belligerent—if we may apply that adjective to a peaceful process, or perhaps we should rather say ‘retributive’—aspect of the Turkish reforms. It is certainly not for the beautiful eyes of Europe and America that the Turks are being hustled into Western ways. The Turks were splendid fighters with the weapons that they knew, but in the end they found themselves at the mercy of peoples using weapons that they did not know. Having saved themselves from the immediate danger of destruction by a superhuman effort, they are now applying all their faculties to acquiring mastery of those new weapons which are needed by a nation that would dominate the world to-day. They might claim that this is retaliation, when forbidden things become lawful; they might even call it the modern Jihâd if they chose to couch their progress in Islamic terms, but this they will not do, being indifferent to religion. It would be, besides, impolitic. As Ali Vahit (Wâhid) says in one of his *khutbahs* quoted by Dr. Allen “.if we do not learn the sciences and the crafts with a great love, I may say in the name of God that we shall never strengthen our backbones though we conquer hundreds of armies, and we shall never get rid of our troubles. We fought like lions on the battlefield, and our foreheads are clean, and we will struggle the same way in the field of science and arts. We will find the means by which we shall progress. It is our duty to go side by side with the most civilised countries of the world. The word machinery will not frighten us. We will become adepts at machinery, and we will learn the ins and outs of electricity. We will master them all. We will exploit our mines and float ships on the sea. We will generate electricity and in some places we will run our railways by this electricity. We will spend little and earn much. We will not give our money to foreigners. We will weave and clothe ourselves. We will not become the servants of others. In short, we will show the same activities in the field of science and knowledge as we did on the battlefield.”

Thus there would appear to be two motives, both defensive though in different ways, which are not mentioned in the literature of this modernising movement, although, together, they account for nearly all its phenomena. But for Russia the changes made by the Republic might not have worn so strong a colour of indifference towards religion, and there is evidence enough to show that the reforms, though couched in terms of idealism, have been instituted in a spirit of stark, bitter realism. They have been undertaken as one

hurriedly assumes a gas-mask against poison-gas with a determination to learn all about that new projectile. Turkey must be re-armed in modern style.

Coming to the choice of armour: It was noted that the Protestant nations are generally more advanced than the Roman Catholic; therefore a Reformation was desirable. Just as the Protestants abandoned Latin as the language of religion, the Turks abandoned Arabic for Turkish. The Turkish translation of the Qur'ân (a fine translation) was ordered to be used on all public occasions and Juma'ah prayers were ordered to be said in Turkish only. This was to strengthen Turkish nationalism. But surely that result could have been achieved without loosening a tie of our Islamic brotherhood which stands for something manifestly in advance of Europe. It would have been easy to have kept the Arabic prayers for use on some occasions when once their Turkish meaning was well known and to have *allowed* the reading of the Qur'ân in public along with the Turkish version; and the small concession would have meant so much as a bond between members of a community which has no priesthood and very little organisation. We cannot forget that the most worldly-wise and the most highly organised of all religious groups—the Roman Catholic Church—clings to a ritual language as a bond of unity. In Turkey there was really no Church to revolt from. It was merely an affair of removing or reshaping certain Government institutions. The analogy with the Reformation in Europe is too superficial to provide a solid ground of policy.

Among the present leaders of Turkey there are many well-read men, and Mr. Atatürk himself is of acute intelligence. It seems strange that, when making the diagnosis of their country's ailments they should have failed to perceive that the case of Islam is, in one respect at least, the opposite of that of Christendom. Islam in the early days was a religion of the widest enlightenment, allowing freedom of thought on every subject under Allah; it was most enlightened when religion was identified with actual government; and it was only after a scholastic order like a priesthood had arisen as an influence apart from what our friends would call the "secular" government that the light of progress and of knowledge became dimmed. In Europe it was just the opposite. There religion was originally the enemy of free thought and enterprise and was always separate from the government.

These are some of the ideas which have occurred to us while reading Dr. Allen's deeply interesting book. The author himself regards the very old Islamic views which some of his Turkish acquaintances pressed eagerly upon his notice as "new ideas" and "new interpretations" designed to justify the modernising policy, but he tolerantly admits that with the help of such conceptions Islam may be brought to the position of a civilised and civilising force in these days. As if Islam were not the greatest civilising force the world has known! As if all that is best in Western civilisation had not been traced to Islam rather than Christianity!

Several of the Turks with whom Dr. Allen spoke mentioned their hope that their religious reformation would be a guide and an example to all other Muslim peoples. The Muslim peoples, it is true, required a shock. They needed to be reminded that Islam is no mere tradition of the fathers, no mere affair of forms and postures, but something vital and dynamic for the welfare of mankind. Perhaps they even needed to have the caps plucked from their heads, the beards from their faces, if such rough treatment would remind them that Islam remains the living truth though every monument and form and custom associated with it in men's minds be swept away. The Turkish "reformation" has administered this shock even more than has the Russian "anti-God campaign" because the Turks are Muslims while the Russians are avowed and conscientious atheists.

The Turks *are* Muslims: that is the point which Dr. Allen's book brings out most clearly, the point we would impress upon the minds of all our Muslim readers. It would need but a stroke of the pen, a gesture of the President to convert the present secular Republic into an Islamic State which all Muslims would recognise. But the policy of indifference on the part of the Government, with their treatment of religion as something separate, seems to threaten the congregation in the future with a lack of that enlightened leadership which in a true Islamic State the "secular" leaders would supply.

Dr. Allen gives us a wealth of quotation from text-books, sermons, manifestos of the new régime. Particularly interesting are his chapters on the new position of Christian missionaries in Turkey [which treats mostly of the Bursa (Brûsa) incident when some Muslim girl-students in a Missionary school were converted to Christianity, bringing down upon the missionaries the wrath of the whole country and the

Government] and on the position of Islam in the new Turkish State. From his treatment it is clear that he, like the Republican Government, regards Islam as something confined to the mosques; we, with other views, have read the so-called secular publications quoted no less keenly than the sermons and have found in them nothing un-Islamic. The only positively un-Islamic feature is the talk of "secular" and "religious."

The book is to be recommended as the best yet published on the subject of New Turkey and as being especial interest from our Islamic point of view.

M. P.

THE WORK OF RUSSELL PASHA*

THE Egyptian Government, in 1929, awoke to the distressing fact that their country was in the grip of a plague more deadly than the famous ten put together. The land of the Pharaohs had become a land of drug-takers. In all countries there are dregs—mental and moral wastrels—whose downward course is assisted by dope of one sort or another; Egypt, however, was in much worse case, for here it was the healthy majority, to a degree probably unknown before in the history of civilization, who were galloping to self-destruction.

Baron d'Erlanger in the volume before us describes in intriguing style the ins and outs of the dope traffic in Egypt, its international ramifications, and the magnificent work of His Excellency Russel Pasha, chief of the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, which eventually succeeded in the seemingly impossible task of suppressing most of the evil. When one reviews the recent state of affairs, political and racial, in Egypt, combined with the big money rewards offered by the drug traffic and the ease with which drugs can be concealed, the achievement of Russell Pasha becomes the more astonishing. The reader of Baron d'Erlanger's excellent account will heartily endorse every word of praise he bestows on his hero.

The unequal—and unfair—distribution of legal authority owing to the 'Capitulations' (by which criminal charges against foreigners are tried by the Consular Court of the

**The Last Plague of Egypt.* By Baron Harry d'Erlanger. Lovat Dickson and Thompson Ltd., London. 10s. 6d., pp. 304. Illustrated.

Power to which the accused is subject) helped considerably to make Egypt a drug-traffickers' paradise. When Russell Pasha, who had served in Egypt for many years as a Civil Servant, became head of the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, "the most pernicious drug trafficker, if he were lucky enough to belong to a country whose legislators had not been awakened to the gravity of his offence, was practically beyond the reach of the law. For his Consular Court, however much it might desire to co-operate with the Egyptian authorities, and however eager it might be to make an example of an individual who was bringing discredit on the whole colony, could only inflict the penalty provided by the code it was administering. And if the maximum punishment available were quite inadequate there was nothing more to be done. The offender would simply escape with his light sentence and, since the profits from the traffic were enormous, would resume his career at the earliest opportunity.

"Again, the Consular Courts were by no means permanent institutions; some sat as rarely as twice a year. Suppose a National of one of these courts were arrested by the Egyptian police just after the close of a session, he would have a clear six months in which to take all possible steps to interfere with the course of justice, to tamper with any witnesses who might be venal, to suppress as much damaging evidence as possible, in short, to make use of his ill-gotten gains to secure an acquittal by hook or by crook.

"If the trafficker's guilt were so flagrant that, in spite of all his efforts, he could not escape conviction, the time would still not have been wasted: the fine which would be imposed as an important part of the sentence would have become merely farcical. For the delinquent's property would long since have been transferred ostensibly to various friends and relatives so as to make him a pauper in the eyes of the law. The etiquette of the underworld would ensure his recouping his assets in due time, and meanwhile the authorities could whistle for their money.

"The unfair advantages enjoyed by 'protected subjects' could, and indeed very often did, lead to the following travesty of justice: two men, both resident in Egypt, but one an Egyptian and the other a foreigner, would be convicted of exactly the same offence; but whereas the Egyptian would be sentenced to several years in a penitentiary, the foreigner would escape with the infliction of a fine which he would often manage not to pay."

The Egyptian hotch-potch of nationalities—Turks, Turco-Egyptians, Arabs, Bedouins, Fellâhîn, Copts, Syrians, Jews, Greeks, Italians, French and English—was therefore a field ripe for the pernicious activities of the drug-seller, and out of a population of about fourteen millions a survey revealed that half-a-million were victims of *hashish* and—worse still—opium derivatives. “The mass of the poorer population,” writes Baron d’Erlanger “is divided into two unequal portions, the numerically larger consisting of the Moslem population which is fleeced, and the smaller, including the bulk of the non-Moslems, which does the fleecing.”

The Moslem population outnumbers the non-Moslem by about ten to one, the former section bound by common allegiance to Islam, the latter almost defying exact classification even when subdivided roughly into ‘Levantine’ and ‘European.’ “The term ‘Levantine’ in its widest sense can be used to describe either a number of Christian races dwelling in the Levant, such as the Syrians, or again a type of European born or usually resident in the Levantine provinces of the former Ottoman Empire. While it is needless to say that many Levantines lead unimpeachable lives both from the point of view of general morality and of so-called “business ethics,” it cannot be denied that the more struggling members of the clan have often turned their remarkably acute brains to channels of very doubtful probity. When Egypt was first thrown open to the world the Levantines swarmed on their prey like vermin on a mangy lion. From every port in the eastern Mediterranean they came to exercise their talents as usurers, shady traders, sharp legal practitioners, monopolisers of certain lucrative professions and even, as far as in them lay, as Government officials. In fact they played very much the same part as did the low-class Jews from the Ghettoes of Eastern Europe in certain countries of Central Europe, with a disastrous result to their race which is still in everybody’s mind to-day.” In short, the ethnological and legal state of affairs favoured to an exceptional degree the activities of these detestable parasites which seem to have infested nearly every foreign community in Egypt.

“In 1929, when Russel Pasha was made Director of the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau, heroin had become the drug of choice or drug of addiction in Egypt, and this to such an overwhelming extent that it had forced its one-time rivals opium, cocaine and hashish completely into the background. The success of heroin is not difficult to explain. While its other “technical” and “convenient” qualities are

numerous the real advantage of heroin is quite simple; it was merely the worst and most violent poison obtainable. It drove other and less dangerous drugs off the market."

Morphine and heroin are, of course, derivatives of the drug opium; heroin (diacetyl-morphine) was discovered by a German chemist and seemed at first to deserve its romantic name as having the good, and none of the bad, properties of morphine. In fact, both these poisons emerged from the laboratory with good medical characters; soon, however, it seemed that humanity would have been better off without them; too late, for by then heroin was in the hands of the drug traffic which at once saw the possibilities of such a potent and easily smuggled poison.

Russell Pasha, in 1930, as Egypt's representative on the League of Nations Opium Advisory Committee, made a speech which heralded a firm policy in place of the hitherto somewhat futile one. Here are a few items from it:—

"Up to the time of the war, hashish and opium were the only drugs known in Egypt. A considerable amount of opium was grown in Upper Egypt; most was exported and only a small quantity used in the country. Hashish, which then came from Greece, was the vice of the city slums and did comparatively little harm; in the villages there were a few hashish-smokers who were looked upon rather as a joke than otherwise in the same way, as the village 'drink' is regarded in the English village. At the end of the War a Greek chemist in Cairo succeeded in introducing cocaine to the upper classes, and in a few years made a fortune; the cocaine habit soon caught on. This chemist is now doing two years hard labour. "In Egypt, there is addiction in every class of society. I am not concerning myself so much with the upper or middle classes; for a long time to come they will be able to buy their dope, however, expensive it is. The class that I am concerned with and concerned about is the peasant agricultural labourer, the fellâh, the villager.

"Before the introduction of these European poisons, there was no more healthy, hard-working and cheerful class of peasant in the world; to-day every village in Egypt has its heroin victims, and they are the youth of the country. The peak age for narcotic addiction, taken from nearly five thousand cases, works out at twenty-six. Can you picture your quiet little village corrupted and poisoned with dope? You cannot, but I can, as I see it every day in Egypt.

"Gentlemen, I ask you: is it fair that Europe should thus pour its tons of poison into my country? Europe is strict enough in its own countries to prevent their ruination by drugs. I appeal to all manufacturing countries to think of the ruin and misery that is being caused to Egypt. . . . If you could see, as I do every day, the abject misery and despair of our poor drug victims and their families, you would redouble, retripple your efforts to kill this vile traffic."

The dragon that Russell Pasha had set himself to slay was, indeed, a many-headed one. Big money interests and international rivalries faced him on the one hand and the complicated network of the drug-makers and smugglers on the other. The reader of this spirited and excellently informed account of it all will be reminded of detective fiction—unscrupulous and resourceful criminals versus police. The smugglers used every means and method to get their poison to its ill-fated market; in mill-stones, under glued-on hair on the backs of camels, in specially-made travelling-trunks and water-closet seats, in blocks of wax, in the grease-boxes of railway trucks—these were some of the ways of disposing of the shipments from factories in Europe. "One of these shipments" we read "was concealed in a manner so original that it is worth recording. The drugs were hidden in sheets of glass, which seems the very last material to use in hiding contraband since obviously the Customs official can see right through it. But here precisely lay the beauty of the scheme. For right in the centre the sheets of glass were separated by wooden bars to prevent any possibility of breakage, and these wooden bars had been hollowed out to accommodate the contraband. That this particular ruse should not have succeeded is no doubt to be attributed to an unfortunate indiscretion which gave away the idea; nevertheless, Abuisak (the smuggler) had a host of reliable and obliging friends; among them were many minor employées of transport and shipping companies and some of them were even Customs and port officials. So obliging, indeed, were acquaintances that, at one time, hardly a ship left Constantinople for Egypt that did not carry heroin or hashish."

The police, under Russel Pasha's leadership, checked as resourceful a band of villains as ever pestered society: considerable help was afforded by the ingenious capture of a private code book; this precious document gave code numbers for members of the gang from Paris to China and Japan, for the various firms which supplied the drugs. "Then came pages of code numbers for opium and all its derivatives and

their various brands and qualities, and for apparatus to be used in extracting the alkaloids and transforming one into another; numbers were also given for mixtures containing various percentages of the drugs. The code continued with a list of shipping lines likely to be employed, with a number of towns in Central Europe and in the Far East, and concluded with practically every possible phrase which might be required for the operations of shipping and financing the goods, not forgetting means whereby the participations or commissions of the various gangsters could be cabled to them all over the world with gratifying promptness.

“In fact, by providing the authorities for the first time with the possibility of deciphering the most secret messages from one member of the group to another, the Central Narcotics Intelligence Bureau’s find turned out to be the decisive weapon which gave to the police the complete victory after which they had been striving for years in their war against the drug barons of Europe.”

By 1931 Russell was able to report at Geneva that drug addiction among the *fellâhin* had fallen by fifty per cent. and that the tightening up of control in Europe had limited the supply of illicit heroin to factories at Istanbul only; and these, too, were doomed as soon as the Turkish Government was brought to see the necessity of effective action. Russell Pasha was authorized by the Egyptian Government to go to Turkey. The drug-makers seem to have believed themselves safely entrenched on the Golden Horn, partly owing to Turkish dissatisfaction with the Opium Board in connection with the allocation of quotas in drug manufacture. The sympathy of the all-powerful Ghazi having been enlisted, however, the dope-makers were finally defeated in 1932. “The Turkish Government decided to ratify the various International Conventions concerning narcotics; it decided to forbid the re-opening of any private drug factories whatsoever and to provide for the country’s medical and scientific needs by means of a State monopoly. Henceforth the export trade in raw opium was to be confined to the Merchants’ Union and production itself was to be subjected to a system of Permits. This system would prevent cultivation in excess of the needs of the legitimate export trade and of the State factory, and thus avoid any possibility either of illegitimate exports or of secret manufacture within the country itself.

“When it is added that the cultivation of Indian hemp from which hashish is extracted was completely prohibited

in Turkey, it will be realised that the Turkish Government made a sacrifice in the cause of humanity which is probably unprecedented and seems in excess of what has been attempted by any other nation in the past."

The defeat was crushing enough, and involved exposure of figures enjoying such high protection that any emergence of the diabolical industry in Europe seems unlikely; but, unfortunately, the scene shifts to the Far East, to China especially, where the raw product, opium, is home grown, and cheap production easy. The drug menace there is viewed with the greatest anxiety and part of the responsibility rests on the Powers in whose concessions the danger is growing. One can only hope that "the millions of Orientals threatened by the drug menace may yet find a defender as fearless, resourceful, and capable as the man who saved Egypt."

R. C.

A DESCRIPTIVE CATALOGUE OF THE ARABIC, PERSIAN AND
URDU MANUSCRIPTS IN THE LIBRARY OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF BOMBAY*

THIS handsomely bound and well-produced catalogue contains a full description of 243 MSS. volumes now in the possession of the Bombay University, with some critical remarks and much information concerning their authors. Of these MSS. 114 volumes were collected in the Presidency by the learned compiler of the Catalogue, the remainder having been already in the University Library. We are a little disappointed by the paucity of Arabic MSS. in which the Bombay Presidency, one would imagine, is particularly rich. But there are some interesting items, notably a complete copy of all the fifty-one treatises or tracts (for they were so intended) of Ikhwânû's-Safâ, the famous propagandist brotherhood which worked from Başrah in the tenth century A.D. The Persian collection, on the other hand, contain some gems among which we signalise Volume 23, *Diwân-i-Ibn-i-Yamin*, which Khân Bahâdur 'Abdul Qâdir proves to be indeed the collection of *ghazaliyât* known to have been looted in the battle of Khwâf in 1342 A.D. and long supposed to be lost irretrievably; Volume 50, *Diwân-i-Zuhûrî* (ghazals and rubâ'iyât by the famous Persian poet of Bijâpur) a fine MS.,

*By Khân Bahâdur Sheykh 'Abdul Qâdir-i-Sarfarâz. Published by the University, Bombay, 1935.

of which a page is here reproduced; and Volume 34, *Kullî-yât-i-Sâ'ib*, a really beautiful MS., of which also a page is reproduced. Urdu is very poorly represented.

The learned Khân Bahâdur has done his work thoroughly, and his discussion of disputed points concerning dates and authorship is valuable. It is a pity that he has indulged in some eccentricities of transliteration which are not helpful to the learned who do not want to know how words are pronounced in any country but how they are spelt. There is an accepted system carefully thought out, which has the advantage of covering Arabic, Persian and Turkish, and is understood by Orientalists throughout the English-speaking world. It is that followed by Mr. Ivanow in his Bombay catalogues.

M. P.

THE MISSION TO PERSIA, 1627-29*

THE mission of Sir Dodmore Cotton to Shâh 'Abbâs in 1627-29 is a chapter in the commercial relations of England and Persia well-known to readers of Thomas Herbert's *Relation of Some Years' Travaile*. An interesting side-light on that adventure is afforded by this publication of the hitherto unknown MS. Journal of Robert Stodart, of whom we know nothing except that he accompanied the mission. His notes—remarks on Persian life, daily happenings, brief descriptions of itinerary, and a telling account of the terrific voyage back to Europe—were apparently written for his own satisfaction and have remained hidden among other Bodleian treasures until brought to light by Sir E. Dennison Ross.

The preliminaries to the Cotton mission are interesting. Official relations between England and Persia had begun as early as the reign of Queen Elizabeth and were hindered by Turkish intervention; later relations were largely influenced by the power of the East India Company, which, in 1622, had helped the Persians to capture Hormuz from the Portuguese. In 1624 there is a project, encouraged by King James I, for "sending out shipping to Persia independently of the Company to bring back silk on freight terms." This project seems to have been put forward with encouragement

*The *Journal of Robert Stodart*, an Account of Sir Dodmore Cotton's Mission in Persia. Edited by Sir E. Dennison Ross. Luzac and Co., London, pp. 128, 5s.

from Sir Robert Sherley (who had served Shâh 'Abbâs in divers ways, particularly in the rôle of Ambassador to Europe) and for that reason he was regarded henceforth by the Persians and the East India Company with no little disfavour and suspicion.

Shâh 'Abbâs's ambassador to England, Naqd 'Ali Beg, disavowed him in no uncertain fashion, and Cotton's mission to Persia was expressly instructed to establish the *bona fides* of Robert Sherley, as may be seen in a document—*Instructions to the Ambassador*—the original of which is now in the Library of All Souls College, Oxford.

The Cotton mission seemed ill-fated from its start. Delayed a year, it eventually reached Persia early in 1628; the Persian Ambassador accompanying it (the antagonist of Sir Robert Sherley) committed suicide on the voyage, Sir Robert Sherley himself died on July 13th, 1628, and his death was followed shortly after by that of Sir Dodmore Cotton. On Cotton's death a Dr. Henry Gooch (Chaplain to the mission) took charge; in his most interesting introduction to this volume the editor reprints *A Relation of Sir D. Cotton's Embassy into Persia*, apparently written by Gooch, to which we refer later.

Robert Stodart began his diary on April 16th, 1626, and ends it on January 9th, 1630, with a gap of two years; the text, with its odd, expressive wording and quaint spelling is printed here almost as it stands in the manuscript. The following extract, under date 1st September 1628, will give an idea of the diarist's style:—

“ The 11th of September I and two more of my fellowes went to the English howse, wher Mr. Burt made a feast for two of the Duke of Siras (Imâm Quli Khân) his cheifest followers, the on being Shacolobege (Shaikh Alî Beg), and Polotbege (Pûlâd Beg); and there was in the companie likewise the Kinges favoret here at Spahone (Ispahân), by name Mohaimbege (Mulâ'im Beg), on that doth much loue the English, and here was the Kinges great favoret brother. . . . The maner of ther feasting is thus: ther chamber is open on the onside, held vp wth wooden pillers, being a pretie longe roome, haueing a tanck by the open side of the roome all beset wth green nerbes and botles of wyne all round about the tancke.

“The roome according to the maner of the cuntrey is spred wth carpetes whervpon the people sitt, for they alwayes sitt vpon the ground onlie those carpetes vnder them, and here they haue a table cloth spread round about the roome, where vpon is layed all maner of fruit that the place yeeldes as thick as this cloth can hould, wth botles of wyne and siluer potes for to spit in or to put ther crumes or payeringes in. Thus the gestes sites from morning to night, drincking wyne and eatinge fruites; it maye be they will haue ether rosted chickens or other rosted meate for to stay ther stomakes vntill night; then assoon as candles be lighted then comes in pollow (palav) in great dishes euery dish as much as a man can carry. . . . Thuse is ther maner of feasting, but I forgot to speak of ther dauncing wenches and musik and after supper ther fireworkes, and alsoe this tanck is sett wth smal lightes al round it. . . .”

He took ship again in February 1629 “haueing left the werisom travells of Persia, wherin God of His mercie hath wonderfully protected me and helped me in al my troubles and misseries. . . .” Bitter complaints of the treatment of the mission are frequent in the *Journal* and are borne out by Gooch’s “*Relation*” to which we have referred. Gooch, for instance, writes—

“The King (of Persia) departeth for Casbin (Qasvîn) in Media: my Lord (Cotton’s title as ambassador) was appointed to follow after, along the Caspian shore, that he might see some houses of the King’s. . . . This kingdom of Hyrcania is one of the most fruitful and pleasant countries in the world; but good care was taken that neither pleasure should mollify us, nor plenty cause us to surfeit. Our first lodging was at one of the King’s houses; but, as we lodge beggars, out of doors upon the cold earth, under the eves of a stable. Your Lordship may easily proportion forth the residue of our entertainment by this one example, which I will briefly relate unto you.

“Upon the 14th June my Lord arriveth at Tirahun (Tehrân) about ten o’clock in the morning. Here my Lord was enforced, in extreme heat of the day to wait a long hour or two in the open street, before any would give him lodging: until, at length, the master of the night-watch took pity of him, and conveyed him unto a poor butcher’s house. Not a man amongst us all this day had tasted one drop of water or one crumb of bread. We expected our dinner until four in the afternoon, looking for a great feast after so long

time for preparation. At length appeareth a dish of cherries, another of apricots, a third of cheese to digest the same withal . . . My Lord was in regard of the weakness of his people, worn out almost with hunger and travel, to rest until the 17th day. Upon the 16th a messenger came from this great Duke, no less sick of the charge of our poor entertainment, than we ourselves were hungry for want of better; who, all this while of our short stay had hid his head in his haram among his women, and hitherto had never so much as sent any one man to visit my Lord. The coming also of this now, was only to hasten his departure before he had bid him welcome. This day my Lord and all his company, guests unto the great Shâh Abbâs, as they called us, were feasted with two eggs at dinner; and truly could not see one shell all the long day which followed after; whereon against our wills we also fasted until even."

He concludes his scathing remarks on their treatment with—"And thus have I now, my Lord, declared how the Persians play fast and loose in their treaties. They propound articles, when they hope the same will be profitable; and deny their own act when they think the same can be no longer useful; they disavow their own letters of credence. Whatsoever Ambassador shall hereafter be sent thither by His Majesty, if he will look to be welcome, must make account to travel upon his own charge and to truck for one good turn another. . . . To put them to the charge of one farthing is to wring a drop of blood from their hearts; and then they'll hate you. Those Ambassadors which hereafter shall come from Persia, this our sordid entertainment will be, I hope, a leading precedent unto His Majesty to spare that charge which formerly was cast away upon them; and hereby he shall teach them hospitality, who know none; since there is no better discipline to teach humanity to them who use none, than to let them taste themselves a little of their own bad nature."

In defence of Shâh Abbâs it is suggested that the scurvy treatment meted out to the English mission was attributable to the intrigues of the East India Company and the court favourite Muhammad 'Alî Beg. Contemporary English observation of the Persia of the days of Shâh Abbâs is rare enough to make well worth while the issue of this admirably presented Journal of a humble member of the unfortunate Mission of Sir Dodmore Cotton.

AL-QALQASHANDI ON INDIA*

DR. OTTO SPIES, the translator and editor of this fragment from Al-Qalqashandî's *Subhu'l-A'ashâ* tells us in his introduction that he undertook this work at the request of two of his colleagues at Aligarh "so that they might be able to make use of this source for their historical researches." It is, therefore, limited in scope and purpose.

Al-Qalqashandî had no personal knowledge of India, all his information being gleaned from books and the reports of travellers. For example, he is quoting from one Sheykh Mubârak when he tells us concerning Delhi in the fourteenth century:

..... "there are one thousand madrasahs of which only one belongs to the Shâf'ites and the rest are for the Hanafites. There are about seventy Bimâristâns (hospitals) which are called Dâru'sh-Shifâ. In Delhi and its surroundings there are about two thousand asylums (rubut) and hospices (khankâh)... The inhabitants drink rain water, which is collected there in large reservoirs; the diameter of each of them is about an arrow shot or more. As regards the water for their ordinary use and for their animals they have wells with high water level, of which the lowest level is seven forearms from the surface."

Such reports cannot of course compare, for authority or interest, with the observations of actual travellers like Ibn Batûtah or Al-Bêrûnî, to name but two of them.

Without the Arabic text before us we cannot check the verbal accuracy of Dr. Spies' translation in detail; but Muqaddasî (for the name of an Arab traveller) should be Maqdisî; and on p. 28, the reference being evidently to the world-famous "pharos" of Alexandria, the word "minaret" is no correct translation. The word *manâr*, which in India is commonly applied to the minaret of a mosque, in Arabic means a "lighthouse." On p. 49 "Indian nut" (for the cocoanut) should, we imagine from a homely knowledge of Arabic, be "Indian walnut"; and on p. 50 we are at a loss to guess how Dr. Spies arrived at his rendering, or what was the word which he translates as "tamarind":

"As regards the tamarind," he has written, "there is the 'Indian tamarind' which is abundant in the deserts."

**An Arab Account of India in the 14th Century*: being a translation of the chapters on India from Al-Qalqashandî's *Subhu'l-A'ashâ*. By Otto Spies. Delhi, Jamia Press, Bombay, Taraporevala, 1935.

The word tamarind (tamar Hind) itself is Arabic, and means 'Indian date.' The Arabs have a playful way of calling anything queer or outlandish "Indian." On p. 50 again, *nilufar*, which Dr. Spies explains in Latin in a footnote with the remark that it has "lovely flowers of violet-blue and bright red colour" means any water-lily, and here must obviously refer to the most famous of all Indian flowers, the lotus. On p. 69 and elsewhere the adjective Tartaric, in English only applicable to a certain acid, is applied to gowns, presumably to gowns from Tartary. Here "Tartar" would have been the proper adjective.

Dr. Spies should have sought the assistance of some English scholar who could easily have corrected small mistakes of idiom which mar his work.

M. P.

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THE UNITY OF GOD

HUMANITY evolves slowly, but continually in accordance with unbreakable laws following what we called in our previous article the Path of God.

Let us now examine the idea which guided the evolution of the human spirit (man) on his way to progress. This idea which finally transformed the world had far-reaching consequences. It is the conception of a spiritual God and the notion of His Unity.

This conception is more than a dogma as dogmas belong to theology only. It is the divine and eternal Truth.

The careful study of the origin and evolution of spiritual monotheism shows that this conception was due to Divine revelation more than the result of reason, intellect or religious feeling, and had no mystical or imaginative basis. God Himself spoke through His Prophets.

God desired the Truth to be revealed to the mortals because monotheism as a seed, growing among them, started the era of powerful moral and social transformations. It was important to lay down the idea of Divine Unity as the basis of all religious doctrines, which, since a certain epoch have led humanity and consecrated already accomplished progress. To be fertile this idea has to reach the whole of mankind. The difficulty of this task becomes obvious when one considers that humanity is not a homogeneous unity, but rather a conglomeration of more or less ancient and evolved elements, and that every new idea has to fight its way through the inertia of the masses, their ignorance and their fanaticism.

A new conception seldom had to face so many difficulties and vicissitudes as this superior conception of God. Thanks to the evident protection of God and the heroism of its defenders only, could this conception resist every attack and live throughout the history of mankind.

We see in history how this conception was at times obliged to give way to the polytheistic cult, and seemingly disappeared, but in reality it was preciously preserved by an elite. It came forth again with renewed vigour as if its temporary suppression had given a new impulse to this high ideal. This persistency is the characteristic of conceptions which are just and in accordance with the Divine Will. Erroneous ideas do not last and false conceptions easily show their frailness. As all human work their time is limited and they are soon forgotten.

Only the ideas placed obviously under the Divine protection progress with the help of God and are eternal. They progress victoriously and stand all attempts of deformation and dissimulation and are accepted because of their evidence and simplicity. Time, the great judge of all things does not affect them; on the contrary, it is over time that they triumph. Such is the case of the spiritual conception of the Unity of God. This revelation was the intervention of God through His Prophets in the destiny of humanity.

The difference which existed between the teaching of these inspired men is only a difference of Time, and not a difference of direction or sense. It was the same Divine influence which spoke through them at different stages of human evolution. This Divine protection granted to the idea of monotheism is sufficient to make us realise its importance.

We will give a short sketch of the path followed by this revelation, of which today Islam is the foremost representative.

In the first stages of humanity, men fascinated by the marvels of creation and realising their weakness, filled the world with divinities to whom they attributed their own appearance, passions, and faults.

We know enough of the religious evolution of mankind to avoid the description of pagan cults which we can still find among certain tribes. We know the progression which leads from the vulgar fetichism to the more complex mythologies, all of them attempting to explain the mysteries of creation, or symbolising some metaphysical theory.

We need not mention the cult of idols, as this was simply the worship of a Divinity in visual form suitable for mankind of low mentality. The longing for miracles, tales and extraneous manifestations of the Divinity is a characteristic of childhood of men and races.

For a long time man thought that sacrifice was the only way to attract the favour of the gods or to appease their anger. To obtain the indifference of these blind gods was considered a great achievement because the culprits and the innocent were equally punished by them. Subconsciously men felt the influence of God in their life, but this idea was still very dormant. Man could conceive a superior power only by means of senses and imagination.

How was it possible to differentiate the good and evil, when man lived without any moral aim or spiritual ideal and had no rules except those of social and civil life. He had no conception of the kindness of God and no moral ideas as we understand them today.

One can hardly conceive today what life was liked in this society, where men were easy prey to their instincts and appetites and had no other law but that of force, and they submitted to gods only because they were exposed to their cruel vengeance. The gods themselves were not always all-powerful and had man only known the means they would have been attacked as minor deities in ritualistic simulations.

It is obvious that under these circumstances humanity could only progress slowly. Worshipping several gods, men only realised some of the Divine manifestations and adored parts of God but not Himself. They could not therefore realise the Divine Laws, the foremost being hidden from their knowledge. Divine Laws are eternal and it was not because they ignored them that men were freed from submission. God was sometimes severe to men when the limits of His kindness were exceeded, but His mercy never failed in enlightening the most evolved spirits and helping those who, with their whole hearts looked for God.

Humanity had to pass through this first stage of evolution on its way to progress. The moral and physical laws having both the same basis and their origin in God it became possible to deduct one, knowing the other.

During the course of centuries, wise men, specialised in the study of nature, did not miss this analogy and its transcendent consequences, seeing in the harmony of creation an indication of the Unity of God. A philosopher cannot admit several superior facts which lead to the negation of the marvellous unity of the Divine Will, whilst the study of nature is proving the reverse.

God never specially favoured any race or epoch, all men are equal in His presence. Highly evolved spirits and great souls can be found anywhere at any time. Their work, thoughts and observations are outliving them, and finally unite in a perpetual chain of truth which is called Tradition. Slowly and simultaneously among the elite in different places the monotheistic idea started to germinate. It started under the influence of Tradition of races which already had disappeared and was brought back to this elite by far eastern or African philosophers.

The high priests of Egypt possessing a vast knowledge among their numerous divinities, the superior trinity, and foresaw the existence of one non-created God, the Creator.

The Chaldeans who discovered the great laws in the study of planets, saw behind their idols, one God with three aspects.

We know the pure fraternity which reigns among men who attain a certain level of knowledge and wisdom, and therefore, are above the interest, hatred and rivalities which divide nations and races. It becomes understandable that through wars and migrations of races of a different origin the fusion of tradition and knowledge took place.

Historical observation shows that the invasions and migrations which infused the antique Egyptian civilisation with the races of Asiatic descent with old traditions, had to pass through Palestine and Sinai, which forms a natural corridor between the two continents. It is then equally understandable that God chose to appear in this meeting-place of races and Traditions. He selected Abraham as being the best among the evolved races, inspired him and made him His messenger of earth.

In the time of Abraham, the monotheistic idea existed vaguely and more by intuition than by anything else. God the Creator was felt behind and above the idols, and historical proofs, such as prayers, incantations and sculptures show that if God was mentioned, He was unrepresented everywhere. It was unnecessary to make idols of Him as the notion of Him belonged only to the Priests and was unfelt by the masses. This is the origin of monotheism and the seed of the spiritual conception of God, forthcoming from the notion of God the Creator. Man at this time was not far off the superior conception of God but it was still an object of uncertainty, being misunderstood by the masses who were still strongly attached to their idols. A Divine confirmation was necessary to present

this idea and give it the required impulse. God then intervened in the destiny of Men, speaking to Abraham at the right moment to reassure his followers and confirm the truth. These men deserved the knowledge having foreseen it. Abraham publicly proclaimed the idea of One Eternal God, Creator of everything, and thus, fought the ancient cults. Isaac and Jacob and the descendants of Abraham followed his example and today the divine truth is confined in the races descending from Abraham, who are the monotheistic races. But Abraham's monotheism inherited in practice many sides of the cults, he overthrew.

Men could not suddenly evolve towards the full understanding of Abraham's revelation, which appealed only to a minority. The Holy Scripture shows that at this time if man accepted the idea of Divine Unity and forsook their idols, they could only then realise the idea of a spiritual God. The Bible and the Koran mention that God spoke to Abraham and that he replied and argued. This Tradition of a direct revelation of God to man admits human attributes of God, although he remained invisible but intervened by human means. His manifestations were material and touched men directly.

Since Abraham, the monotheistic idea is precise enough to lead to a new conception of Divine justice, which is expressed in the dialogue of God and Abraham about the ten good men in Sodome.

Man realised that God was just, and in opposition to their ancestors were no more afraid of the idols who had terrorised man by their bloodthirsty fancies, and the just man had no more dread of God, when he avoided disobeying or displeasing Him.

This idea of Divine justice leads in its turn to the idea of fault and punishment, and men realised that they could avoid the anger of God, not by means of sacrifice, but by carrying out His Divine Will. This is the first notion of distinction between good and evil, based on a superior moral, and giving the rules one has to follow, first not to displease God, and secondly to obey His Will.

The tribes of Israel during their migrations and dispersion, kept upright as an inheritance from Patriarchs, not only the oldest traditions concerning the beginning of everything and the first steps of humanity, but also and especially the monotheism with the ideas which derived from it. These treasures risked to be lost and it was necessary to fertilise this truth,

to exact, elaborate and codify the rules of life in conformity with the Divine Will, to convert them into laws and to impose them.

To materialise the moral and social consequences of the monotheism of Abraham, God inspired Moses the moral basis he gave to humanity which still lives in every soul. It is unnecessary to speak about the personality of Moses and his life, let us only follow the idea of the Unity of God.

The genius of Moses materialised the union of a people with such a peculiar character that it would always remain outside, without fusing with every other race. This race with Moses' impulse, kept his teachings unspoilt and transmitted them with their old traditions to the next generation. This same race was the first to be organised in the name of One God, and its social laws were divine, whilst the supreme power was subordinated to God only. We find the same form of organisation much later in the time of the last Prophet and the first Caliphs. Such a society was the fruit of monotheism. Moses gave it a legislation, based upon the Commandments he received from God at Sinai. These laws were inseparable from the idea of One God, and could not be understood or applied without the comprehension of the Divine Unity.

Time confirmed this great truth: one can say today that all morals are derived from the Commandments God gave to the Hebrews, the moral code of humanity is one with human conscience, and is the expression of the Divine Will.

Moses cleared the conception of God of the last vestige of idolatry and it is interesting to think of God appearing to Moses bearing the Law engraved by Himself. This corresponds to the monotheistic idea of Abraham: the direct correspondence of God to man and the attribution of human faculties to God. Such was the idea that man had of God at the time of the first Pentateuch; later on we find the pure idea of Moses, and the invisible, immaterial, eternal and omnipresent God.

The history of Israel shows that Moses' teaching did not reach the masses, and it was not for about another thousand years that he overcame the false cults. God granted his protection to the truth He revealed to men, Truth which had to be victoriously spread over the whole of humanity. Man tried in vain to return to foreign cults; they always found some

Nabis faithful to God to remind them of Moses' teaching and foretell the chastisement God would send upon them if they forsook Him.

Ezra then appeared, followed by Nehemias. Again we see the sign of Divine favour when Ezra was allowed by the Babylonian King to return to Jerusalem and we have enough proof to state that the whole evolution of monotheism was placed under the sign of the protection of God. It was through Ezra's teaching that Moses' words were brought to the masses and with it the everlasting idea of One God. We find for the first time the idea of Divine mercy added to Divine justice. Ezra shows us God, being not only just but kind, patient and merciful. He is no more the implacable God we have seen before, but a God of kindness who punishes in sorrow and redeems generously with joy.

Higher moral consequences derived from a true conception of God which at first belonging only to a few, gradually conquered every nation. God then intervened once more and inspired Jesus.

Abraham was the Prophet of Divine Unity, Moses the Prophet of Divine Law and Justice, Jesus became the Prophet of Charity and Love. As far as monotheism was concerned, Jesus only confirmed what had been taught before by Moses and the Prophet of Israel, the existence of One eternal and Almighty God.

This conception was at this time well known among the Jews. Last link of a chain passing from Abraham to the Doctors of the Second Temple, Jesus, proclaimed in the name of God the most glorious principles derived from the conception of One God.

. His teaching was specially moralising but what made the grandeur of Jesus was the fact that he became the origin of the diffusion of Divine Truth throughout a large part of the world.

We now follow the path by which monotheism passed the frontiers of the Jewish people, and later we will see this idea in other branches of Abraham's descendants, namely, the branch of Ishmail which merits a special study.

The first favourable events to the expansion of monotheism was the dispersion of Jews, after the destruction of the Temple of Jerusalem. Leaving their fatherland to Rome, the Jews took with them into exile the spiritual treasures they derived

from the Prophets of God and thus, became the guardians and deposit of pure monotheism.

They brought the Pagan world of those days, together with their tradition the cult of One God. Reassembled together on a limited territory they could perish and disappear under an invasion of barbarians. Dispersed, they became unseizable and whatever happened the flame of the great truth of which they were the guardians could not be extinguished. The part played by the Jews in the history of monotheism is therefore passive. We heard of the existence of several Jewish colonies which made some proselytes but their number was so small that they never could dominate the local cults.

The great movement which started to spread monotheism began with Jesus: it was Christianity.

Jesus left some of his disciples who gathered round Peter and devoted themselves to the love and glory of their master whose memory and teaching they religiously kept. One must consider that Jesus represented the highest doctrine ever known by man, and that this doctrine was Jewish. His disciples followed strictly at first the Jewish orthodoxy which was always respected by Jesus as he declared that he came to fulfil the Law. The first Christians, the Ebionites were Jews, and they lived on friendly terms with the rest of the community until they proclaimed Jesus to be greater than Moses and insisted on his resurrection and taught that he was the Messiah promised by the Prophets. There was nothing in this new idea against Monotheism, but when Peter started to speak in the name of Jesus, instead of God, his sect, which had numerous followers was condemned by the Jewish community as immoderate in matters of orthodoxy.

Such was the beginning of the Christian deviation, which unaffecting the Unity of God, proved useful for the progress of humanity.

If one follows the progress of the Christian deviation, one sees that if the doctrine itself was altered, the moral and traditional basis remained immutable: it was still the same idea of One Spiritual God that spread out and triumphed. The Christian doctrine adapted itself to the need of the time and local conditions, but the truth remained the same and progressed under a different form. Jesus gave to those who were disinherited the highest verities known only to the superior classes he popularised them and they penetrated the whole of humanity.

The disciples of Jesus materialised his thoughts and followed his words: "Go, and preach to every Nation."

It is through Ebionism, (a Jewish heresy out of which Christianity spread) that the work of the Prophets started to conquer the polytheistic world, and through them the idea of One Spiritual God was preached.

During the struggle of Peter with the hellenising Jews (a shadow on the pure monotheism or a resistance of paganism) Saul of Tarse started to preach and while aiming exclusively at the conversion of foreigners, had the genius of adapting his teaching to the state of mind of those, whom he wanted to touch. If we consider the exterior form only, we are far from Judaism but the teaching and morals of Moses and Jesus, reached, thanks to him, many remote points, and converted many followers.

A new discussion took place between Peter and Saul, who became Paul, one disapproving the ideas of the other. Hundreds of years after the death of both Apostles, the situation was not cleared and later when the Jewish nation was definitely destroyed and Judaism persecuted by the Roman Empire, Paul's teaching was tolerated and triumphed for the same reasons by which it had been rejected by the strict Jews. A kind of union was then made between the followers of the first Judeo-Christian doctrine and the followers of Paul, aiming at a conciliation and a common defence of their interests.

This conciliation is really the beginning of Christianity which had no other links with Judaism, but the traditional and moral basis, reposing in the Unity of God on one side and on the other Moses' Commandments, confirmed by the Sermon on the Mount.

With time, the Christian doctrine went further and further away from its origin, following the system of adaptation and absorption of ancient cults and philosophies until it became trinitarian.

Those who are interested in the study of the trinitarian side of Christianity can find some information in my book "From Rome to Mecca," Chap. IX. The limited space of this article does not allow us to investigate this question thoroughly. In this respect I could say quite a lot, not about the dogma itself but about its consequences in the evolution of humanity as it is not wise to take a brusque decision in such

a delicate question. The dogma itself does not affect the Unity of God, it can be conceived philosophically but remains today perfectly obscure from its followers, who, loosing the monotheistic point of view, imagine three gods mingling together, the Verbe, the Spirit and God the Infinite Principle.

This equivoque has been made worse by the use of images. It would be a mistake to state positively that the modern Christianity is polytheistic or idolatrous but one can say without making an error that its followers have, to a certain extent, lost the just and pure conception of God. The Church will reply by saying that this doctrine allows her to touch every brain and that she gained in universality what has been lost in precision and every person can find in the doctrine an appropriate answer to their spiritual needs.

This reply would be justified, only if the Church encouraged the personal researches instead of ordering a blind belief. As a result, the true conception of God lost the force it had at the beginning of the Christian Era.

But if one considers impartially the results which have been acquired with time, one realises why God allowed this deviation of Christianity to take place.

As we have seen, monotheism having attained its full development by the virtue of the Prophets and the right conception of God, had to reach the whole of humanity.

It is possible to divide humanity into two branches, common in their origin but yet totally different. Some elements of the branch, we will call occidental, such as the Greeks, reached a high degree of culture. Though their philosophers preached very elevated doctrines they felt it difficult to free themselves from matter. For this reason they remained more intellectual than spiritual as they lacked the Divine teaching and were untouched by the Prophets. On the other hand, other nations remained in a primitive condition. It is clear, if one takes into consideration the ethnical differences and social and climateric influences, that the great truth taught in the pure form of monotheism would never have entered among these races. It was necessary to compromise with the ancient cults and adapt the form to the brains with different reactions: more realistic than speculative and more active than physical. Thus was sown the seed of Christianity. It is possible of course to accuse the Christian teaching of hiding and deforming the Truth but judging by

the practical results, one had to admit that pagan nations, once having adopted Christianity made an enormous progress in the spiritual evolution and in the knowledge of Divine Verity. The descent of Sem, seems throughout history to have been granted the divine favour, being the race among which flourished the great verities and out of which Prophets were born.

The race of Isaac and Jacob followed the course of evolution, whilst Christianity overthrew idolatrous cults. Let us see how the idea of Divine Unity, the other branch of Sem developed in the East and how it reached its idolatrous neighbours. Were these people condemned to stick to the cult of false gods? No. The kindness of God does not allow us to face such an eventuality. The only distinction God makes among men is their degree of evolution in the path of Divine Laws. Every individual participates in different personal ways to the harmony of the whole big body, which is humanity. When the time comes, God gives to every people a revelation which had to lead towards evolution and progress in the most favourable form. This was the miracle that happened through the Prophets, first among the races issued from Abraham, then among those of Isaac, Jacob and Joseph and finally among those of Ishmail.

Ishmail, was the beloved son of Abraham, who inherited his qualities, was just and submitted to God. He was banished because of his birth and had to leave the land of the Hebrews, settled in Arabia where he brought with him the teaching of Abraham and the belief of One God. There he met some old Arab tribes descended from Eber by Hoctan, lived with them and converted them to monotheism. Thus the sacred truth once proclaimed by Abraham was not only confined to the Hebrews but the whole of Abraham's posterity became the People of God.

About a thousand years before the construction of the Temple of Jerusalem by Solomon and Hiram, Ishmail, with Abraham's help had built the Kaaba, to the glory of God near the miraculous spring, and Mecca became the centre of tribes which followed the God of Abraham, some of which settled in the neighbourhood.

After the death of Ishmail during an indefinite time, Abraham's religion remained the religion of the majority of Arabs, but like the Jews they fell back to idolatry. One knows the legend of Asaf and Naila who profaned the Kaaba

and were for this crime converted into statues. The statues were placed on hills and finally worshipped. This is the trace of some ancient cult, where people adored the two principles: the sun and the moon, the day and night, cults which were imported into Arabia by foreigners with the legend of Mithra and Astarte.

The sixth century was the epoch when Christianity was codified and when the deviation was sealed. Long before this time the bitter struggles between the different schools forced some Christians to emigrate and many came to Arabia and Egypt. They belonged to what the Church calls the Nestorian heresy. Having settled in Arabia they professed their cult and probably had schools where they discussed the various theories of Christianity. The Arabs were specifically nomads, and often got in touch with their neighbours which, to a certain extent explains that they took up the cult of their divinities and idols. The Koran mentions the statues of Hobal, the idols of Manah, Uzza and Lat and one can find in some regions, in accordance with nations with which the Arabs were in contact the cult of stones, the cult of fire, planets, magic or obscene rites.

Abraham's monotheism did not disappear among the tribes of Ishmail, among the elite, hidden from the crowd it was secretly perpetuated. The Arabs frequently got in touch with Jews, and the same above-mentioned influence contributed to keep up a communication with the people who remained the most loyal to Abraham's monotheism. It is true that Arabs took from the Jews the cult of the Hights and Asheras, but at the same time they learnt the deeds and names of the great Jewish Kings and Prophets.

By means of caravans, the Arabs touched every nation of the Mediterranean, and their philosophers at the time of religious effervescence which followed the death of Jesus, learnt not only the pure Truth from the Prophets but also the different shades of Christianity and Greek philosophy. The dispersion of the Jews as well as the religious quarrels, forced a great amount of Jews, and Christians to emigrate to Arabia and Africa and form small colonies. Saul of Tarse spent the three first years of his apostolate among the tribes of Hauran and if one adds to these influences the military expeditions which crossed the Arabic land, one realises the religious confusion which reigned among the people, who had known but forgotten Abraham's revelation.

When the Jewish mission came to an end and they were dispersed and persecuted, Christianity became definitely settled and threatened by its power to become fatal to the work of the Prophets, of which it was only a vain reflection, God intervened yet again in the destiny of men. We then see not a slow evolution as it had been in the case of the Jews nor the use of artifices as the Christians did, but the sudden appearance of the Prophet of God. With him like a thunderbolt and with the help of God, monotheism suddenly spread out over the sixth part of the world.

Once more the descendants of Abraham had been favoured by God, and it was among Semits in the tribe of Ishmail that He selected His last 'Prophet.

The last Prophet—Glorified be his name—was really inspired by God. His life, his actions, and his words aim at one point: to teach and to broadcast monotheism. He was the Prophet of Divine Unity and through him God desired to confirm and regenerate the Truth he had already given to humanity. The teaching of the Prophet is a combination of the most sublime Truth, the last expression of the preceding revelations which God desired to be confirmed and established so that they could be well anchored in the soul of men.

The centuries that the Arabs spent in idolatry are like an eclipse, period of immobility. This race started to live only when it came back to the belief of its remote ancestors. When the Prophet accomplished his mission, he spoke of Abraham's God, thus coming back to the oldest and just conception of God, the basis of monotheism. It was the religion of Abraham, enriched by the spiritual acquisitions of the past centuries, as well as by the revelations of other Prophets, that he preached and gave to his followers.

The Koran says: "You know the Scriptures why do you argue about Abraham. The Pentateuch and the Gospel came after his time. Don't you know this? Abraham was not Christian nor Jew, he was a true believer and submitted to God." (Surah III.)

The idea which is exalted in the Koran is the Unity of God, therefore, the social and moral rules of the Koran are only its consequences. The belief in one God, invisible and almighty, leads to the disappearance of superstition, it gives the possibility of a clear understanding of evil and good. The idea of Divine mercy and justice, brings forth the understand-

ing of brotherhood and equality among men, of their mutual love, and of their reconciliation in a common ideal.

God desired that the teaching He gave to His last Prophet should not be limited to one race only, He desired that in every respect it should be a synthesis. God as He is understood by the Prophet is not exclusively an Islamic God, He is the God of every man and universe, appearing in a form which is comprehensible to every race and is not limited by time.

“Your God is the God of every man, there is no other God”

If philosophically Islam contains the truth of both Judaism and Christianity, in practice Islam unites the depth of Hebraism to the faculty of the expansion of Catholicism. Thanks to the Prophet, the eternal Truth becomes clearer and more positive than in all other doctrines. The Prophet does not use anything supernatural or mysterious. The reality is easy to find among the flourished style of the Koran, the tales of which, when they are not reproducing some Biblical stories are symbols hardly veiled and obvious for those who can see with open eyes. The sincerity of the Prophet is seen in his confirmation of a natural spiritual indirect revelation. Through the legends which say that fragments of the Koran, written in Heaven, reached the Prophet through Gabriel, it is easy to see in it the only form of revelation: the indirect revelation by inspiration of the truth written in the universe itself. This is a very superior form compared to the direct supernatural revelation which we find at the childhood of monotheism.

The Prophet formally recognised the Koran to be the indirect work of God and when he spoke of Gabriel, the messenger of God, one must not consider it as an anthropomorphic entity but as a reality of extra-human order.

One can assert that monotheism taught by the last Prophet reached its perfection and certainly is the best suited to the spiritual conditions of our epoch, having been beforehand adapted to the aspirations of man, in a more perfect degree of cyclic evolution of humanity. For this reason the teaching of the Prophet is as fresh and alive today as it was at the beginning of the Hegira and therefore appears in the sense we investigate, to be the latest manifestation of Divine Will, to spread all over the world the knowledge and belief in One God.

It is likely that in this respect the limit of human possibilities of comprehension has been reached.

It is indeed vain to aim at the knowledge of the Unknowable and there is no evolved brain which does not realise that because of the difference in human and divine nature, the exact knowledge of God is beyond our power. We can know His Laws and to a certain extent His Will and what counts more than the vain attempts to define God, is the submission to His Will, and the realisation of His universality and almightiness in the effects we can judge, rather than in the causes which are inaccessible to us. What is the use of theological subtleties, if humanity is not better? Every doctrine, even if it is not religious, which can lead man in the direction of Divine Will is blessed by God because of its aim.

We can even say, that such a doctrine requires the forcible recognition of the unity of God, and that in this case because of its origin will be related to the teaching of the Prophet.

Thanks to its universality and expansiveness which finds echoes everywhere, Islam is designed to spread out widely and will find in every land and place affinities and sympathies of doctrines which are "muslim," though their followers never realised it.

It is not only Islam that progresses, it is monotheism, the Koran being its expression. Both being the same it does not matter which comes first and how many fervent "muslims" are there in the world who would be surprised if one called them so, especially in the West?

God of Mohammed is the God of Tradition which one is entitled to comment upon as one thinks best, but the basis of which remains immovable throughout all the vicissitudes of humanity. This is the infinite Principle of even atheistic philosophers who change the name, not being able to replace the divine reality by a human formula. It is God that appears in the laboratories of science, the same God who made Islam the less opposed religion to modern discoveries.

A positive, even materialistic brain without a preconceived idea can find in the teaching of Islam a superior spiritual direction. It is based upon the only conception of God which stood upright for thousands of years, the only one, which has been proved experimentally right, if one is allowed to apply this term to religion.

To conclude this article, may I propose to those who can reason the following suggestion. If one admits that there are seven ways of interpreting the Koran, if the verses can have seven different meanings, in accordance to the "plan" one chooses, are'nt there also seven ways to comprehend God? and if one sees in the evolution of humanity like a symbolical snake the last interpretation joins the first, is this not a proof that there is but One God? and is this not a proof of the bright future and universality of this Book which contains such immense treasures.

KHAIR-UL-NISA SARAWAK.

CALL OF MEDINA

FROM Medina's dust arising,
Faith sent forth a beacon-blaze,
New worlds as his own revealing
To the Muslim's eager gaze!

Earthed in fire-shrines, though in cinders
Lay the fire that used to be,
On th' horizon rose the star of
Persia's happier destiny.

From Iraq's and Syria's vision
Superstition's veil was raised;
Earth then owned a newfound grandeur,
Skies with brighter glory blazed.

Power supreme was God Almighty's—
He the Lord of earth and sky,
He the Master, as Creator,
Of men, brutes and genii.

Prophets were God's servants—never
Did they right to rule demand;
Messengers—their duty, guidance
In obedience to command.

What of Khusroes, what of Caesars?
All were doomed to disappear.
Such was fate's design and mandate
Given to the rolling year.

He who stood above all monarchs—
Monarchs of imperial sway—
In blest poverty rejoicing—
(Humble pride, and no dismay),—

Never craved his heart adornment,
Never longed for gem or gold;
Heart that was of Truth the mirror,
Heart that did Heaven's light infold.

Morn till eve in arduous labours,
All the night in worship spent,
Every fast to God a tribute
Of a grateful heart's content!

Warder of the rising faith and
Guardian of the faithful band;
Righteous, striving; dauntless, suffering;
Man of action, shield in hand!

Such the pious strength and valour
That subdued the foemen's race;
And his conquest and its message—
Only Amnesty, and Grace!

Of this crownless king the Caliphs
Ruling o'er a wide domain,
Ruled o'er Syria, ruled o'er Persia,
Egypt, Africa and Spain!

Not from wealth, and not from grandeur,
But from might of faith alone
Islam's right to rule the world—and
Such a right did Islam own!

Islam's centre is Medina,
Hallowed seat of sovereign power;
Treasure-house of glorious memories,
And of faith's celestial dower.

Faith's resplendent rays are vibrant
Still upon its holy ground,
Though from hidden ills some shadows,
Inauspicious, fall around.

If their power with wealth has faded
Will men let their courage die?
Where's the Muslim who in misery
Still can hold his head full high?

Muslim's sloth was Muslim's downfall!
Oh! the glory that has been
Fills with awe, and breathes a sadness
O'er this City's desolate scene.

Muslim hearts! Be not despondent;
Ye shall see its glories rise!
Ruins yet will wear the semblance
Of the bowers of Paradise!

Here, tho' hid in dust and squalor,
Light from God may still be won;
Every mote and atom floating
Here reflects the shining sun!

Rise, Oh, rise from lethal slumber;
On Medina fix your eyes!
Heart and home of Muslim's being,
Here the hope of Muslims lies!

Never will our hearts as Muslim's,
Never of God's aid despair
Heart of faith is God's own stronghold,
What lack we when He is there?

Muslims of the World! Your duty—
Whether rich or humble you—
Is to aid Medina's people,
If your vows of faith are true.

Faith is neither whim nor fancy;
Nor of empty words the store.
Work like him, the mighty worker
Who did build our world before!

By mere words and vain professions
Can ye ever hope to claim
Status as the Prophet's People,
Win the Muslim's honoured name?

Yield your hearts, your wealth, your service—
Yield them all to serve His cause.
Win the guerdon of well-doing:
God's approval, men's applause!

Grant O God! to every Muslim,
Grant the will to righteous deed,—
Muslims by their acts confirming
Their profession of the Creed!

NIZAMAT JUNG.

THE ORIGIN OF ISLAMIC POLITY

THE QUR'ANIC STATE

I. Introduction

It is more than five years since I commenced a study of the conception of the State as understood by the Muslims, in my paper on the "Place of Oriental Thought in the Field of Political Science,"¹ where I gave short sketches, among others, of Nizâmu'l-Mulk Tûsi and Ibn Khaldûn. Since then I have been able to publish critical views of such varied writers as el-Mâwerdî² the author of the *Qâbûs-nâme* and Nizâmu'l-Mulk Tûsi.³ At the same time I have had occasion, in collaboration with my colleagues of the Department of History of the Osmania University, to frame a detailed synopsis of the history of Islamic Political Philosophy, from its inception more than thirteen centuries ago to the present day with its decentralising tendencies, in order to serve as a guide for those who may undertake the writing of the great book which the Osmania University has generously ordered to be prepared.

When studying the exceedingly varied subjects connected with this topic, one is struck by the simple truths from which flowed the great river of Politics which was moulded into myriad shapes from year to year, century to century, over hill and dale, mountain and plain, changing its outward form with the geographical and temporary configuration of the land, still remaining in essentials the same as it was before. And the more one ponders on the subject, the more does one feel that it is no use picking up an author here and one there without first analysing the essence of its origins as depicted in the Qur'ân. The magnitude of the task is immense for a number

(1) 'Islamic Culture,' 1928, pp. 398 ff.

(2) *Ibid*, 1934, pp. 15 ff.

(3) *Ibid*, pp. 290 ff.

of reasons. Firstly, with a society like that of the ancient Arabs and a book like the Qur'ân, it is very difficult to divorce the political concepts from others which went to make Arabia for a time the foremost country in the world. For, after all, these nice distinctions between 'political' and 'non-political' factors are very modern and were quite unknown to those who lived centuries ago. Moreover, it must not be forgotten that although organization and discipline, which are the only way of attaining whatever liberty is possible, and which in ordinary parlance are called 'Politics,' go a long way towards the betterment of a society, still, after all, if this is removed from other factors in the life of a people, it is not enough to cover the background, and the picture produced thereby would be unread and mutilated. Anyhow, so far as the political aspect of the Qur'ân is concerned, the task has never, to my knowledge, been attempted before. In view of the vastness of the subject, I shall confine myself, after enumerating the antecedents, to enunciating the Quranic doctrine of Politics, and postpone a review of the Ḥadīth literature on the subject to some future occasion.

II. *The Antecedents*

Without trying to suggest any connection between the Quranic State and the political organization of the States which bordered on the peninsula of Arabia at the time of the prophetic Mission of Muḥammad, it will simplify understanding if we know something about them as well as about the political conditions of the Arabs themselves sometime about the sixth century of the Christian era. Arabia was then bordered on the north by two mighty empires, Persia and *Nova Roma* or Byzantium. Persia had deeply affected the civilization of Western and Central Asia, while the Empire of Byzantium or, as it is sometimes called, the Eastern Roman Empire, was the direct descendant of ancient Greece and Rome. It will be interesting to know something of the organization of these empires and of that of Arabia, if only that we may grasp the similarities and dissimilarities which would not otherwise be easily discerned.

Persia has had a connected history dating back to hundred of years before the dawn of the known history of Greece and Rome, and from the very beginning it has given an example of great unity and centralization which seems so difficult of accomplishment in those far-off days. Here it will be sufficient to deal only with the condition of the country towards

the end of the sixth century A.C.—say, about the time of Khusrû Anûshîrwân.¹ As was the case with nearly all primitive Aryan peoples, the Persians were divided among four absolutely distinct castes, the upper three being definitely separated from the fourth and lowest caste. The three highest castes consisted of Priests and Judges recruited exclusively from the tribe of the Magi, and were therefore called Mâgi-pets or Mômbeds, the Warriors and Officials, while the fourth was composed of Craftsmen and Farmers. The outward symbol of political unity and organization was the Shâhinshâh, so called because he was the overlord not only of the provincial governors but also of such vassal princes as ruled the distant parts of the Empire, such as Hîra in Arabia. Among the highest aristocracy were the *Marzbâns* or the Wardens of the Marches, and the Pahlavîs, who claimed the blue blood of the Arcasides and held the honorific offices of *Irân-spâh-pad* or the Generalissimo and *Spâh-pad* or Commander of the Horse with large fiefs, the usufruct of which went directly into their pockets without any definite duty being attached.² This formed the aristocracy of birth. The aristocracy of office was no less exacting. The so-called people consisted of free townsmen and serfs bound to the soil, who had to serve on the fields or in the army without pay or reward. These were entirely isolated and could never hope to be ranked even as *Dihqâns* or Townsmen, who enjoyed the use of their fiefs and from whom they were separated by impassable barriers. Above the Headmen came the four great Padgosphâns or Viceroys, who were probably in charge both of the civil and military administration of the four great divisions of the Empire, corresponding to the four cardinal points. Above all this hierarchy was the Imperial cabinet consisting, among others, of the *Hazarâpet* (Grand Vizier), the *Môbidân-môbid* (Pontifex maximus), *Hârbad* (Guardian of the Fire), *Dabîrpad* (Chief Secretary), and the actual *Spâh-pad* (Commander-in-Chief).

The *Shâhinshâh* formed the pivot of the administration. He was at once the embodiment of the People, the centre of the Realm and the source from which all honour flowed. It was on very rare occasions that he showed himself in public and, whenever he did so, it was with great pomp and ceremony magnificently dressed, a heavy crown suspended, above his

(1) 531-579 A.C.

(2) This perhaps corresponds to the *Manşabdârs* of the later Mughal Empire and of modern Hyderabad.

head from the roof by a golden chain, sitting on the golden throne, the Imperial Princes in charge of the great embroidered curtain which hid him from view till the time when the audience had the privilege of seeing him.

In early societies, conscious legislation is rare, and Persia was no exception; what little law-making was done, had to be passed by the College of the Mōbeds, the repositories of the old Mazdean religion, who were recruited from the ancient tribe of the Mâgi. To them also belonged the duty—perhaps the privilege—of imparting education, and it was they who fined those who transgressed the Law. Crimes of apostacy and treason were punished with death, and frequent recourse was had to blinding, crucifixion, stoning and starvation. After the rise of Christianity, the votaries of the Cross were regarded as being specially marked for State vengeance, as they were more and more closely connected with the neighbouring and hostile State of Byzantium.

The taxes levied in Persia just before the advent of Islâm have their counterpart in the early Caliphate. The principal tax was the land tax called the *Kharâg*, so much per measure of land, assessed on each canton according to the harvest, and the amount to be levied divided equally among the population of the canton. This tax came to one-sixth to one-third of the gross produce. The other important tax was the *Gezît* (Arabic, *jizieh*), which was a fixed annual tax levied on the people in such a way that the highest classes paid most, and its burden fell heavily on those who did not or could not own landed property, such as the Jews and the Christians, and those of the rest of the population who were between twenty and fifty years of age. Apart from these two main taxes, it was customary to offer sums of money to the Sovereign especially on the occasion of the two equinoctial festivals.

It is remarkable that just before the birth of the Prophet in 570 A.C., the thrones of the two Empires were occupied by men who have made a mark on the history of the world, i.e., by Khusrû Anûshirwân in Persia and Justinian* in Constantinople.

(*The Eastern Roman Empire*) Justinian had been dead five years after a reign of thirty-eight years, at the time of the birth of our Prophet, and during the first forty years of the latter's life, the throne of Constantinople was occupied

* 565-578 A.C.

successively by Justin II,¹ Tiberius II,² Maurice³ and Phocas,⁴ while Heraclius⁵ reigned all through the Madīnah period.⁶

It is surprising how all that was truly Roman had been swept away by that very class which chose to call itself Roman. Instead of the administration being in the hands of the 'People' or their Senate, it was now composed of one solitary order dependant upon the will of the Emperor, and entirely distinct from the People. The People were themselves divided into a number of sub-castes, namely, (1) the Curule caste, consisting of landed proprietors, who could neither become soldiers nor traders; (2) the Tributary caste, which, like its prototype in Persia, consisted of those freemen who were not landed proprietors and who paid the capitation tax, and members of various guilds, the membership of which descended from father to son; and (3) the Military caste. But all these classes fell a prey to the terrible policy of taxation which proved to be the bane of the Empire. As a writer of the subject says: 'the cultivators of the soil were nothing but the instruments for feeding and clothing the Imperial court and army.'⁷ Not content with levying legal taxes, the Emperor often had recourse to presents which, at first voluntary, were later made regular sources of revenue.

The actual administration had become the household affair of the Emperor, and although nominally the Senate had been suffered to exist for some time and was not finally suppressed till the reign of Justinian, still, even before his time it had become an entirely effete and worthless body. At last Justinian, true to his barbarian origin, finally effaced all traces of the ancient political system and so organized the government that it was possible to mulct everything for the sake of the ornamentation of the Court. It is extraordinary what a large number of black deeds were committed by this man who is so well known as the codifier of the ancient law of Rome, and it is a historical fact that never in the annals of ancient Europe were the people more miserable than in

(1) 578-582 A.C.

(2) 582-602 A.C.

(3) 602-610 A.C.

(4) 610-641 A.C.

(5) 622-632 A.C.

(6) 379-295 A.C.

(7) Julian, *Orabb*, II, 92, quoted in Finlay: *History of Greece*, I, 1281.

the days of this lawgiver. 'Freemen were sold, and in order to escape taxation, vineyards were rooted out and buildings were destroyed.'¹ It was a recurrent practice to confiscate the property of the wealthiest citizens in insolvent districts until they were utterly ruined. The great Justinian did not stop at that; in his time there was an open sale of offices, and orders were issued that payments were to be made either to the Emperor himself or to his wife, the Empress Theodora.

So far as toleration was concerned, there was none. Before the adoption of Christianity, it was the Christians who were persecuted but, after Christianity had become the faith of the Emperor, no stone was left unturned to root out classical learning, the Jewish faith and all that had a tinge of heresy against the personal religion of the Emperor. In 529 A.C., Justinian finally closed the schools of Rhetoric and Philosophy and confiscated all the property endowed for their support, shutting the doors of the Academy of Plato, the Lyceum of Aristotle and the Stoa of Zeno for ever. Theodosius, surnamed "the Great,"² had already abolished the Olympian Games, which had endured for a millennium, and by his time, 'thought was so much enslaved at Athens that no opinions were allowed to be taught except such as were allowed by a license on behalf of the Imperial authorities.'³ As an instance of the religious persecution in the Eastern Empire, I may mention the case of the patrician Phocas who poisoned himself in order to escape being converted to Christianity by force. A few years afterwards, another Phocas, the Emperor, ordered all the Jews of the Empire to be baptised, while his successor, Heraclius, although he ordered Phocas's hands and feet to be cut off before his final decapitation, was no friend of the Jews, for he banished them from Jerusalem and ordered them not to come within three thousand feet of the Holy City. The morals of the Empire were so decadent that the new Emperor's marriage with his own niece was celebrated by no less a person than the patriarch of Constantinople himself.

Such was the political condition of Persia and Eastern Rome about the third quarter of the sixth century, and a great historian of the Middle East, himself an outstanding upholder of the Greek tradition, thus summarises the state of affairs: 'There is perhaps no period of history in which society was so universally in a state of demoralisation nor in which

(1) Finlay, *op. cit.*, I, 3 § 4.
 • (2) Finlay, *op. cit.*, 3 § 11.

all the nations known to the Greeks and the Romans were so utterly destitute of energy and virtue as during the period which elapsed from the death of Justinian to the death of Mahomet.¹ The Nemesis was bound to come, and 'events which no human sagacity could foresee, against which no political wisdom could contend, and which the philosopher can only explain by attributing them to the dispensation of the Providence who exhibits in the history of the world the education of the whole human species, at last put an end to the existence of the Roman domination in the East.'²

Arabian States—We now turn to the land of Arabia which was to serve as the cradle of the Islamic faith, and note its political condition at the time of the birth and ministry of the Prophet of Islam. The Arabs divide themselves into three main divisions, (1) the 'Arabu'l-Bâ'idah, or the Hamitic colonies of the North; (2) the 'Arabu'l-'Āribah, or the Semitic descendants of Qaḥṭān or Yaqtān, who very early superimposed themselves on the 'Arabu'l-'Āribah; and (3) the 'Arabu'l-Musta'rabah, the descendants of Abraham, who originally came from the North, settling down among the former. The 'Arabu'l-Bâ'idah had long ceased to exist as a separate entity, and the peninsula had come to be divided among the other two sections of the population. The homeland of the Qaḥṭānīs was Yaman in the South, while, as has been noted above, the Abrahamites came from the North. The Qaḥṭānīs migrating northwards, occupied the Ḥijāz and Yemāmāh along with Yathrib, and moving further north, settled in Syria, founding the Kingdom of Ghassān near Damascus about the beginning of the Christian era. This kingdom was soon dominated by Eastern Roman Empire, its ruler becoming Christian, and persisted till the time of the Khalifah 'Umar.³ Another branch of the Qaḥṭānīs went further north-east, settling near the ancient Babylon on the banks of the Euphrates, founding the kingdom of Ḥīra about 195 A.C. Like the sister State of Ghassān, this kingdom also could not remain independent for long, soon coming under the influence and suzerainty of Persia, and we actually read of a king of Ḥīra, Mundhir by name,⁴ who received the high title of 'Mihisht' or 'Greatest' from the Shāhinshāh. About forty years before the birth of Muhammad, Abū Qabūs Nu'mān of Ḥīra tried to become independent

(1) Finlay, 4 § 2.

(2) *Ibid.*, 4 § 1.

(3) 636 A.C.

(4) *Circa*, 418-462 A.C.

but failed, and at last the kingdom was absorbed in the Persian Empire by Khusrû II in 610.*

It will thus be seen that these two monarchies of Ghassân and Hîrah were too insignificant and subservient to make a mark on the administrative history of the country. Eastern Central Arabia fared no better, for its Yamanites also passed under Persian suzerainty, though, being distant from the centre of Persian culture, they could exercise greater autonomy. The Far South, the homeland of the Qahtânîs, was in the throes of a war of independence with its neighbour, the Negus of Abyssinia, a quarrel which arose out of the religious animosity of the Christian Abyssinians and the Jewish kin of the Yaman, Yûsuf dhû Nawâs about 529. Fortune wavered between the two parties, the Abyssinians annexing the land with Byzantine help, then Persia helping the Yamanî, Seyf bin dhî Ḥazan Ḥumairî in driving them out. After Seyf's death, his son, Ma'dî Karab succeeded him, again with Persian help, and it is interesting to note that one of the envoys sent from different parts of Arabia to congratulate the new king on his accession was 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib of the Meccan Republic, the grandfather of the Prophet of Islâm.

Semitic tribes in general, and the Arabs in particular, have had a strong sense of individuality almost from times immemorial, and with them it is not the family but the individual and the tribe itself which counts. The social structure of the Arabs was founded on blood-relationship and, as in ancient Greece, each family had its own god, so the members of each Arab tribe were united by the worship of a common divinity. With them genealogy rather than the national sense were all-important, so that each clan and tribe had its own patronym, a common ancestor, from whom all the male and female members were supposed to have descended. This society might be said to be patriarchal in that here descent was counted only through males, and that the head of the tribe was the Sheykh (literally, the Elder), who was perhaps regarded as the wisest man of the tribe, but we must also remember that this Sheykh was not originally a hereditary officer but was chosen spontaneously on the death of his predecessor in office, although in course of time the dignity tended to become hereditary. He was by no means the prototype of the Roman *paterfamilias* and had no such authority as the Roman

* Khusrû II reigned, 590-628 A.C. A fairly connected account of Ghassân and Hîrah is given in Muir's *Life of Mahomet*, London, 1858, vol. I, cap. 3.

patria potestas, but was, on the other hand, more a mediator and a peacemaker, so that 'he could only negotiate and apply moral pressure'¹ on the recalcitrants. He had, no doubt a very great authority, but supreme power he had none, and in the absence of a definite system of law, much was left to the caprice of the individual. What political relations there were between tribe and tribe were based only on the sense of morality of the parties, and as the Arabs had a very strong sense of honour there was a never-ending series of inter-tribal feuds. Like the ancient Greeks, the Arabs also had country fairs, such as those at Dumatul-Jundal, Hajar, 'Amman, Hadramaut, San'a, and Akad (near Mecca), but far from creating any feeling of oneness, they actually accentuated the political differences between the various groups. It is significant that not one of the Arab States enumerated above was independent, being under the suzerainty of Persia, the Byzantine Empire or Abyssinia, and it was not in them but in the multifarious tribes mainly of Western Arabia that the Arab independence was to be seen. 'It is well to bear this in mind, and so estimate, *quantae molis erat romanam condere gentem*, what amount of labour was required to create a stable system of law independent of the individual.'²

Mecca had been the appanage of the Yamanî family of the Jurhumites who held sway there till the third century A.C. They were succeeded by the Qahtânî Benî Khuzâ'ah who became masters of Mecca and southern Hijâz. These were in turn driven out by Qusai, who was descended in the fourth generation from Fihr, surnamed Quraish, the progenitor of the famous tribe of that name. Qusai administered Mecca in a very scientific manner, dividing the government into five departments, namely,

(1) the *Dâru'n-Nadwah*, where sat the Nadwah or Senate, the consultative assembly to which members of the ruling family and citizens over forty years of age were admitted;

(2) the *Liwâ*, or banner, emblem of the ruler's military prowess; this was given by him to commanders of the army in time of war;

(3) the *Rifâdah*, a poor-rate levied chiefly for feeding poor pilgrims at the time of the annual congregation at Mina, a short distance from Mecca;

(1) J. Wellhausen, in *History of the World*, viii. 9.

(2) *Ibid.*

(4) the *Siqâyah*, or administration of the wells, so important to the people of Arabia;

(5) the *Hijâbah*, or the custody of the keys of the Ka'bah, emblematic of the trusteeship of the ancient Temple and the supervision of ancient worship.

After the death of Qusey, about 480 A.C., there was a protracted squabble for the division of these important functions among his descendants, entailing constant transfers, till, about the beginning of the seventh century A.C., these stood redivided and redistributed among the descendants of Ka'b who was fourth in descent from Qureysh.* I give an account of this distribution, because the names of some of the office-bearers are writ large in the annals of Islâm itself.

(1) 'Umar bin Khaṭṭâb of the line of 'Adî had charge of the *Sifârat* or representation of Qureysh with other tribes or States.

(2) Hârith bin Qais of the line of Huṣeyṣ had charge of the *Khaẓînah* or public treasury and Finance.

(3) The remaining eight functions were divided among the descendants of the second son of Ka'b, named Murrah as follows:

(a) *Khâimmah*, or the guardianship of the Council chamber and the right of convening the Council and calling the people to arms; this belonged to Khâlîd bin Walîd.

(b) The *Diyet* or Magistracy belonged to 'Abdullâh bin 'Uthman, later known as Abû Bekr.

(c) All the other functions belonged to the descendants of Qusey, Murrah's grandson and the liberator of Mecca from Beni Khuzâ'ah. His own grandson, Asad bin 'Abdî'l-'Uzza, was the president of the *Nadwah* and the fountain-head of government, 'Uthmân bin Ṭalhah was in charge of the *Hijâbah* and thus guardian of the keys of the Ka'bah, 'Abbâs bin 'Abdî'l-Muṭṭalib was in charge of the *Siqâyah* or superintendence of the water-supply, the *Rifâdah* or poor-rate was supervised by Hârith bin 'Umar of the line of Naufal, while the last of the two

* Distribution of governmental functions about the time of Muḥammad:—

charge of the divining arrows, were held by the two brothers, Abû Sufyân and Şafwân, the grandson of Umayyah.

It was the established custom that the most aged of these magistrates was called Râ'is, but after 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib's death, there was really no-one who could be regarded as having any kind of supremacy over all others.

Muḥammad, who was to revolutionise human ideals, was born of 'Abdu'l-lâh bin 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib and his wife Aminah a few weeks after the unsuccessful attack on Mecca by Abraham el-Ashram; his father died before his birth and not long afterwards he was deprived of his worldly protectors by the death of his mother and his grandfather. After 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib's death, the political affairs of Mecca became very serious, and the acute rivalry between the different branches of the house of Ka'b resulted in constant strife between the magistrates and a state of utter lawlessness in the streets, which increased as years passed by. It was not really till 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib's grandson had grown to manhood that the leaders of Qureysh were persuaded, at his instance, to enter into an agreement so that the lives and property of the people might be safe. This was the famous *Hilfu'l-Fuḍûl*,¹ a league formed in 595 A.C., for the protection of the inhabitants of Mecca, native and foreign, from their oppressors. A few years afterwards we again hear of him checking the machinations of the Byzantines who had bribed an Arab, 'Uthmân bin Huweyriṯ, to try and conquer Mecca. The last fact worth alluding to here, which shows the great foresight and tact of the man who had thus kept the Meccan society together after his venerable grandfather's death, occurred at the time of the rebuilding of the Ka'bah, and the well-known episode² shows the great influence and the decisive voice which he had already acquired before the earliest revelation of the Qur'ân came to him at the age of forty.

III. *The Essence of the Quranic State*

We have come to a point where it will be possible to deal with the essence of the Quranic polity and, without actual

(1) Vide, Ibn Hishâm, vol. I, part 1, Wustenfeld edit., Goettingen, 1858, p. 85.

(2) This refers to the quarrel over the lifting of the famous "Black Stone" and the arbitration of the young man who was destined to be the Messenger of God.

comparisons, we shall now be able to appreciate the development of world-politics as evinced in the Qur'ân. As already stated, I must leave undiscussed the tremendous amount of Ḥadīth literature at our disposal. The Qur'ân itself contains precepts and orders, sometimes detailed, sometimes terse, always full of historical allusions. I propose to deal mainly with the political aspect of the Book, and at the same time, where there is a historical allusion, to explain the text with reference to some other dependable authority.

As a prelude to this very brief sketch of the political life of the Prophet from the time of the first revelation to his death twenty-three lunar years later seems necessary. He was already forty when that remarkable verse, the one in which he, an illiterate man, was asked to 'read,' and in which man's low origin and the importance of learning, the source of human exaltation, is so well depicted,¹ was revealed in a desert cave two miles from Mecca. Knowledge of things with the exposition of the principles of nature was to be the keynote of the Qur'ân, the burden of all its precepts being that by them are 'revealed' to man the inner secrets of the eternal law of the Universe, and it is perhaps with this thesis in view that the way of life as depicted in the Qur'ân is said to be both 'ancient' and 'immutable.'²

The underlying principles of the Islamic State can be discerned in the famous pledges of 'Aqabah in 620 and 622 A.C. One is amazed to find that the first of these important pledges was taken by a handful of men, just twelve in number, who paid homage to the Prophet in a lonely place outside the walls of Mecca,—a friendless man, sitting under a thorn-tree, the small group placing their hands in his and taking a vow that they would follow the path of universal Immutable Law, that they would worship no deity except God, they would not steal nor commit adultery, nor kill their offspring, nor calumniate and slander anyone, and would be loyal in happiness and in sorrow.³

Herein is couched the germ of the personal purification, social reform and strong legal action which were to follow in

(1) Qur'ân, xcvi, 1 *et seq.* اقرا باسم ربك الذى خلق خلق الانسان

من علق اقرا وربك الاكرم الذى علم بالقلم علم الانسان ما لم يعلم -

(2) *Ibid.*, xxx, 30. فاقم وجهك للدين حنيفا فطرة الله التى فطر الناس

عليها لا تبديل لنخلق الله ذاك الدين القيم

(3) Ibn Hishâm, vol. I, part 1, p. 288.

full force; and in the second pledge two years later there is definite promise to obey and, if need be, to defend the Prophet in everything, he, on his part, declaring that their interests and his were identical.¹ The same year, harassed and tormented by the Meccans, the small body of the Muslims, with their Teacher, moved to Yethrib, henceforward called the City of the Prophet, or shortly, *the City*, *Al-Madīnah*, there to lay the foundation of that great brotherhood of Islām which knows no racial, linguistic or geographical distinctions, by the masterly institution of the Mu'akhat, under which each Immigrant from Mecca (*Muhājir*), was to be *in locum fraternalis*—like a brother—to one of the Helpers (*Anṣār*) of *Al-Madīnah*.²

In *Madīnah* the Muslims had to deal with the native Jews; the infant State had not only to take account of them but to protect them as well as the Muslims of the City; and the great foresight and political acumen of the Apostle is to be seen in the Charter he granted to the Jews in which, among other things, it was declared that they were to be as much citizens of the new State as the Muslims, that the two branches of the men of Yathrib would form one composite nation, that the guilty would be punished whatever their faith, that both would be called upon to defend the State when need arose and that 'all future disputes would be decided by the Messenger of God.'³

There is no doubt but that if those who had thus been protected by the Prophet had held to their word, this great charter of freedom of conscience and common citizenship would have stood, but the Jews soon became restive and openly revolted from the nascent State just when it was threatened by the freebooters of Mecca. Nothing daunted, the Prophet gave a charter of freedom to the Christians of Najrān, assuring them of their lives, property and religion, that they would have full liberty to practise their faith, that no bishop, monk or priest would be removed from his office, that no image or cross would be destroyed, that no tithes would be levied from them and that they would not be required to furnish any troops.⁴

(1) *Qur'ān*, p. 293.

(2) *Ibid.*, p. 344.

(3) *Ibid.*, p. 341.

(4) El-Balādhuri: *Futūhu'l Buldān*, part I, cap. 14. Also vide Kâtibu'l-Wāqidī, quoted in Muir: *Life of Mahomet*, London, 1858, vol. II, p. 299. I have not been able to find this in the *Ṭabaqât* published by Brill, Leyden.

History is a witness that these great charters came to nothing, because of the armed hostilities by the *proteges*. The Jewish tribes had one by one to be expelled from al-Madīnah. The Prophet had to send an expedition against the Christians of Ghassân as they had done to death a peaceful envoy from al-Madīnah. Anyhow, before his death, the Prophet had united the whole of Arabia under one sceptre and one Law, a thing unheard-of in the annals of the country. This political miracle was visualised in the complete unity of thought and action of the myriads of God's creatures who were present on the occasion of the Sermon of Farewell delivered by the Prophet on the 7th of March, 632 A.C.,¹ a sermon which is one of the most important pronouncements in human history, and it was a matter of pride for those assembled on the great plain of 'Arafât that the task undertaken by their Prophet barely twenty years before had been performed. The great Teacher died exactly two months after this, on the 8th of June, 632 A.C.

Having cast a glance over some of the most important political acts of the man who has transformed the way of life of practically the whole human race, I am now able to deal with the subject in all its aspects. At the outset it should be noted that the method of political argument adopted in the Qur'ân is the historical method, wherein general precepts are explained with reference to instances from the history of Arabia and the neighbouring lands, and even where the Book enunciates an abstract notion, it nearly always illustrates it from conclusions from the past history of Arabian peoples like 'Ad or Thamûd, from Egypt or Palestine or the Byzantine Empire, or Irâq or Persia. It makes a definite distinction between the ancient monarchies and other nations, and deals with the main causes of their decline so that it may be a lesson for those still to come. For example, among the ancient monarchies, Egypt is rightly put forward as the oldest and most powerful, yet Egypt crumbled to pieces because its rulers failed to recognise the insignificance of man and the omnipotence of Divine Law as revealed to the chosen few. Moses and his brother were sent to the Pharaoh of Egypt because he had "transgressed (the bounds of the Law)"² and had become a "tyrant in the land."³ Another of his great crimes

(1) Ibn Hishâm, vol. II, part 4, p. 968.

(2) Qur'ân, xx, 43.

(3) *Ibid.*, v, 84.

اذ هبنا الى فرعون انه ظنى
ان فرعون لعال فى الارض -

was that, instead of being the representative of the whole nation, he "divided it into so many different castes,"¹ favouring one and maltreating the other, and so oppressing God's creatures with the anti-national doctrine of '*Divide et impere*,' a doctrine which, as we know, works for a time but fails the moment the people realise their oneness and begin to understand the full implication of the wrong done to them. Giving instances from the people of Israel, the Qur'ân describes how God had granted them all his favours, and not only given them prophets from among themselves but also made kings,² and when after the death of the Prophet Moses they were oppressed and driven from their dwellings, they were given a king in the person of Saul.³ It is remarkable how in this incident are depicted the real attributes of a good dictator, i.e., learning and strength, a rule which is as true today as it was millenniums ago.

The Qur'ân also generalises the causes of the decline of the nations without reference to their actual government, and lays down the great principle that "God does not change the condition of a people till they have themselves changed their psychology."⁴ As the Laws of the Universe are not unjust in themselves, each people has first been provided with a measure of correct conduct, and it is only after its transgression that it has been wiped out and replaced by another nation.⁵

(1) Qur'ân, xxviii, 4. ان فرعون علا في الارض وجعل اهلها شيعة يستضعف طائفة منهم يذبح ابناءهم ويستحي نساءهم -

(2) Ibid., v, 22. اذ قال موسى لقومه يا قوم اذكروا نعمة الله عليكم اذ جعل فيكم انبياء وجعلكم مملوكا وآتاكم مالم يؤت احد من العالمين

(3) Ibid., ii, 246-247. الم ترائى الملاء من بنى اسرائيل من بعد

موسى اذ قالوا للنبي لهم ابعث لنا ملكا نقاتل في سبيل الله قال هل عسيتم ان كتب عليكم القتال الا تقاتلوا قالوا وما لنا الا نقاتل في سبيل الله وقد اخرجنا من ديارنا وابنائنا ان الله قد بعث لكم طالوت ملكا ان الله اصطفاه عليكم وزاده بسطة في العلم والجسم -

(4) Ibid., xiii, 11. ان الله لا يغير ما بقوم حتى يغيروا وما بانفسهم

(5) Ibid., x, 14. ولقد اهلكنا القرون من قبلك لما ظلموا ...

وكم قصصنا من قرية كانت ظالمة وانشأنا بعدها قوما آخرين —: 11, xxi

It is in the order of the Universe that, like the human species, which is of the essence of the State, the collective peoples should also have their rise and their fall, and when once the national ailments have become incurable, the people, like a human being, dies according to the application of pre-ordained Law, giving place to a new and a more vigorous race.¹

The Qur'ân is a mine of precepts about the unity of Godhead and the kingship of God on earth.² This entails three distinct conceptions which have a direct bearing on the political aspect of the Book. Unity of Godhead as the Ruler naturally implies legal unity and, as the Qur'ân distinctly says, that its legal concepts are founded on—nay, are identical with—Universal immutable laws,³ this legal unity must be based on these concepts. The second thing which should be borne in mind is that, in the same way as the subjects of a king are all of the same station in life in relation to him, the Kingship of God means that the members of the human species are necessarily of the same order in regard to Him; and thirdly, that man is utterly powerless before the Universal Law, and his sole concern in the realm of so-called law-making

(1) *Qur'ân*, x, 50. لكل امة اجل اذا جاء اجلهم لا يستأخرون ساعة ولا يستقدمون -

(2) Such as, *Qur'ân*, iii, 26, قل اللهم مالك الملك توتى الملك من تشاء

iii, 189: والله الملك السموات والارض

xi, 45; انت احكم الحاكمين

xxiii, 85-87; قل لمن الارض ومن فيها ان كنتم تعلمون

سيقولون لله قل افلا تذكرون - قل من يده ملكوت كل شىء وهو يجير ولا يجار عليه ان كنتم تعلمون -

xxxix, 27; الله ما فى السموات والارض

xliv, 36; فله الحمد رب السموات والارض

lvii, 10; والله ميراث السموات والارض

lxv, 12; ينزل الامر بينهم لتعلموا ان الله على كل شىء قدير

lxxvii, 1; تبرك الذى بيده الملك

lxxxiii, 9; رب المشرق والمغرب

(3) Vide *supra*, p. 13, n. 2.

can be to try and discover the intricacies of that Law in much the same manner as the scientist discovers the forces of nature or the economist discovers the natural relation between man and economic wealth. The reign of Universal Law also implies that those who accept it, or at least consent to live under its sway, are immune from harm, but those who transgress it lose the protection of the State in much the same manner as the transgressors of law today are liable to be punished—imprisoned, fined or even beheaded. God is the real ruler of the world, His Law is supreme, man is His vicegerent,¹ and of the human species He appoints kings and magistrates whose most important duty is to do justice according to the Law and never to be led away by personal desires²—such is the teaching of the Qur'ân; and this is the ideal of unselfish justice which was a definite break with the past and which, in turn, is regarded as the most sacred right of the citizen today the world over.

There are few things which the Qur'ân abhors more than mischief and disorder, and verses about this phenomenon, which eats into the body-politic, are interspersed throughout the Book. When God creates man as His vicegerent, the great misgiving in the mind of the angels is that man will shed his fellow's blood and cause disorder.³ Again, God makes the Israelites enter into a covenant with him that "they will not shed each other's blood or turn anyone out of his house."⁴ This admonition is repeated in a number of places,⁵ perhaps because it is necessary to counteract the natural "animosity of man towards man."⁶ Disorder is regarded as

(1) Qur'ân, xxvii, 62. يجعلكم خلفاء الارض -

(2) E.g., when David was admonished to do justice; vide Qur'ân, xxxviii, 27. يا داود انا جعلتك خليفة في الارض فاحكم بين الناس بالحق ولا تتبع الهوى فيضلك عن سبيل الله -

(3) Qur'ân, ii, 4. قال ربك للملكة اني جاعل في الارض خليفة قالوا اتجعل فيها من يفسد فيها ويسفك الدماء -

(4) Ibid., ii, 84. واذا اخذنا ميثاقكم لا تسفكون دماءكم ولا تخرجون انفسكم من دياركم -

(5) E.g., Qur'ân, xxxix, 36. لاتعتوا في الارض مفسدين -

(6) Qur'ân, xx, 123. قال اهبطا جميعا بعضكم لبعض عدو -

"worse than murder,"¹ and those who provoke it deserve "the curse of God,"² while the State is admonished to try and end it by peaceable means if possible, but, if necessary, to strike at its root by force of arms.³ Those who cause political turmoil should not be obeyed⁴ but should be killed or banished, and their action is likened to "war against God and His messenger."⁵ It is related how, when Abraham made Mecca his home and the home of his progeny, the first prayer he offered was to "make the City a haven of peace and prosperity"⁶ for ever, and the secret of the success of Islamic polity is said to lie in the complete unity between those who were once inimical to one another.⁷ The Muslims are ordered to be completely united, kind and brotherly to each other,⁸ otherwise their end will be the same as that of the other transgressors of the Law who may pretend anything but who are really at the root of all disorder.⁹

This is entirely in accordance with the principles of Islamic

- (1) *Qur'ân*, ii, 217. الفتنة اشد من القتل
- (2) *Ibid.*, xlvii, 25. فهل عسيتم ان توليتم ان تفسدوا في الارض وتقطعوا ارحامكم اولئك الذين لعنهم الله -
- (3) *Ibid.*, viii, 39 وقتلواهم حتى لا يكون فتنة ويكون الدين كله لله
- (4) *Ibid.*, xxvi, 51-52. ولا تطيعوا امر المسرفين - الذين يفسدون في الارض ولا يصلحون
- (5) *Ibid.*, v, 33. انما جراء الذين يحاربون الله ورسوله ويسعون في الارض فسادا ان يقتلوا او يصبوا وتقطع ايديهم وارجلهم من خلاف او ينفوا من الارض
- (6) *Ibid.*, xix, 35 اذ قال ابراهيم رب اجعل هذا البلد آمنا
- (7) *Ibid.*, xlviii, 24: هو الذي كف ايديهم عنكم وايديكم عنهم بيطن مكة من بعد ان اطفركم عليهم -
- (8) *Ibid.*, xlix, 9-10: ان طائفتين من المؤمنين اقاتلو فاصلحو بينهما فان بغت احدهما على الاخرى فقاتلو التي تفشى اليه امر الله فان فاءت فاصلحو بينهما بالعدل وانفسطوا ان الله يحب المقتسطين انما المؤمنون اخوة فاصلحو بين اخوانكم
- (9) *Ibid.*, ii, 11. واذا قيل لهم لا تفسدوا في الارض قالوا انما نحن مصلحون -

warfare, which is described, among other places, in a series of verses in Chapter II, where it is clearly indicated that war should be waged only against those who wage war on the State, and the sword should be sheathed the moment they desist and the rule of Divine Law is again supreme.¹

The application of this principle is according to the very essence of the *Qur'ân*, for the two basic doctrines, the Preceptor taught are couched in the two terms, 'Îmân' and 'Islâm,' the one meaning the rule of Peace and the other that of Obedience. And this is in turn, exactly according to the modern conception of Sovereignty, for without obedience to a central authority there can be no State worth the name. Moreover, as the Law of God is regarded supreme and universal, so it is only in the nature of things that man is ordered to obey His exposition of the Law as 'revealed' to the Prophet.² The recalcitrants are admonished that the so-called "law" as expounded by their forefathers was not proper, as they were not wise and were unable to guide others owing to the imperfection of their knowledge of Universal Law.³ The Muslims are told that, if there be any division among them over anything, they have only to turn to this Law as expounded by God through His messenger, and they will find all they want.⁴ Not only passive obedience is demanded, but

(1) *Qur'ân*, ii, 190-193. وقالو في سبيل الله الذين يقاتلونكم

ولا تعتدوا ان الله لا يحب المعتدين واقتلوهم حيث ثقتهموهم واخرجوهم من حيث اخرجوكم والفتنة اشد من القتل ولا تقاتلوهم عند المسجد الحرام حتى يقتلواكم فيه فان قاتلوكم فاقتلوهم كذلك جزاء الكافرين فان انتهوا فان الله غفور رحيم -

(2) e.g., in the *Qur'ân*, iii, 132; واطيعوا الله والرسول لعلكم ترحمون

يا ايها الذين آمنوا اطيعوا الله ورسوله ولا تولوا عنه

وانتم تسمعون

وان تطيعوا يؤتكم الله اجرا حسنا وان تتولوا كما

توليتهم من قبل يعذبكم عذابا اليما

من يطع الرسول فقد اطاع الله

(3) *Qur'ân*, iii, 147. واذا قيل لهم اتبعوا ما انزل الله قالوا بل نتبع

ما الفينا عليه آباءنا اولوكان آباءهم لا يعقلون شيئا ولا يهتدون

(4) *Ibid.*, iv, 59. فان تنازعتم في شئ فردوه الى الله والرسول

ان كنتم تؤمنون بالله واليوم الآخر ذلك خير واحسن تاويلا -

the citizens are required, if need be, to spend their all, to bear suffering, hunger and hardship, gladly in order to spread the rule of the Law of God on earth.¹ Needless to say, this rule was implicitly followed by the Prophet himself during the twelve fateful years at Mecca, when he was harassed, stoned, persecuted and conspired against, and with his companions, who saw in him the embodiment of all that was good and noble, forced to flee to a place two hundred miles away.

The Qur'ân lays down a correct estimate of the needs of man when it says that alongside with many other things, these supreme sacrifices in the cause of the rule of Law may seem repugnant to the individual, still they are enjoined as they ultimately lead to the good of the Commonwealth.² This really points out the essential antagonism between the individual needs and the needs of the body-politic and the possibility of sacrificing property, life and all one holds dearest in the cause of the collective whole. It is again this principle which makes the Qur'ân declare that in "retaliation" in the matter of murder is the very life of a people,³ for it is manifest that without this sanction there would be no security of life. The general legislation of the Qur'ân⁴ is not confined to crimes like murder and theft, or to the great principle of retaliation which helped to make not only the warring Arabs one nation and to unite antagonistic nations under the sceptre of Islâm, or obedience to Divine Law, but it also lays down the broad principles of evidence and even of legal conveyancing, such as that by which it is enjoined that transactions like those of debt, etc., should be put in writing,⁵ that it is not

(1) *Qur'ân*, ii, 155-157; ولنبلوكم بشئ من الخوف والجوع وتقص من الاموال والانس والثمرات وبشر الصابرين الذين اذا اصابتهم مصيبة قالوا انا لله وانا اليه راجعون اولئك عليهم صلوات من ربهم ورحمة واولئك هم المهتدون
لا يستوى القاعدون غير اولى الضرر والمجاهدين - iv, 95.

في سبيل الله باموالهم وانفسهم -

(2) *Ibid.*, ii, 216; كتب عليكم القتال وهو كره لكم وعسى ان تكرهوا شيئا وهو خير لكم وعسى ان تحبوا شيئا وهو شر لكم -

(3) *Ibid.* ولكم في القصاص حياة يا اولى الالباب

(4) e.g., *the Qur'ân*, v, 36; السارق والسارقة فاقطعوا ايديهما
الزانية والزاني فاجلدوا واحدة منها مائة جلدة xxiv, 2.

(5) *Qur'ân*, ii, 282. يا ايها الذين آمنوا اذا تدانتم بدين الى اجل مسمى فاكتبوه

necessary to write down ordinary transactions of sale or pledge, and that two witnesses are enough to prove the fact of a transaction.¹ We can see not only what great strides the principles of law had taken as early as the seventh century of the Christian era, even during the lifetime of the Prophet, but also the lasting effects these principles have had in the general condition of the law in vogue today.

This leads us directly to the great importance which the doctrine of justice has in the Quranic system. The very basis of Prophethood is said to be justice between man and man, for it is related that the patriarchs and prophets of old were sent with books of Divine Law that they might be able to decide internecine feuds,² and the Prophet of Islâm declares that he has been commanded to be just.³ Judges are definitely ordered to do justice⁴ and not be led away by personal likes or dislikes, love or hate,⁵ and witnesses are admonished to tell the whole truth.⁶ At the same time the salutary principle is laid down that whoever makes a false prosecution should be punished with an iron hand.⁷ These principles are such as would adorn the legal system of any State, whatever its basis, and whoever ponders on them with an unbiassed mind must clearly see their world-wide application.

It hardly comes within the scope of this paper to enumerate the social reforms accomplished by the Qur'ân in a society which knew of no bonds save those of the tribe, and its seemingly impossible accomplishment of that unity and brotherhood which the Qur'ân describes as the union of hearts of erstwhile enemies and the brotherhood of warring

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- (1) *Qur'ân*, ii, 213. فبعث الله النبيين مبشرين ومنذرين وانزل معهم الكتاب بالحق ليحكم بين الناس فيما اختلفوا فيه
- (2) *Ibid.*, xlii, 15. وأمرت اعدل بينكم
- (3) *Ibid.*, iv, 58. ان الله يامرکم ان تودوا الامانات الى اهلها واذ احکم بين الناس ان تحکوا بالعدل
- (4) *Ibid.*, v, 8. ولا یجرمنکم شتان قوم الا تعدلو
- (5) *Ibid.*, ii, 283. ولا تکتتموا الشهادة ومن یکتتمها فانه آثم قلبه
- (6) *e.g.*, *Qur'ân*, xxiv, 4. الذين یرمون المحصنت ثم لم یاتوا بریئة شهداء فاجلدوهم ثمانین جلدة ولا تقبلوا لهم شهادة ابدا -

elements, and admonishes those who surrender themselves to Divine Law to hold the rope of God tightly and never to separate.¹ In a word it says that the duty of the Muslims is to "enjoin what is right and to prevent what is wrong,"² and even goes into such details as the necessity of one who wishes to enter someone else's house not to do so until he has been permitted by the owner,³ that even your own children should ask leave to enter your room at certain hours when you need privacy,⁴ that the traders should always weigh and measure their commodities according to the standard weights and measures,⁵ and that theft, adultery, scandal and other wrongs should be eradicated.⁶ These and many other social reforms are interspersed throughout the Book, and they were not put forward merely as ideals, but the proud Arabs were made to practise them. Thus the nomads of the desert were transformed into great statesmen, generals, merchants and emperors, and made superior even to those who boasted a civilization dating back thousands of years.

(1) *Qur'ân*. واعصموا بحبل الله جميعا ولا تفرقوا
واذكروا نعمة الله اذ كنتم اعداء فالف بين قلوبكم واصبحتم بنعمته اخوانا

(2) *Ibid.*, ii, 5; تعاونوا بالبر والتقوى ولا تعاونوا
على الاثم والعدوان

كنتم خير امة اخرجت للناس تامرون بالمعروف. iii, 110.
وتنهون عن المنكر وتؤمنون بالله

(3) *Ibid.*, xxiv, 27. لا تدخلوا بيوتا غير بيوتكم حتى تستأنسوا
وتسلموا على اهلها

(4) *Ibid.*, lix, 24.
واذا بلغ الاطفال منكم الحلم ويستاذنوا كما استاذن الذين من قبلهم

It is remarkable how extensively this and other salutary principles have been adopted in the non-Muslim West!

(5) *Qur'ân*, xi, 85. يقوم اوفوا المكيال والميزان بالقسط و
لا تبخسوا الناس اشياءهم ولا تعثفوا الارض مفسدين -

(6) *Ibid.*, ix, 12. يا ايها النبي اذا جاءك المومنت بياعنك الا يشركن بالله
شيئا ولا يسرقن ولا يزنين ولا يقتلن اولادهن ولا ياتين ببهتان تفترينه بين
ايديهن وارجلهن ولا يعصينك في معروف فبايعهن واستغفر لهن الله

This was also the purport of the second pledge of 'Aqabah (*vide, supra*), also called the Pledge of Women, while in the second pledge, the duty of defence was added.

There is a place, and a very important one, for counsel in the Quranic State. When the qualities of good Muslims are enumerated, when they are said to put their trust in God, when they are regarded as shunners of evil, when they are said to be brave defenders of their rights, they are also praised for taking others' counsel in time of need.¹ Not only that, but the Prophet, while he is enjoined to trust only in God when he has made up his mind, is also advised first to consult even those who are his enemies at heart.² It is this truly democratic spirit, taking count of *numbers* as well as of *efficiency*, which made the religion of the Qur'ân capable of converting the world, if not in so many words, at least so far as its main doctrines were concerned. This spirit is further evidenced by the principle on which Quranic taxation is based. As a matter of fact, with the simple life which the Prophet himself led, the system of government instituted by the Qur'ân needed very little money for its upkeep, and provided an ideal of an efficient and inexpensive government for all times to come. The only taxes mentioned in the Qur'ân are the 2½ per cent. *Zakâh*,³ the *Jizyah*,³ which came to mean a tax for exemption from military service of those who did not form part of the Muslim body-politic, and the *Kharaj*⁵ which was a tax on land, apart from the irregular booty of war.⁶ So far as the *zakâh*, and the booty were concerned, the Qur'ân

(1) Qur'ân, xlii, 37. وأمرهم شورى بينهم ومما رزقهم ينفقون

(2) *Ibid.*, iii, 159. فبما رحمة من الله لنت لهم ولو كنتم فظا غليظ القلب لا انفضوا من حولك فاعف عنهم واستغفر لهم وشاورهم في الأمر فاذا عزمتم فتوكل على الله -

There is also a very apt Ḥadith in Muslim (*Kitâbu'l-fadâ'il*, II, 264) where the Apostle is said to have declared to the eminent men sitting round him that they were better acquainted with worldly affairs than himself.

(3) Qur'ân, ix, 60.

أما الصدقات للفقراء والمساكين والعاملين عليها والمولفة قلوبهم وفي الرقاب والغارمين في سبيل الله وابن السبيل فريضة من الله

(4) *Ibid.*, xxiii, 72. أم تسألهم خراجا فخراج ربك خير

(5) *Ibid.*, viii, 1. يسئلكم عن الان قال قل الا قال الله والرسول واعلموا انما غنمتم فان الله خمسها والرسول ولذى القربى واليتيم والمساكين وابن السبيل

named the various heads under which they must be distributed, only a part going towards the upkeep of the State, the rest being divided in such a manner that some of the wealth of the rich went to support the poorest and neediest of the land, while the money which bore the brunt of governmental expenditure came from other sources of income.

But it is when we turn to international affairs, the laws of war, diplomacy and alliances that the thoroughness of the Qur'ân comes home to us. The first principle about war 'revealed' to the Prophet was that sanction should be given to fight because the Muslims "had been wronged" by their opponents,¹ and war should be waged only against those who had actively warred against the infant community² and should continue till "disorders had been set at rest,"³ while if the opponents had got an idea of making peace, it should not be denied to them.⁴ It must be remembered, however, that it is not the policy of the Qur'ân that the people should in any case enter into an alliance with the enemies of Universal Law,⁵ and once war is declared, no quarter should be shown to them,⁶ while those who defend all they hold sacred and dear are promised the highest reward.⁷ It is remarkable how in a series of revelations a difference is made between those non-Muslims who have entered into an understanding with the Muslims, and those who have broken their pledges and have taken arms against them, and it is definitely laid down

(1) Qur'ân, xxii, 39:—

أذن للذين يقاتلون بأنهم ظلموا

(2) *Ibid.*, ix, 8:—

لا ينهاكم الله عن الذين لم يقاتلوكم في الدين

ولم يخرجوكم من دياركم أن تبرؤكم وتقسطوا إليهم -

(3) *Ibid.*, ii, 193:—

وقاتلو الذين حتى لا يكون فتنة ويكون الدين لله

(4) *Ibid.*, viii, 61:—

فإن جئحوك للسلم فأنج لها وتوكل على الله

(5) *Ibid.*, viii, 139:—

بشر المنافقين بأن لهم عذابا أليما الذين يتخذون

الكافرن أولياء من دون المؤمنين

(6) *Ibid.*, ix, 123:—

يا أيها الذين آمنوا قاتلوا الذين يلونكم من الكفار و

يعدوا فيكم غلظة

xlvi, 5:—

فاذا لقيتم الذين كفروا فضرب الرقاب حتى إذا

اتخنتهم فشد الوثاق فاما من بعد واما فداء حتى تضع الحرب أوزارها

(7) *Ibid.*, iv, 74:—

فليقاتل في سبيل الله الذين يشرون الحياة

الدنيا بالآخرة ومن يقاتل في سبيل الله فيقتل أو يغلب فسوف نؤتيه أجرا عظيما -

that on no account should the Muslims break their plighted word with those who have kept faith with them.¹

When we come to the great clemency which the Qur'ân ordains toward prisoners of war, we see the tremendous progress made in the character of human society, for with the battle of Bedr² the system of keeping the prisoners alive and even releasing them on payment of a small ransom or for doing something useful, such as teaching the children how to read, was introduced.³ The same Arabs, even the women of whom showed no compassion to the dying and the dead on the battlefield,⁴ were being prepared for the great day when the Prophet should enter the City of his birth triumphant at the head of thousands, but with the stern admonition not to pursue any of those who had hunted them out and forced them to leave their hearth and home.⁵

And here we come, to the great principle of toleration so well enunciated in the Qur'ân. We must remember that this was still the seventh century of the Christian era, and the principle of toleration of religious belief was utterly unknown to the world, which was still to pass through the Crusades, the storm and stress of the Wars of Religion in Germany

برأءة من الله ورسوله الى الذين عاهدتم من— (1) Qur'ân, ix, 1-12 :
المشركين واذا ن من الله ورسوله الى الناس يوم الحج الاكبر ان الله
برى من المشركين ورسوله الا الذين عاهدتم من المشركين
ثم لم ينقصوكم شيئا ولم يظاهروا عليكم احدا فاتموا عليهم عهدهم الى مدتهم
.... وان احد من المشركين استجارك فاجر به حتى يسمع كلام الله ثم بلغه مامنه
فما استقاموهم فاستقيموا لهم كيف وان يطهر و اعليكم لا يرقبوا فيكم
الا ولا ذمه يرضونكم بافواههم وتابى قلوبهم واكثرهم فاسقون وان نكثوا ايمانهم
من بعد عهدهم و طعنوا في دينكم فقاتلوا ائمة الكفرانهم لا ايمان لهم ينتهون -

(2) 624 A.C.

(3) Cf., Qur'ân, viii, 70:—

قل لمن في ايديكم من الاسرى ان يعلم الله ما في قلوبكم خيرا مما اخذمنكم

(4) Cf., the conduct of Abû Sufiân's wife Hind, who tore open the body of the dead Hamzah, uncle of the Apostle of Islâm, after the action at Uhûd, 625 A.C., drank his blood and actually gnawed his heart! Vide Ibn-i Hishâm, vol. II, p. 555.

(5) For the capture of Mecca, January, 630 A.C., vide Ibn-i Hishâm, *ibid.*, p. 802.

and elsewhere, the Inquisitions in Spain, the forced conversions in Saxony and other parts of Europe, the Protestant and Catholic persecutions in England, centuries afterwards, while as we have already seen, the two great empires of Constantinople and Persia were just then doing all they could to enforce the homogeneity of religious belief. It was therefore something novel and startling in the history of political principles that the Qur'ân should take variety of religious beliefs in a State almost for granted, and building from these premises, lays down for all time the magnificent ideal that there is to be "no compulsion in religion."¹ As Moses, when he approached Pharaoh, was admonished to speak gently,² so in addressing one who is of another belief, only the most conciliatory speech is to be used.³ It is remarkable that the ideal should be broadcast from the mouth of the man who was himself the butt of all kinds of persecution! He is told that if only one part of the population cares to adopt the faith so dear to him and his followers, he should exercise the utmost patience till he gets the final decision from God as to the conduct of the other part.⁴ Although the Muslims are forbidden to be friendly with those belonging to the other camp or such as are hypocritical in their behaviour,⁵ the Book makes a clear distinction between them and those who, like some Christians of those days, were mild and humane according to the teaching of their own Prophets.⁶ So far as the Meccan non-believers were concerned, a whole chapter is addressed to

(1) Qur'ân, ii, 256:—

لا اكره في الدين

1, 45:—

وما انت عليهم بجبار

(2) Ibid., xx, 44:—

فقل لاله قول لا لينا لاله يتذكر او ينسى

(3) Ibid., xiv, 115:—

ادع الى سبيل ربك بالحكمة وموعظة الحسنة وجادلهم بالتى هي احسن -

(4) Ibid., vii, 86:— وان كانت طائفة منكم آمنوا بالذى ارسلت

به وطائفة لم يؤمنوا فاصبروا حتى يحكم الله بيننا

(5) Ibid., iii, 118:— يا ايها الذين آمنوا لا تتخذوا بطانة من دونكم

لا ياتونكم خبلا ولا ودوا ما عنتم قد بدت البغضاء من افواههم وما يخفى
صدوركم اكبر -

(6) Ibid., v, 82:— ولتجدن اقر بهم مودة للذين آمنوا الذين قالوا

ان انصرمى ذالك بان منهم قسيسين ورهبانا وانهم لا يستكبرون -

them ending in the great principle "Unto you your religion and unto me mine."¹ It is remarkable that although the orientation of religious thought has been towards the universal application of this salutary idea, still some very important parts of the world in our own times, are showing the old barbarian spirit of religious persecution and disdaining to own peoples of the same speech and country simply because they happen to follow religious beliefs distinct from the majority of the population.²

I now come to the last principle which I propose to describe here, that is the principle of internationalism. As we have seen, when the Quranic principles were revealed, not only Arabia but the whole world was rent asunder by warring nations, castes and classes, and Islâm struck a new note by preaching internationalism. It was an extremely bold advance, but it was an advance in line with the other principles propounded. Although the Qur'ân accepts the doctrine that men are divided into classes and that ranks are justifiable so that personal ability may be tested,³ yet it is here definitely laid down that the institution of castes and warring elements is a kind of punishment meted out to the transgressors of the Law,⁴ and whatever nations and tribes exist, their physical origin is uniform, and they are justified only because they differentiate between man and man. Then another ideal is laid down that nobility depends not in belonging to a particular family, race, tribe or nation, but in being noble of character and personal conduct.⁵ The life of the man who could get his own cousin married to a freedman,¹ who could

(1) Qur'ân, cap. cix. قل يا ايها الكفرون لا اعبد ما تعبدون ولا اتم عابدون ما اعبد ولا انا عابد ما عبدتم ولا اتم عابدون ما اعبد لكم دينكم ولي دين -

(2) Such is the case in our own day in the Germany of the Nazis.

(3) Qur'ân, vi, 166. هو الذى جعلكم خلتف الارض و رفع بعضكم فوق بعض درجت ليلوكم فى ما آتكم -

انظر كيف فضلنا بعضكم على بعض¹ xvii, 21: —

(4) Ibid., vi, 65. يلبسكم شيعا ويذيق باسكم باس بعض.....

(5) Ibid., xlix, 13. يا ايها الناس انا خلقنكم من ذكرا و اناثى و جعلكم شعوبا و قبائل لتعارفوا ان اكرمكم عند الله اتقكم -

make a freedman led the flower of the Qureysh nobility,² who could in the heyday of his power live the life of the poorest of the population, who had no thought but for the welfare of the downtrodden and the oppressed, is a living instance of the breaking of the old bonds. We know that the difficulty of the upholders of internationalism has ever been the seemingly impassable barriers of race, language and clime and, however pious his ideals and aspirations, man has not been able to overcome these barriers and to institute the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

The Prophet of Islâm showed a path to mankind, the path of Universal Law, which, differently to the rigid limitation of race, country, language and geographical configuration, could be accepted by all,³ and by allying himself to those from Rome, Persia, Abyssinia, Arabia and the world beyond, who accepted that Law, not only laid down an ideal but actually put it into practice.⁴

H. K. SHERWANI.

(1) i.e., Zainab, 'Abdu'l-Muṭṭalib's grand-daughter, married to Zaid bin Thâbit, erstwhile slave of the Apostle.

(2) On the occasion of the Mûtah campaign, 629 A.C.

(3) For a discussion of this particular topic, vide the Urdu magazine, *Tarjumânu'l-Qur'ân*, Hyderabad-Deccan, vol. III (1352 A.H.), pp. 37 ff and 103 ff.

(4) The general effects of Islâm on legal thought are ably delineated in the masterly work, "The Legacy of Islâm" (Clarendon Press, Oxford, 1931), chapter on "Law and Society" by Professor de Santillana of Rome.

THE INFLUENCE OF PERSIAN ON MAHRATHI

THE following is a brief survey of the influence that the Persian language has exercised on Mahrathi during the course of its history. It is, in fact, a study of the impact, in the field of language and literature of one culture upon another differing in essentials—one, the Islamic, as represented by the Muslim invaders of India, the other, the Hindu, such as the Mahrathi-speaking people possessed when they came into contact with these aliens. The period of operation of this influence is a long one and covers the time of the Muslim domination in the Deccan, as also that which followed marked by the political ascendancy of the Mahrattas in the wake of the disruption of the Moghul Empire. Although this influence has varied in intensity and extent from stage to stage, in accordance with the march of political events in the country, one cannot fail to notice that it has left its permanent impressions on the Mahrathi language and impinged itself at several important points in its structure.

It may be remembered that the Muslim set his foot on the soil of Maharashtra in the time of Alauddin Khilji. That man came down like a tornado and appeared before the gates of Deogir (called later on Daulatabad). The king of the place, Ramdev Rao, was lying in a careless state. He had fancied that nobody could cross the wide rivers and the high mountains lying to the north of his territory. The sudden appearance of Alauddin was so staggering that Raja Ramdev Rao had to yield and give room to the advance of Muslim political power in the Deccan. This event may be regarded as the beginning of the influence under review.

A little while after, there came another man from Delhi—an Emperor—who was endowed with marvellous gifts of mind, but given to weaknesses of equal magnitude. He dragged with him nearly the whole population of Delhi to Deogir and made it, for a time, his capital. Muhammad bin Tughlaq was a brave man, very cultured, very learned, one capable of conceiving schemes of far-reaching importance, but unluckily, at

times he ran away with them to the border of lunacy. He tried to love his subjects and serve them, but dismally failed.

The hold of Delhi on the Deccan continued even after his death until a period of isolated political life for the Muslims set in with the establishment of the independent Bahmani kingdom. It is a great honour to the founder of the dynasty of the Bahmanis, Hasan, that he should have added to his name that of Gangu Bahmani in recognition of his love for his old master, Gangu, the Brahmin who had shown him the way to a throne. Hasan made him his Minister of Finance. The two so wholeheartedly co-operated with each other that they evolved a system of Government in which the sons of the soil were given a share in the administration of the country: so much so, that the latter regarded the Government as their own and bore a deep attachment to the person and throne of their Muslim kings.

The Mahrathi language was, under the Bahmanis, the official language of rural accounts, the main contact with the vast rural population. But the language was charged with the vocabulary of the language of the Muslims and of those living within the zone of their influence, such as the Kayasths from Delhi and other parts of Northern India who migrated to the Deccan from time to time in search of lucrative appointments.

In the days of the Bahmanis, the Hindus and Muslims lived on equal terms. The veil between them gradually disappeared. Shoulder to shoulder they fought against their common foes. During their days there were noblemen of the Mahratta community who held equal ranks with the Muslims as commanders of the army. The same conditions prevailed when the Bahmani kingdom broke up and separate kingdoms were established in Ahmednagar, Bidar, Golconda, Gulbarga and Bijapur, and to a lesser extent even after their piecemeal absorption into the Mughal Empire.

The effect of this age-long relationship based on mutual respect and good-will between the ruling Muslim races and the Mahrathi-speaking people on the development of the Mahrathi language has naturally been very marked as evidenced from the literature of the times. And although with the rise of Shivaji there came a reaction against any further extension of this influence, one cannot discard the fact that the Persian influence had already clenched on the Mahrathi language and it was found no easy task to throw it off, as is borne out, particularly, by the official records of the Peshwas.

We may analyse here the various forces that have been at work in this direction.

1. In the days of the Muslim rule, in nearly every department, Persian was the official language, which those of the Mahrattas who aspired to offices under the Government, had necessarily to assimilate. Indeed, a free use of it was regarded as a matter of social honour to them.

2. Among the others who did not belong to the official community but had dealings with Government courts and offices, the same force of circumstances was at work. These people not merely understood but used the legal and official terms of the Persian language without the slightest feeling of distaste.

3. The 'Faqirs,' a class of Muslim itinerant missionaries who always found their way into the lands conquered by the Muslims were a powerful means of accelerating the advance of the Persian influence. Indeed, they very often worked as explorers and pioneers in the cause of Muslim political expansion. Living a life of self-sacrifice and maintaining themselves on the barest subsistence, they freely moved among the common people and tried to convey to them the message of Islam through the songs that they sang in the language of the country. Into these songs which most of them they themselves composed, they could not avoid importing the religious terms of their own language which had deep meanings for them. In this way, many of the terms that these faqirs used found a natural way into the Mahrathi language and permanently enriched it.

4. Conversions to Islam from amongst the Mahratta community and intermarriages have also influenced the Mahrathi speech.

5. The Muslims brought with them into the Deccan many arts and crafts including their fine engineering and the making of arms as a result of which various terms relating to these were incorporated into the Mahrathi language.

Thus the vocabulary of the Persian language, its terms, idioms and proverbs came to be freely employed in the Mahrathi speech; and no attempt was made to replace them so long as the Muslim power lasted in the Deccan. In the time of Shivaji, however, just a few years before he assumed kingship in 1674, he issued orders to one Raghunath Pandit to prepare

a dictionary of official terms having their roots in Mahrathi or Sanscrit. The attempt proved abortive, for, the force and temptation of the Persian and Arabic phraseology, could not be resisted. The utmost that was done on this occasion was the designations in Persian of certain post were translated into Sanscrit and not truly into Mahrathi.

This attitude continued till the sixth year before his death, and was but feebly revived during the reign of his son, Sambhaji, who himself had no especial interest in the matter. During the reign of his successor, Raja Ram (1689-1700) the attempt had to be abandoned, for, we learn that he conferred upon his minister, Ramchander Panth, the title of "Hukumath Panah," a purely Persian title. This family is still enjoying it in the State of Vishal Garh. Similar Persian titles were distributed among the noblemen at the Mahratta Court. In the time of Sahu also, the Persian manner held ground. The Angriahs of Ali Bagh were granted the title of "Sar Khail," the Kaikwands, the title of "Shamshir Bahadur" and "Sina Khas Khail," and one Vithal Shanker that of "Raja Bahadur." It may be observed that this practice was in accordance with that followed by the Muslim kings and emperors who devised the titles either purely in Persian style or Perso-Sanscrit, a device which is adhered to even at the present day by the Nizams of Hyderabad.

Recently there was a movement on the part of certain people to get rid of the Persian and Arabic words from the Mahrathi language. But people of understanding refrained from lending their support to it. Indeed, the organ of the late Mr. Bal Gangadhar Tilak, the "Kesari" raised a protest against it, and asserted that if the Persian and Arabic terms had to be pushed out of the language, the Mahrathi language would degenerate and lose much of its force. It was of opinion that any words and terms substituted in their place would fail to convey the connotation that they bore and with which the people speaking the Mahrathi language had become familiarized.

The movement failed, like the attempt of Shivaji; for languages are more powerful than those who use them. They have their own struggle for existence, conform to their own laws of growth, and never submit to artificial feeding. How well would it be if this truth were taken to heart by our countrymen, especially of Northern India! Even the people of Maharashtra should remember that Shivaji, in spite of his dislike for

the Persian terms, freely used them in his correspondence in Mahrathi. Indeed his 'Guru' or preceptor, Ram Das, had no repugnance to use them for the expression of his deep religious thought. If the truth is to be told, it is he who has employed the Persian vocabulary in his poetry more than any other Mahrathi poet.

We shall now indicate broadly the successive stages in the development of the Mahrathi language under the influence of the Persian language.

1. Pre-Muslim Stage :

Before the advent of the Muslims to the Deccan, there lived a famous poet of the Mahrathi language, Dinaneshwar, (b. 1275, died 1296 A.D.) who wrote in the purest Mahrathi language in which there is not the slightest Persian or Arabic influence traceable.

Here is an extract from his commentary of Bhagwat Gita :—

बोखटें कां गोमटें । हें कांहींचि तया नुमटे । रात्रि दिवस न घटे । सूर्यासि जेवीं । १ ।
 ऐसा बोधुची केवलु । जो होऊनि असे निष्कळु । त्याहीवरी भजन शीलू । माझ्या-
 ठायीं ॥ २ ॥ तरि तया ऐसें दुसरें । आम्हां पढियते सोयरें । नाहींगा साचोकारें ।
 तुझी आण पांडवा । ३ । पार्था जयाचिया ठायीं । वैषम्याची वार्ता नाहीं । रिपुमित्रा
 दोहीं सारिसा पाड । ४ । कां घरीचियां उजियेड करावा । पारख्यां आंधार पाडावा ।
 हें नेणोचि गा पांडवा । दीप जैसा । ५ । जो खांडावया घाव घाली । कां लावणी जयानें
 केली । दोघां एकचि साउली । वृक्षु जैसा । ६ । ना तरी इक्षुदंडु । पाळितया गोडु ।
 गाळितया कडु । नोहेचि जेवीं ॥ ७ ॥ अरि मित्रां तैसा । अर्जुना जया भाव ऐसा ।
 मानापमानीं सरिसा । होत जाय । ८ । तिहीं ऋतु समान । जैसे कां गगन । तैसा एकचि
 मान । शीतोष्ण जया । ९ । दक्षिण उत्तर मारुता । मेरु जसा पांडुसुता । तैसा
 सुखदुःखप्राप्तां । मध्यस्थु जो । १० । माधुर्यें चंद्रिका । सरिशी राया रंका । तैसा जो
 सकळिकां । भूतां समु । ११ । अवघिया जगा एक । सेव्य जैसें उदक । तैसें जयातें तिन्ही
 लोक । आकांक्षिती ॥ १२ ॥ जो निदेतें न घे । स्तुतीतें न श्लाघे । आकाशा न लगे ।
 लेपु जैसा । १३ । तैसें निदे आणि स्तुती । मान करून एके पंक्ती । विचरे प्राणवृत्ति ।
 जनी वनी ॥ १४ ॥

ज्ञानेश्वरी—अध्याय १२

اوکھٹے کان کوٹے ہیں کاهیں پی تیا نومٹے راتری دیوس نگھٹے سوریسی
 جسے وین -

ایسا بودھو کیولو جو هووونی آسے نشکو تیاہی وری بہجن شلو
 ماجہیا ٹھائیں -

تری تیا ائیسے دوسرے ادھان پڑھی اتے سوڑے ناھیں کا ساچوکارے
تجھی آن پانڈوا۔

بارتھا چیاچی یا ٹھائن ویش میاچی وارتاناھیں رہو مترادوھین سری سا
پاڑو۔

کان گھریں چیا آجی اڑ کر اوا پار کھیاں آندھار پاڑاواھیں نے نے
چی کا پانڈاوا دیپ جیسا۔

جو کھانڈاویا، کھاؤ گھالی کا لاؤنی جیا نے کیل دوگھا ایک پی ساؤلی
وریکشو جیسا۔

ناتری اکشو دنڈو پالی تیا گوڑو گالی تیا کڑو نوھے چی جیویں۔
اری مترین تیسار جیا بھاو ایسا مان اپانی سری سا هوت جائے۔
تی ہیں رتو سمان جیسے کا گگن تیسار ایک پی مان شیتوشن جیا۔
دکشن آتر ماروتا میر جیسا پانڈوستا تیسار سکھ دکھ پراپتان مدھیسٹوزو۔
ماڈھرے چندریکا شریشی راپا رنگا تیسار جو سکلیکا بھوتاں سمو۔
اوگھیا جگا ایک سیوئیے جیئے آو دک تینسے جیا تیں تینھی لوک
آکا نکشیٹی۔

جونیندیتے نے گھے ستوتی تے نہ شلا گھے آکا شانه لگے لیو جیسا
تیسے نیندے آئی استوتی مان کروں ایکے ینگتی وچرے پراپ
ورتی جی وئی۔

دنیا نیشوری ۱۲

2. *Beginning of Muslim Influence :*

The following is a passage which is a reproduction of an inscription in the temple of Bhimeshwar, which lies south of Bombay :

- १ स्वस्ति श्री हिजरत ६९ शकु संवतु १२८९ प्लवंग संवत्सरे आधेय ++
- २ श्रीमंत प्रौढ प्रताप चक्रवर्ति माहाराजाधिराज श्री हंबिरा राजो
- ३ ठाणें कोकण राज्य क्रीति सत्ये तस्मिन् काले प्रवर्तमाने धरमादि ।
- ४ पत्र लिखितं यथा सर्व व्यापारि सिहि प्रो तं निरोपित अठागर अधि
- ५ कारिआ कुसना आहासण नाकाचा सेणबै देऊं प्रोण्डोह वेलित स

- ६ + रंध चिवावली माम पैकि तेथिला मिजिगिति सिहि प्रोकेलि तेथें मरंगी
 ७ आ लावेया लागी आठागर समंथ मुख्य नारावें आग्र पैकि कोतल वाडि
 ८ ? नारदे कवलि आ पैकि भाटालि ? उरो वाडिआ २ ससिमफल भोगास
 ९ हित श्री रायाजा प्रधातु सिहिप्रो विकति सडाउन चिचवलिये चिये मिजिगिति
 १० वर मिधा मलिया कार्तिक वाडी विक्रिता द्रामा १६० नारदे कवलिया जि
 ११ ये भाटालेये विक्रिता द्रम ४० उरै वाडिआ २ विक्रिता द्रामा सते २००
 १२ हे द्राम वरत सकोश कवलिया मुख्य करुनि समला आग्रियांस मागिउ
 १३ डिली घा अढासाल गोपाल वादनचे तले अठि आवाटातु राह नाही वाडि
 १४ आदातारें हिन करुनि जालिआ म्हणौनि समलि आग्रि यांस त्यातिवि
 १५ कलि ते गुंति कैवाह सोडवुनि सिहि प्रौला गौनि वाडिआ विकिली आहे
 १६ वाडिआ कोण्ह दातारु ठमठेलित गुंति करितर समष्टिम आग्रियांहिप्रति
 १७ (का रावें हा धरमु सिहि प्रोचा तितीवड समष्टिआग्रियांहिसमाग्रिप्रति पालावें)
 १८ झाडे आचि जमैतिस जेतुक आग्र साहि आडखे पाठे ते तुके आगरास आ प्र
 १९ झाडावें ति रोपडवा वाडि सिहिप्रो सासन विषय भोग बारिहा धरमु समग्रि प्र
 २० तिपालावाआघाटाणेपूर्वदिसें नाऊम्हातारे याचिवाडि उत्तर दिसे चोर ले बाडि पष
 २१ चिम दिसे पाठियारा वडि दसिण दिसे कोणिष्टि याचि वाडि ऐसि आघाटणें चि
 २२ आ रविवारति आहि पालक वरत अ काण्हा कवलिया पोगुवा अ रास देऊ
 २३ वेद म्हा तारि याचा धरमु देउ विउ म्हातारे आया वाडरे पैकि वा वंदे उकघाट
 २४ आ अंबेयारी सोम्हाल म्हातारा राढत नाग देऊ माई दार्युम्सदे सेठि
 २५ साउ ह्यातारा ताहदेउ का वंदे ह्यातारा सवद ह्यातारा गोरु ह्यातारा
 २६ साजकार सोमदेअ जोटा देअ वारै करु वरतअ मुपल पाठैलु नागला पाठैलु
 २७ वैडा करु हेजन १८ मुख्य करुनि समग्रि प्रति पालावें अं प्राचे साक्षिता
 २८ नागांव जमैति पैकिःप्टेंगु माहामद दाउवार आया राजिदाउवार आया

(१) سوستی شری هجرت ۶۹ سکوسموت ۱۲۸۹ پلوننگ سنوت سرے

ادھیے-

(۲) سری، مہنت پڑوڈ پر تاپ چکرورتی مہاراجادھیراج سری ہمبیرزاو

(۳) ٹھانے کو کرن راجیے کروتی سنئے، تسمن کالے پرورت مانے

دھر مادی-

(۴) پتر لیکھیت یتھاسرو یا پاری سی ہی پروتم زوپت اٹھا گرا دھی -

(۵) کاری آکسنا اھاسن نا کاجا سینوئے دیوپرن ڈھے ویلتسے

(۶) رنگھہ چیچاولی مام بیکی تیتھلا میچیگتی سی ہی پر و کیلی تیتھے

منی -

(۷) آلاوئے یا لاگی آٹھا گر سمتھ مکھئے ناراوئے اگر وپیکی کوتل واڑی

(۸) ناردے کو لی آپیکی بھاٹالی آورو واڑی یا (۲) سسیم پھل بھوگاس -
 (۹) ہیت سری ریا جیا پردھا توسہی ہی پرووکتی سڑاؤنی چچولیتے
 چی مے میجی گیتی -

(۱۰) ور میدھا ملی یا کاتک واڑی وکریتا دراما ۱۶۰ ناردے کو لی آجی
 (۱۱) یے بھاٹالیئے وکریتا ڈرم ۴۰ اوری واڑی آ ۲ وکریتا دراما ستے ۲۰۰
 (۱۲) ہے درام ورت سکوش کو لی آمکھے کرونی سملا اگری یاس
 ما کے او -

(۱۳) ڈلی گھا اڑا سال گوپال و ادنی چے تلے آٹھی آواٹا تو راھا ناہی
 واڑی -

(۱۴) آدا تارین ہیں کرونی جالی یا مہنونی سملی آگری یانس تیاتی وی -
 (۱۵) کلی تے گنتی کے واہ سوڑاؤنی سی ہی پرلاگونی واڑی یا ویکلی
 آھے -

(۱۶) واڑی یا کونہی داتارو ٹھم ٹھیلیٹ گنتی کری ترسپشٹم انگری یاہی
 پرتی -

(۱۷) (کا) راوے ہادھر موسیٰ ہی پروچاتی تی وڑسمشی انگری یاہی
 سماگری پرتی پالاویں -

(۱۸) جھاڑے آجی جھے تس جے تک آگری ساہی آڑکھے ہاٹھے
 تے تو کے آگراس آہ پر -

(۱۹) جھاڑاوے تی روپڑوا واڑی سہی ہی پر و ساسن وی شے بھوگے
 باری ہا دھر موسماگری پر -

(۲۰) تی پالاوا آگھاٹا نے بورودشے ناؤن مہاتارے یاچی باڑی اتودشے
 چورتے باڑی ہش -

(۲۱) چم دشے ہاٹھی یا لاوڑی دشے دشے کو نشی یاچی واڑی ایسی
 آکھانے چی -

(۲۲) آروی وارقی آھی بالک ورت آکناہا کو لی آپوگو و آراس دے آو
 (۲۳) ویدہ مہہ تاری یا دچاھر مودے آووی آو مہاتارے آیا واڈھے
 رے پیکی واوندے آک کھاٹ -

(۲۴) آمبے یاری سومہال مہا تارا اڈھت ناگے دیو مائی دار یوم
سدے سیٹھی -

(۲۵) سا آو مہا تارا تاہ دے آو کوندے مہا تارا سود مہا تارا گورو
مہا تارا -

(۲۶) ساج کار سومدیو جوٹا دیو ورے کرو ورت آ موہل پاٹھے
لونا گلا پاٹھے لو -

(۲۷) وے ژا کرو ہیجن ۱۸ مکھیہ کرون سمری پرتی پالویں انہ پرا چین
سا کشیتا -

(۲۸) نا گاؤجھے تی پیکی پٹیگو محمد داؤ وار آیا شعی داؤ وار آیا -

It is noteworthy that the date of the inscription is given in the very first sentence and is given under the Hijri era. The actual words are these

ہجرت ۶۹ ۶۹

It is clear that 69 A.H. could not be the right date. Either the penultimate figures have disappeared or, for the sake of brevity, only the last two figures of the year were given as is done even at the present day. A comparison with 'Salbāhin Samath' shows that the year must have been 769 Hijri. What should interest us about this brief inscription is this that several Persian words such as "جمعیت" and "سازکار" are used in the text and also certain Muslim names "محمد داور" and "محمد شہوار" and others are mentioned who probably were some military officers connected with the 'جمعیت' or Forces.

Another aspect of this inscription is that it belongs to the time of the Jadhau dynasty who were independent rulers of Devgir before it came under the Muslim control. Nevertheless, Persian words had by this time penetrated into their territory.

3. Third Stage (A):

Then comes the time of Eknath, a famous poet and reformer, of the town of Patan in the district of Aurangabad, who died in the early part of the 17th century. The following passage which is in the form of a supplication shows a decided reaction to the Arabic and Persian influence. Eknath deliberately calls the expression of his sentiments "arjdst" although it being a matter of the very deep religious attitude

of his life one might have expected him to choose some appropriate word from his own mother-tongue for title. His supplication begins in a complete Arabic and Persian phraseology. The passage runs thus:—

Original	Transliteration into Persian Script	Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form
अर्जदास्त	अर्जदास्त	عرضداشت
अर्जदास्त अर्जदार । बंदगी बंद नवाज	अर्जदास्त अर्जदार बंदगी बन्दे नवाज अलिकेसलाम	عرضداشت عرض دار बंदगी बन्दे नواز
अलेकें सलाम । साहेबांचे सेवेसी	साहेबांचे सेवे से बन्दे शेरिराकार	علیک سلام صبا نیچے سیوے سی بन्दے
बंदे शरीराकार । जीवाजी शेखदार	जिवाजी शेखेदार बंदहाजी कारकन गेगने शेरिराबाद	شیریرا کار جیواسی شقدار بدها جی کارکن پرگنه
बुधाजी कारकून । प्रगणे शरीराबाद	कले कायपुरी सरकार साहेबांचे आदना गेगिथुन	شیریرا آداب قلعه کایا پوری سرکار صبا نیچے آدنا
किल्ले कायपुरी । सरकार माहेबांची	सुवाद जालोन तोरुगे मजकुरीस अणुन सरकार काम	گهگيئون سواد جالون تور پرگنه مذکوريس ائون
आज्ञा घेऊन स्वार जालों तो प्रगणें मजकुरीं येऊन	करावयास लागलों तो, प्रगणे मजकुराचे	سرکار کام करावयास लागलों तो پرگنه مذکوريس
सरकार काम करावयास लागलों तो, प्रगणे मजकुराचे	दामाजी शेखेदार बंदहाजी कारकन गेगने शेरिराबाद	جمدار داما جی شیخے و کاما جی مها جی و منی
जमेदार दामाजी सेटचे व कामाजी महाजन व मनीराम	मकहे व मन्तानि दैश पान्दुन वक्रो देहाजी नाकवाठी	رام دیش مکہ و ممتانی دیش پانڈین و کر ودها جی
देशमुख व ममताई देशपांडि व क्रोधाजी नाईकवाडी ऐसे	अैसे हुराम जादने पहार आहित ते सरकार कामा	ناک و اڑی ائیسے حرام زاده پهار آहित ते
हरामजादे फार आहेत ते सरकार कामाचा कयास चालू	चाक्यास जालोदित नाहित दामाजी शेखेदार बंदहाजी कारकन गेगने शेरिराबाद	سرکار کاما چاقیاس جالودیت ناहित - داما جی
हरामजादे फार आहेत ते सरकार कामाचा कयास चालू	अणुन जमोन देह व नस्तु मनी राम दैश मकहे	شیخا نیچے بس ائون زعم دهر و نستو منی رام

Original	Transliteration into Persian Script	Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form
<p>आली की, हुजूर येणें. आपणास साहेबाचा आश्रय आहे. बंदगी रोशन होय। हे अर्जदास्त. एका जनार्दन बंदा।</p>	<p>होئے हे ارجداست۔</p>	<p>پنتاچی پروانگی آلی کہیں حضور ایسے آبناس صاحباجا آشرے آہے ایکاجنار دن بندہ بندگی روشن ہوئے ہے عرضداشت۔</p>

The body of the text contains words such as

عرضداشت، عرض دار، بندگی، بندہ نواز، علیک سلام، صاحب، بندہ، شقدار، کارکن، شری آباد، قلعہ کاپا پوری (اضافت)، سرکار، سوار، مذکور، زمیندار، و (حرف عطف)، حرام زادہ، قیاس، زبردست، تفرقہ، چوبدار، جز، طلب بہ تفصیل قلم، دروہست، شروع، پروانگی، حضور، بندگی روشن۔

The conclusion is this:—

بندگی روشن ہوئے ہے ارجداست (عرضداشت)

This is the form of conclusion of petitions observed in the Mahrathi language in the Deccan even up to the present day. It may be added that this is a specimen of all petitions of the time of Eknath. It was probably written about 1588 A.D.

• 4. *Third Stage (B)* :

The following letter, written in 1576 A.D. by one Raja Ankosh Rao to one of his officers, probably belongs to the same time:—

Original	Transliteration into Persian Script	Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form
(पौष शु ॥ ४ शके १४९८)	पौष शु ॥ ४ शके १४९८	पौष शु ॥ ४ शके १४९८
<p>अज रस्तखानें राजश्री अंकुशराव राजे गोसावी बजानेबू कारकुनीतपे खेड वारे विदानद मुरू सीत सवन व तिसा मया देसमुखानी तपे मजकूर ब इनामती व हकलाजिमा व बाजे इनामती व सेते सभूजी व बाब रोजी व देसकु तपे मजकूर बार मोगावटे तसरफाती वजिरानी कारकीर्दी दर कारकीर्दी पेसजी ता मलिक सकं मलिक कामन मुलूक चालिले आहे तैसे चालविणें ऐसी खुर्द खताची रजा होय. मालूम जाहाले देसमुखानी साबती व इनामती व इनामती हक लाजिमा व बाजे</p>	<p>अज रकहत केहाने राज श्री अंकुशराव बजानेबू कारकुनी तपे खेड वारे विदानद मुरू सीत सवन व तिसा मया देस मुखानी तपे मजकूर ब इनामती व हकलाजिमा व बाजे इनामती व सेते सभूजी व बाब रोजी व देसकु तपे मजकूर बार मोगावटे तसरफाती वजिरानी कारकीर्दी दर कारकीर्दी पेसजी ता मलिक सकं मलिक कामन मुलूक चालिले आहे तैसे चालविणें ऐसी खुर्द खताची रजा होय. मालूम जाहाले देसमुखानी साबती व इनामती व इनामती हक लाजिमा व बाजे</p>	<p>ازخات خانه لاج شری انکوش راؤ راجه گوساوی بجانب کارکنان تپ کهڑبارے بداندشروسته سبعین و تسع مایه دیس مکھان تیے مذکور و انامتی و حق لازم و بعض انامتی و سیتے سنہو جی و بابرو جی و دیس کوتپ مذکور بار بھوگوئے تصرفاتی و زبانی کار کردی درکار کر دی پیش جی تا ملک سرک ملک کامن ملک چالیس آھے۔ تیے چالو نیے ایسی خرد خطا جی رضا ہوئے معلوم چاہالے دیس مکھان جی اصابتی و انامتی و حق لازم و بعض انامتی و سیت</p>

5. Fourth Stage:

Here is a very interesting historical document of the 17th century of the Christian era:—

Original

इ. स. १६१८ चा एक लेख.

अज दीवानें रस्तखानें खास बेजानबू कारकुनानी व

देस मुखानी पा ॥ पुणें व मुकसाई यानी व हुदेदानी

अजहती मुकासाई हाल व इस्तकबाल व मोकदमानी

मोजे देउलगो नजदीक आलेगो कर्यति पाटस पा ॥

मजकूर बिदानद सु ॥ सन तिसा असर अलफ दामोदर

भट बिन नारायन भट व रामेस्वरभट बिन नारायन

भट साकिन आखी मुद्रल बंदगीहजती मालूम केलें जे,

आपणीयासी इनाम जमीन सेत खुद खास्त दोरी

खादरसवाद मोजे देउलगो नजदीक आलेगो कर्यति

Transliteration into Persian Script
Column 2 reproduced showing
therein the Persian words used
in their correct form

عیسوی سنہ ۱۶۱۸ چا ایک ایکہ

از دیوان رخت خاٹہ خاص بجانب کارکنان و

دیس مکھان پرگٹہ پونے و مکھاسانیانی و

عہدہ داران از ہتی مکھاسانی حال و استقبال

و مقدمات موضع دیول گونزدیک آگہ

قریبات پائس پرگٹہ مذکور بدانند شروع

سنہ تسع عشر الف - دامودھر بہٹ بن ناراین

بہٹ و رامیشور بہٹ بن ناراین بہٹ ساکن

آکھی مدگل بندگی حضری معلوم کیلئے جسے

آپنی یاسی انعام زمین سیت خود خواست

دوری سواد در سواد موضع دیول گونزدیک

عیسوی سنہ ۱۶۱۸ چا ایک ایکہ

اج دیوانے دکت کھانے کھاس بجانو

کارکنانی و دیس مکھانی پرگٹے پونے و مکھاسانی

یانی و ہدے دارانی اج ہتی مکھاسانی حال

و استقبال و موکدمانی موضع دیول گونجدیک

آگہ کر یا پائس پرگٹے مجکور بدانند - سرو

سنہ تسع عشر الف - دامو دھر بہٹ بن ناراین

بہٹ و رامیشور بہٹ بن ناراین بہٹ ساکن

آکھی مدگل بندگی ہجرتی مالوم کیلئے جسے

آپنی یاسی انعام زمین سیت خود خواست

دوری سواد در سواد موضع دیول گونجدیک آگہ کر یا پائس

Transliteration into Persian Script

Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form

Original

पाटस पररणे मजकूर बा ॥ हुज्जती हैबतखान सलास
 अलफ आहे. येणें प्रमाणें फर्मान करून देणें म्हणून रोखा
 ममलकत मदारी मलकंबर एकंदर इनामदारांनी तिसा
 असर अलफ छ २० माहे सौवालु आहे फर्मान मन्हामती
 होय मालुम जालें-बा ई आ ॥ ती दिवाण खासा बराय
 ई रके ७ देवविले दामोघरभट बिन नारायणभट व
 रामेश्वरभट बिन नारायणभट साकिन आरबी मुद्दल.
 यासी इनाम जमीन सेत खुद खासा दोरी सवावर सवाद
 मीजे देडलगी न ॥ आलंगी कर्मती पाटस प ॥ मजकूर
 बा ॥ हुज्जती हैबतीहबतखान सलास अलफ दिले आहे-
 तेणें प्रमाणें करार केले असे त ॥ सवा असर अलफ

अले-गो- قریات پائس پرگنہ مذکور بابت حجتی پائس پرگنے محکوم بابت حجتی ہیبت کھان
 ہیبت خان ثلاث الف آھے۔ اینے پرمانے سلاسل الیہ آھے اینے پرمانے پھرمان کوون
 فرمان کوون دینے مہنوں رقعہ مملکت مدار دینے مہنوں روکھا مملکت مداری ملک ابن
 ملک عنبر ایکندر انعام داران تسع عشرہ الف ایکندر انام دارانی تسلاسر الیہ چہ بیس
 چہ بیس ماہ شوال آھے۔ فرمان مرحتی ہوئے ماسھے سوالو آھے۔ پھرمان من ہامتی ہوئے
 معلوم جالین بابت اشارہ آھے۔ تی دیوان مالوم جالین بابتہ اشارہ آھے۔ تی دیوان
 خاص برائے این رقعہ (۷) دیو ویلے دامودھر کھاسا برائے ای رکه (۷) دیو ویلے دامودھر
 ہٹ بن ناراین ہٹ و رامیشور ہٹ بن ہٹ بن ناراین ہٹ ساکن آروبی مدگل یا نسعی انام
 ناراین ہٹ ساکن آروبی مدگل یا نسعی انعام ناراین ہٹ بن سیت کھد کھاسا دوری سواد
 زمین سیت خود خالصہ دوری سواد حجتی سیت کھد کھاسا دوری سواد
 سواد موضع دیول گو نزدیک آله گو قریات موجی دیول گو نزدیک آله گو کربانی پائس
 پائس پرگنہ مذکور بابت حجتی ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت ہیبت
 خان ثلاث الف دہلیے آھے تینے پرمانے الیہ دہلیے آھے۔ تینے پرمانے کرار کیلے
 قرا کیلے اسے تا۔ سوا عشرہ الف جیسا اسے تا۔ سوا اسرا الیہ جیسا ہوگو ٹاؤنسر ہاتی

6. Fifth Stage (A) :

We reproduce another letter which Dinayat Rao, the Revenue Minister of Sultan Ali Adil Shah, wrote to Nilo Sundev Musamdar, the Revenue Officer of Shivaji.

Original	Transliteration into Persian Script	Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form
<p>श्री. १६५६ ई. स.</p> <p>अखंडीत लक्ष्मीप्रसन्न परोपकार मूर्ती राजमान्य राज</p> <p>श्री निलोपंत गोसावी यास ॥ छ सेवकें दियातराऊ</p> <p>नमस्कार विनंति उपरि-मौजे उझाढे किल्ले बदन</p> <p>माहताजी गांव चालत असतां सांप्रत नूर खानास खा</p> <p>जाहला होता-यावरी हुजूर मालूम होऊन माहालीचे</p> <p>देहे माहालास मोकरर केले असे तरी मौजे मा ॥</p> <p>किल्लेचे किल्लेस दुंबला केले पाहिजे-पहिलें नूरखानाचे</p> <p>विषयीं लिहिलें होतें. यावरी न च जा तो किल्ले मज-</p> <p>कूरास दुंबला करणें पुढें नूरखानांचे विषयीं लिहिलेया</p>	<p>श्री. १६५६ ई. स.</p> <p>अकहंट लक्ष्मी प्रसन्न परोपकार मूर्ती राज</p> <p>मानिये राज श्री निलोपंत गोसावी यास ४६</p> <p>सीयुकिन दियानत राऊ नमस्कार वन्ति ओपरी मोजे</p> <p>अजहार डरे. के बन्दत माहताजी गाव जालत</p> <p>स्तान सान्भरत नूर कहानास कहा जहाला होता</p> <p>यावरी हजूर मालूम होऊं माहाली चसे दिसे</p> <p>माहालास मकर रकिये से त्री मोजे मजकूर</p> <p>कलिस चसे कलिस दन्नाला किये पाहिजे पहिली नूर</p> <p>कहाना चसे वश्तिन लहिया होतिये यावरी न च जाना</p> <p>कलिस दन्नाला किये पाहिजे पहिली नूरखाना चसे</p> <p>वश्तिन लहिया तियास दन्नाला न करे माहताजी</p> <p>ओगा वश्तिन वनाजी गोनरी बन्त साङ्गकिल तिया</p>	<p>श्री. १६५६ ई. स.</p> <p>अकहंट लक्ष्मी प्रसन्न परोपकार मूर्ती राज</p> <p>मानिये राज श्री निलोपंत गोसावी यास ४६</p> <p>सीयुकिन दियानत राऊ नमस्कार वन्ति ओपरी मोजे</p> <p>अजहार डरे. के बन्दत माहताजी गाव जालत</p> <p>स्तान सान्भरत नूर कहानास कहा जहाला होता</p> <p>यावरी हजूर मालूम होऊं माहाली चसे दिसे</p> <p>माहालास मकर रकिये से त्री मोजे मजकूर</p> <p>कलिस चसे कलिस दन्नाला किये पाहिजे पहिली नूर</p> <p>कहाना चसे वश्तिन लहिया होतिये यावरी न च जाना</p> <p>कलिस दन्नाला किये पाहिजे पहिली नूरखाना चसे</p> <p>वश्तिन लहिया तियास दन्नाला न करे माहताजी</p> <p>ओगा वश्तिन वनाजी गोनरी बन्त साङ्गकिल तिया</p>

त्यास दुबाला न करणें माहताजी गावा विशयीं विनाजी	वशिन हलिया त्वास दनालाने करे माहताजी गावा	सारक्यां पारबिसे दखिल क्वास पाहिजे (फले)
कोन्हेरीपंत सांगतील त्या सारखें पारपत्य देखील केले	वशिन वनाजी कोन्हेरीपंत सांगतील त्वास सारक्यां	बदन आये वतन अस्थल आहे त्याचे
पाहिजे. किल्ले बंदन आमचें वतनस्थल आहे-त्याचें	पारबिसे दिकील क्वास पाहिजे करे बंदन आये	कराबास अत्रुठोने दिसे हेत हलिये ने लगे
मदत करावयास अंतर पडो न देणें बहुत लिहिणें	वतन अस्थल आहे त्याचे मदत करावयास अत्र	मरतब शद.
नलगे (मोतब सूद)	पुठोने दिसे हेत हलिये ने लगे-मरतब शद.	

It is evident from this letter that a change has now taken place in the Mahrathi style of writing. Hitherto Persian words and expressions were being freely used in the Mahrathi language in their original form. But from this letter it is clear that their use was now on the wane. Still, this is to be observed: that the Persian idioms and expressions had begun to be freely employed in translated form; and that although the language is Mahrathi, the style is clearly Persian. For instance:—

अखंडित लक्ष्मी प्रसन्न This is a literal translation of دام دولته

परोपकार मूर्ती This is a translation of احسان محمد

सेवक This is a translation of بندہ

मौजे उझाडें, किल्लेबंदन bear Persian grammatical construction.

मालूम होऊन, मोकरर केले This is a literal rendering of the Persian terms معلوم شد, مقرر شد.

The letter ends with the following expression:—

बहुत लिहिणे नलगे which is a translation of زیادہ چہ نویسم which even up to the present day is used at the end of Mahrathi correspondence.

Original	Transliteration into Persian Script	Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form.
<p>श्री २६ जूले १६७७ खस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शक ४ विंगल संवत्सरे श्रावण शु ॥ ७ सप्तमी गुरुवारे क्षत्रिय कुलावतंस श्रीराजा शिवछत्रपति यांसी यशवंतराऊ शाहाजी कदम नामजादकोट बालगुडानूर यासी आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे:—</p> <p>कोट मजकूरी हसमें नामजाद आहे व एक जिन्नस ही शिल्लक थोडा बहुत आहे. एसियासी त्याच्या लिहिणि-यासी लिहिणार पाहिजे म्हणून त्यावरी तिमाजी नारा-यण यासी जमा कऱ्ण पाठविले आहे, तैनात दरमाहे होन प्रार ३ तीन रास केले असेत, इ ॥ प्रोग पासून</p>	<p>शरी २६ جولائی سنه ۱۶۷۷ سواست شری راجیا بهشیک شکم پنگل سنوتسرے شراون شده ۷ سبتمی گروارے اکسترے کلاو تنوسن شری راجاشیو چھترتی یالی شونٹوشا جی قدم نام زرد کوٹ وال گڈانور یاسی آدنیا کیلی ایسی جسے کوٹ مذکور ٹیس حشمے نام زرد آھے وایک جنس هی سلك تھوڑا بہوت هے ایسی یاسی تیا چالھنی یانسی لھنار پاھيجے مھنوں تیاوری تاجی نار ابن یاسی جمع کروں یالھو پائھو آھے۔ تعینات درما هے ہون برمانے ۳ راس کیلے اسیت۔ ایادی برمانے پاسون</p>	<p>شری ۲۶ جولائی سنه ۱۶۷۷ سواست شری راجیا بهشیک شکم پنگل سنوتسرے شراون شده ۷ سبتمی گروارے اکسترے کلاو تنوسن شری راجاشیو چھترتی یالی شونٹوشا جی قدم نام زرد کوٹ وال گڈانور یاسی آدنیا کیلی ایسی جسے کوٹ مذکور ٹیس حشمے نام زرد آھے وایک جنس هی سلك تھوڑا بہوت هے ایسی یاسی تیا چالھنی یانسی لھنار پاھيجے مھنوں تیاوری تاجی نار ابن یاسی جمع کروں یالھو پائھو آھے۔ تعینات درما هے ہون برمانے ۳ راس کیلے اسیت۔ ایادی برمانے پاسون</p>

ब्रजावाटः। उसेसी प्रो वजा करून बाकी बेरीज माहे दर माहे आदा करीत जाणें, आणि त्याचें होतें कूट मजकूरी लिहिण्याचें काम वेत जाणें-आणि कागद बाब लिहिण्याचें काम वेत जाणें-मजुरा असे-लेखन सिमा. जाने कागद बाब लिहिणामा फुडें जाणें-मजुरा असे-लेखन सिमा. लिखणामा फुडें जाणें-मजुरा असे-लेखन सिमा. लिखणामा फुडें जाणें-मजुरा असे-लेखन सिमा.

{ श्री शिव चरणीं तत्पर
त्र्यंबक सुत मोरेश्वर }

मयदिय

शरी शिवो चरणी तत्पर

विराजते

त्रिंबक सुत मुरेश्वर

मर्यादांनीं वराजते

शरी शिवो चरणी तत्पर

त्रिंबक सुत मुरेश्वर

मर्यादांनीं वराजते

असे-लिखणामा.

This letter of Shivaji was issued on the 22nd July 1677 A.D. to Sardar Ishwanath Rao Shahji Kadam. It is a letter which needs particular consideration. We have already mentioned that Shivaji had issued an order that Persian and Arabic words should not be used in official writings; and a dictionary of the Marathi language compiled in his time was intended to eschew the Arabic and Persian terms and substitute in their place Sanskrit ones. The letter under reference was written about two years before his death. Still it should be noted that in spite of his precaution and eversion the following terms from the Persian and Arabic languages occur; brief as the letter is

- (१) مذکور (२) چشم (३) نامزد (४) جنس (५) سلك (६) جمع (७) تعبنا ت (८) درما (९) راس (१०) وضع
(११) باقي (१२) ماه درما (१३) ادا (کردن) (१४) کاغذ (१५) باب (१६) موافق (१७) مجرا—

This apart, a noteworthy feature of this letter is that the style adopted is exactly a copy of the Persian and that literal translation of the Persian idioms and phraseology is markedly noticeable. For an instance the very mode of address is as follows:—

स्वस्ति श्री राज्या भिषेक शक ४ पिंगल संवत्सरे श्रावण शुद्ध ७ सप्तमी गुरुवारे क्षत्रिय कुलावतंस श्री राजा शिव छत्रपती यांसी यशवंतराज शाहजी कदम नामजाद कोटवाल गुडानूर यासी आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे:—

”سن جلوس ۴ - ساون تاريخ ۷ - روز پنجشنبه نحر خاندان چهارباں شری راجه شیو چهارپتی (شهنشاه) ایشونت راؤ شاه جی کدم نام زد قلعه وال گذانور حکم فرمود کہ۔“

At the close of the letter even the seal is Persian in form.

8. Fifth Stage (B) :

The following is a reproduction of a letter from Govind Rao Kale, the agent of the Peshwa at the Durbar of Hyderabad, dated 17th July, 1795 submitted to Nan Farnavis.

Original	Transliteration into Persian Script	Column 2 reproduced showing therein the Persian words used in their correct form
<p>श्री १७ जूलै १७९५ ई. स. विनंति विज्ञापना मूसा रेमू आपले जमयत व तोप- खान्या सुद्धा संगारडी पेठेस गेले. संगारडी भागानग- राहून १८ कोस आहे. त्यास मूसा मजकूर यांनी पेठेस मोर्चे लावून तोफाची मारगिरी करून पेठ घेतली.</p>	<p>श्री جوائی سنه ۱۷۹۵ و نتي ودنا پنا مسارموا پلي جمعيت و توپ کها نيا سدها سنگارڈی پيڻيس گيلے سنگارڈی پنا گانگر اهورا اهر اوس آھے تيا س مسامحکور پانی پيڻيس مورچے لاؤن توپ پي مارگری کرون پيڻه گهيتلی - هڪڙيل</p>	<p>ش्री ۱۷ جوائی سنه ۱۷۹۵ و نتي ودنا پنا مسارموا پلي جمعيت و توپ خاندها سنگارڈی پيڻيس گيلے - سنگارڈی پنا گانگر اهورا اهر اوس آھے موسامندکور پانی پيڻيس مورچے لاؤن توپ پي مارگری کرون پيڻه گهيتلی - هڪڙيل پناهه ضائع</p>

जहासे- पिथैत वस्ती नहोती- प्यादे मार
होते ते त्गेकन गिले- सानिपत मागाहण
अएम सहाब व गेहासी म्यानानस- जमेत
सदेहा न रवाना केली- तयास आगेसे म्त्रुन
सदेहा पाने शे सवार अहेत- तयास पाने सत
दुस- द्रगाह जोरु गेहाक न्गराहोते तिन को सार
मकाम होता- रात नदुस जोकी हेर हेशियारी
नहोते प्रसुत द्रगाह वरुन को ज कुरुन
पदेहिस न्गरादी पिथैसे जे सार गेहासे-
कोने हे प्रका रे मो सार यास जाऊन
म्त्रावरे- नाहेस रे सदी अबदुल्लाखान न्गराह-
लोक गारत होऊन राहिले ते प्रागन्धे जहा-
र जमी आदी अत- सानिपत वरतमान
केस पदर चारुले केतना न्तर सदाशिव रूदी आले
जमेत सदेहा लाक गेहाक पाहोने न्गान्त
आहे- जहा २१ डालिज हे वदना पना

लोक पार जा जहासे- पिथैत वस्ती नहोती
प्यादे मार होते ते त्गेकन गिले- सानिपत
मागाहण अजम सहाब व गेहासी म्यानानस
जमेत सदेहा रवाना केली- तयास आगेसे
म्त्रुन सदेहा पाने शे सवार अहेत- तयास
पाने सत दुस- द्रगाह जोरु गेहाक न्गराहोते
दुस को सार मकाम होता रात नदुस जोकी
पार हेशियारी नहोते प्रसुत द्रगाह
वरुन को ज कुरुन हे सनगरादी पिथैसे जे
समार गेहासे कोने हे प्रका रे मो सार
यास जाऊन मलाविस (मलाविस) नाहेस रशदी
अबदुल्लाखान न्गराह- लोक गारत होऊन
राहिले ते प्रागन्धे जहा- जकेमी आदी
अत- सानिपत वरतमान केस पदर
चारुले केतना न्तर सदाशिव रूदी आले
जमेत सदेहा लाक गेहाक पाहोने गान्त
आहे- जहा २१ डालिज हे वदना पना

हिकडील लोक फार जाया झाले. पेटेंत इस्ती नव्हती
यादे मात्र होते ते निघून गेले. सांप्रत मागाहून अजम
साहेब व घासिमिया यांस जमियत सुद्धां रवाना केलें
त्यास अबवे मिळून सध्यां पांचवो स्वार आहेत. त्यास
गोंच सात दिवस दरगाजवळ भागानगराहून दोन कोसा-
वर मुक्काम होता. रात्र दिवस चौकी पहारा हुशारीनें
इते. प्रस्तुत दरगाहावरून कुच करून पुढें संगारडी
भेठेचे सुमारें गेले कोणे ही प्रकारे मूसारेमू यास जाऊन
'मळावें'. नाहीं तर शिंदी अबदुल्लाखान ठार झाले.
लोक गारत होऊन राहिले. ते परागदा झाले जखमी
अद्यापि येथें येतात. सांप्रत वर्तमान कीं बेदरचा किल्ला
चेतल्यानंतर सदाशिव रूदी आपले जमियत सुद्धां लाग
भाग पाहून गायब आहे. ण २९ जिल्हेज हे विज्ञापना

It must be noted here that the year is given in Arabic numerals and even the months of the Arabic Calendar. Till the year 1848 the Arabic notation and the Hijri months and years continued to be employed in all Mahrathi correspondence and the Firmans of the Peshwas. From this letter it also appears that although during the eighteenth century Arabic and Persian words and terms were used in the Mahrathi official writings very freely, their use gradually decreased as time went on. It should be observed that in this letter, the number of Persian and Arabic words used is 28 as against 84 of the Mahrathi; a proportion which is more or less maintained in the Mahrathi language ever since.

We may here give, for the sake of illustration, a number of words which in their original form and meaning are freely employed in speech and writing by all classes of Mahrathi society at the present day.

अजब	عجب	इनसाफ	انصاف	गुन्हेगार	گنه گار
अजमत	عظمت	इरसाल	ارسال	गुन्हा	گناه
अत्तार	عطار	इरादा	اراده	गैरहाजीर	غیر حاضر
अदब	ادب	इनायत	عنایت	चर्म	چرم
अदा	ادا	इल्लत	علت	चाकर	چاکر
अंदाजा	اندازه	कारकून	کارکن	चेहरा	چهره
अदालत	عدالت	कारखाना	کارخانه	जकात	زکوٰۃ
अदावत	عداوت	काबील	قابل	जबरदस्त	زبردست
अदेशा	اندیشه	काबू	قابو	जबानी	زبانی
अफवा	افواه	कौलकरार	قول قرار	जमाखर्च	جمع و خرچ
अबाद	آباد	कौलनामा	قول نامه	जरूर	ضرور
अवल आखर	اول آخر	खामी	خامی	जवाहीर	جواهر
अवलाद	اولاد	गनीम	غنیم	जहर	زهر
इजा	ایذا	गफलत	غفلت	जात	ذا
इजारा	احاره	गरज	غرض	तारकशी	تار کشی

तारकस	तारकश	नामदं	नामर्द	बाबत	बाबत
तालीम	तेल्लिम	नाफरमानी	नाफरमानी	मांदगी	मानंदगी
तालीमखाना	तेल्लिमखाने	नामदार	नामदार	मेजबानी	मेजबानी
दगाबाज	दगाबाज	निशाण	निशाण	रोज	रोज
दगा	दगा	निशाणदार	निशाणदार	रेशीम	रेशीम
दिवाण	दिवान	पायमाली	पायमाली	रोजीना	रोजीना
दिवाणखाना	दिवानखाने	पायबंद	पायबंद	वकील	वकील
दिलगीर	दिलगीर	पासंग	पासंग	वक्त	वक्त
दिलदार	दिलदार	पेशा	पेशा	शाहदी	शाहदी
नकशा	नकशा	पेशकबज	पेशकबज	शरम	शरम
नकद	नकद	पेस्तर	पेस्तर	शिकार	शिकार
नजराणा	नजराणा	पोशाक	पोशाक	शिकारखाना	शिकारखाना
नजर	नजर	फितुर	फितुर	शिवाय	शिवाय
नजर अंदाज	नजर अंदाज	बखशी	बखशी	सरंजाम	सरंजाम
नरम	नरम	बखशीस	बखशीस	सरफराजी	सरफराजी
नमूद	नमूद	बदमस्ती	बदमस्ती	साजिदा	साजिदा
नाइलाज	नाइलाज	बाग	बाग	सामील	सामील
नाईब	नाईब	बांग	बांग	साफ	साफ

सुस्त सस्त

I now proceed to suggest that the influence of the Persian language was not confined to the incorporation of mere terms, nouns and adjectives, into the Mahrathi language but extended to its grammar also, from which it will be apparent that it has powerfully reacted on the very basic structure of the language.

1. In all Indo-Aryan languages the adjective precedes the noun. The same is the case in the Mahrathi language

but at times this general rule is relaxed in favour of the Persian form. This is noticeable particularly in official documents.

اسم مذکور	اسم محکور	اسم مذکور
پنڈت مشار الیہ	پنڈت مشار نلے	پنڈت مشار الیہ
راوا اعظم	راواجم	راوا اعظم
سال گزشتہ	سال گدست	سال گزشتہ
آنگرے وزارت مآب	آنگرے و جارت مآب	آنگرے وزارت مآب
گائیکوآڑ شمشیر بہادر	گائیکوآڑ شمشیر بہادر	گائیکوآڑ شمشیر بہادر
کپنی بہادر	کپنی بہادر	کپنی بہادر
وڑ گاؤں بزرگ	وڑ گاؤں بدرک	وڑ گاؤں بزرگ
وطن در و بست	وطن در و بست	وطن در و بست
ایشٹر پھا کڑا	ایشٹر پھا کڑا	ایشٹر پھا کڑا
پنڈت پنت پردھان	پنڈت پنت پردھان	پنڈت پنت پردھان
واڑ گاؤں خورد	واڑ گاؤں کھرد	واڑ گاؤں خورد

When any sign of relationship between the adjective and the noun is indicated, it is done in pursuance of the practice in Persian; it is shown after the adjective and not after the noun.

سکندر ثانی لا (علامت مفعول بمعنی را)	شیکندر سانیلا
راؤ بہادر انا (نا علامت مفعول بمعنی را)	راؤ بہادر انا
پنڈت مشار نلہیس (بہیس علامت مفعول بمعنی را)	پنڈت مشار نلہیس

2. There is no sign of a possessive case in any Indo-Aryan languages but owing to the Persian influence it is used in the case of certain words. This is very largely confined to official writings. For instance

علاقہ بمبئی	ہلالہ راے کڑا
ضلع تلابہ	بندر داہول
صوبہ گلبرکہ	شہر پونہ

Even here the subjective and the objective cases are indicated by a sign coming after the last word. For instance

بندر داہولاس	بندر داہولاس
علاقہ راے کڑاس	علاقہ راے کڑاس

3. The sign for the objective case is ला 'la' as in गणपतला. This is in fact the Persian را (ra). The letters ر and ل are interchanged practically in most languages. It is not improbable therefore that the Persian را (ra) became ला (la) in the Mahrathi language. A strong proof of this is that this word does not find any place in the old Mahrathi. It was very largely used in the districts of Poona, Satara, Ahmadnagar and Sholapur some seventy years ago; but was not so much current in the Konkan area where the Muslim rule or the influence of Muslim languages and social life was comparatively less exercised. It is rather striking that the Persian sign of the objective case should have forced itself into the Mahrathi language in this way, although there exist in it other signs of equal significance.

4. Certain prepositions of the Persian language are very freely used in Mahrathi, and scholars and writers of standing feel at ease with them as much as with the prepositions of their own tongue. For instance

The word दर (dar) carries the same maning as the Persian هر (har).

“देखील” (دیکھیل) comes from the Persian ‘دخیل’. This word is used as a preposition in Mahrathi and means “also.”

“ते” (تے) comes from the Persian ‘تا’.

“बादज” (بادج) is the Persian ‘بعداز’.

At times certain Persian prepositions come after the noun in the Mahrathi language such as:—

बदल	بدل	بدل
ऐवजी	ایوچی	عوضی (عوض)
बराबर, बरोबर	برابر, بروبر	برابر -
शिवाय	شیواے	سواے
नजदीक, नजीक	نجدیک, بنجیک	نزدیک
माफक	ماہک	موافق
बरहुकूम	برہوکوم	برحکم
बाबत	بابت	مادہ -

The preposition “तहत” (تحت) meaning تَك or ‘to’ is very often used for emphasis, as in:

पार्लमेंट पासून तहत कलेक्टर पर्यंत

5. Several Persian conjunctions have also been used in old Mahrathi language. A few of them were used even in the old Mahrathi but are now no longer generally used, such as:—

व (و), मगर (مگر), अगर (اگر), बल्के (بلکه), या (یا),
की (کے), बाकी (باقی), चुनाचे (چुनाچه), सबब (سبب),
लेकीन (لیکن).

6. The Persian interjections also have been freely used in the Mahrathi language the intonation of some of which has been slightly modified such as:

बस (بس), हां (هان), अलबत (البت = البتہ), बेशक (بیشک),
बेलाशक (بلاشک), खूब, खूप (خوب), वा (واه), वाहवा (واه واه),
अफसोस (افسوس), शाबास (شاد باش = شاباش), हाय (های),
हायहाय (هایهای), खबरदार (خبردار).

But these words are nowadays very largely out of use.

7. Many adverbs from the Persian language are used in their original form. In certain cases a slight modification in intonation is noticeable, as for example:

हमेशा, हरहमेश (همیشه = همیش, बिल्कूल (بالکل),
वारंवार (बार बार = وارم وار), एकवार (ایک وار), बेहतर (بہتر),
छान (شان = چھान), जलद (جلد), मुष्कील (مشکل), अलाहिदा (الحدہ),
वगैरे (و غیرہ = वकिरे), पेष्टर (بیشتر), वापस (واپس), तमाम (تمام),
गुदस्ता (گزشتہ = कदस्ते), कुल (کل), यंदा (یئدہ = آئیندہ),
एकटा (ایکٹا = यिक्ता), दुफटा (दुक्ता = दुता), अव्वल (اول), दुय्यम (دویم),
सिय्यम (سویم = सिम), देखील (دخیल = दिकेहिल), हमेशा, हरहमेश (همیش, हरहमेश) meaning ‘हमेशे’ (हर) is employed just for the sake of emphasis.

“वारंवार” (वारम वार) are derived from the Persian ‘बार’ (barr) and “बार बार” is equivalent to the Persian ‘बार बार’.

“छान” (جهان) is from the Arabic ‘شان’ (Shan)

“यंदा” (ينده) means in the Mahrathi “this year.” Probably this word is a distortion of the Persian word ‘آينده’ (Ainda) which indicates the future and not the present.

“गुदस्ता” (گذسته) corresponds to the Persian ‘گرفته’.

“एकटा” (ايک ٹا) corresponds to the Persian ‘يکتا’ In both the languages the words mean single. “दुक्टा” (دکٹا) corresponds to the Persian ‘دوتا’ meaning ‘another.’

“देखील” (ديکھيل) comes from the Arabic ‘دخيل’ it means in Mahrathi “also.”

8. Certain particles from Persian are used in the Mahrathi language such as:

खुद	कह	خود	हर	हर	هر
फलाना	پهلانا	فلانا - فلان	हरएक	हरایک	هریک

9. Just as the suffix (ی) gives the adjectival value to a noun in Persian, so also the same “ई” supplies the same force in Mahrathi. This practice has been adopted from the Persian. Examples:—

तोंडी	तुण्डी	زبانی
डोंगरी	डुंगरी	कोही
दगडी	दक़्डी	सन्की

10. It is a practice in the Persian Grammar to form abstract nouns by adding (ی) at the end of nouns and adjectives. This is also being done in the Mahrathi language. Examples:

वैदिकी (वैदिकी), मास्तरी (मास्तरी), मांत्रीकी (मांत्रीकी), दोस्ती (दोस्ती),
बहादरी (बहादरी), मेत्री (मेत्री), साक्षी (साक्षी), भाई बंदी (भाई बंदी),
कारागरी (कारागरी).

11. Sometimes abstract nouns in Mahrathi are formed by adding the word (की) or (गी) at the end of a common noun. In Persian, however, this practice is observed

only in the case of nouns or adjectives which end in the letter 'ه' (ha) such as

فشارکی (دین کی), شاہاسکی (ساہاس کی), دہنگی (دین کی),
 پاٹیلکی (پاٹیل کی), ماہارکی (ماہار کی), بیداگی (بیدا کی), ماسٹرکی (ماسٹر کی),
 پوٹگی (پوٹ کی), منیمکی (منیم کی), پاوکی (پاو کی).

12. On certain occasions Persian signs such as 'دار' (dâr), باز (bâz), خور (khôr), گار (gâr), گری (garî), جی (jî or chî), خانہ (khânah), وار (vâr) serve the purpose of suffixes in the Mahrathi language as much as in the Persian. The signs are all Persian.

Examples:

دار (دار): دلدار (دلدار), تجیلدار (تجیلدار), ऐटदार (ऐटदार),
 दूमदार (दूमदार), पीलदार (पीलदार).

बाज (बाज = बाज): चैनबाज (चैन बाज), कावेबाज (कावे बाज), कायदेबाज
 (कावे बाज), कल्लेबाज (कल्ले बाज), कालेबाज (काले बाज).

खोर (खोर = खोर): शकेंखोर (शकेंखोर), उधळखोर (उधळखोर),
 जिकीरखोर (जिकीर खोर), जहाऊ खोर (जहाऊ खोर), भांडखोर (भांडखोर).

गार (गार): कर्तबगार (कर्तबगार), कामगार (कामगार), मसलतगार
 (मसलतगार), पोळगार (पोळगार), माहितगार (माहितगार).

गिरी (गिरी): कामगिरी (कामगिरी), नटवेगिरी (नटवेगिरी), फसवेगिरी
 (फसवेगिरी), मारगिरी (मारगिरी), गुलामगिरी (गुलामगिरी).

जी, ची (जी, जी): घळघळजी (घळघळजी).

दान, दानी (दान, दानी): दीपदान (दीपदान), मच्छरदान (मच्छरदान),
 पानदान (पानदान), चहादानी (चहादानी).

खाना (खाना = खाना): भूतखाना (भूतखाना), मुतपाकखाना (मुतपाकखाना),
 (रतखाना), हत्तीखाना (हत्तीखाना), (पाकखाना).

वार (वार): महिनेवार (महिनेवार), धंदेवार (धंदेवार), ठाणेवार
 (ठाणेवार), माणूसवार (माणूसवार).

13. For the sake of emphasis, the vowel (ا) is introduced in Persian between two words of the same spelling and intonation. This method is followed in Mahrathi also. Examples:

हाकाहाक (هاكاهاك = हाकाहानك)
 तूटातूट (तुठातुठ = तुठातुठ) ठोकाठोक (ठुठाठुठ)
 बाचाबाच (बाचाबाच) मारामार (मारामार)

Such compound words which are joined together by the vowel (الف) consist generally of two or three letters.

14. There are several compound words in the Mahrathi language which are composed of two words with the vowel (و) between, as in the Persian language.

रानोमाल (रानو مال), रातोरत (रात و रात), मधोमध (मधो मध), तीर्थोतीर्थी (तीर्थो तीर्थी), तंतोतंत (तंतो तंत), तंतोतंत (तंतो तंत).

15. Certain Persian prefixes are used in Mahrathi to form negatives as in Persian. Examples:

बे (بے), बेताल (बे ताल), बेडोल (बे डोल), बेढव (बे डहब), बेडर (बे डर), बेचव (बे चो), बेसमज (बे समज), बेधडक (बे डहक), बेदरकार (बे डरकार).

ना (ना), नापत (नापत), नापीक (नापीक), नाकतें (नाकर ते), नासमजूत (नासमजूत), नासमज (नासमज).

गैर (गैर), गैरसोय (गैर सोय), गैरसमजूत (गैर समजूत), गैरचाल (गैर चाल), गैररीत (गैर रीत), गैरमनुष्य (गैर मनुष्य), गैरसमज (गैर समज).

It must be added here that such compound words from the Persian are freely used with certain modifications, here and there, in their intonation and meaning, e.g.:

कमकुवत (कम कुवत), कमअक्कल (कम अक्कल), बेलाशक (बेलाशक), बेअकल (बेअकल), कंबक्ती (कंबक्ती), नालायक (नालायक), बेमान (बेमान), गैरवाजवी (गैर वाजवी), गैरवाजवी (गैर वाजवी).

16. There are several expressions in Mahrathi which show that Persian words have been used with Sanskrit suffix. Such as:

नशीबवान (नशीबवान), अक्कलवान (अक्कलवान), दौलतवान (दौलतवान), किमतवान (किमतवान), गरजवंत (गरजवंत), अक्कलवंत (अक्कलवंत).

The last expression “ अवकलवंत ” (عقل و انت) may seem to have been bodily taken from Persian, in which it means a wise man. In reality it is not so. वंत ” (و انت) is not the Persian “ مند ” meaning “ one possessing ” but “ वंत ” which is from Sanskrit “ मन्दा ” meaning “ one not possessing.” It is in this sense that it is used in place of the Persian word ‘ مند ’ thus conforming to the practice referred to under this section.

17. In a like manner the Mahrathi signs “ शेर ” and “ बाईक ” come after Persian and Arabic words. As in :

त-हेबाईक (عجیب و غریب = طرح و انک), मजेशीर (मजेदार = مزے شیر),
हवाशीर (बाقاعد = قاعد = شیر), कायदेशीर (होदार = هوادار = شیر).

18. Similarly the Mahrathi sign “ पना ” (پناه) is affixed at the end of Persian words in order to form abstract nouns as in :

पाजीपना (پاجی پنا), सफेदपना (سفید پنا), नरमपना (نرم پना).

19. The Sanskrit word “ ता ” meaning “ the quantity of ” is used in a solitary instance in Mahrathi as a suffix to a Persian word ‘ क्तर ’ (कमतर) to form an abstract noun (कमतरता meaning (shortage). There may be similar examples in Mahrathi writings but the present writer has not come across them in his readings.

20. A large number of compound words occur in the Mahrathi literature one word of which belongs to the Persian or Arabic language and the other to Mahrathi. Examples :

चिल्लर खर्च	चलकर च	चलखर्च	कायदेपंडित	قاعده پندت
नजर चूक	नजर चूक	نظر چوک	चोर गस्त	چور گشت
बाजार भाव	बाजार भाव	بازار بهاو	रंगमहाल	رنگ مهال
अंगचोर	अंग जोर	انگ زور	नगदी ताल	نگدی تال
अकल दाड	अकल दाड	عقل ڈاڑ	जंगम ज़िंदगी	جنگم زندگی
अदमास पत्रक	अदमास पत्रक	آدمایش پترک	जमीन उतपन्न	زمین آتین
अंग मेहनत	अंग मेहनत	انگ محنت	जन जाहिर	جن (جک) ظاہر جن جاہر

23. In the same manner compound words (synonyms) consisting of words one Persian and the other Arabic have been freely used in the Mahrathi language, such as:

آبر و عزت = آب و عزت ; عقل و ہوشیاری = اکل ہشاری ; اککل ہشاری
 آبر و اعتبار = امان اتبار ; امان اتبار = ایمان اعتبار ; عالم دنیا = الم دنیا ; دنیا
 آبر و اعتبار = امان اتبار ; امان اتبار = ایمان اعتبار ; عالم دنیا = الم دنیا ; دنیا
 آبر و اعتبار = امان اتبار ; امان اتبار = ایمان اعتبار ; عالم دنیا = الم دنیا ; دنیا

24. There are certain expressions consisting of two contradictory words, one Persian, the other Arabic, or one Mahra-thi, the other Persian or Arabic, e.g.

[illegible]

25. Many idioms and compound infinitives will be found in the Mahrathi language which are literal translations of those in Persian. The following will afford illustrations :

شاپٹھ خانے	شپٹھہ کھانے	قسم خوردن
ہانگ مارنے	هانگ مارنے	بانگ زدن
باٹھون رکھنے	آٹھون رکھنے	یاد داشتن
خالی کرنے	کھالی کرنے	خالی کردن
رستہ دینے	رستہ دینے	راہ دادن
ماف کرنے	ماپہ کرنے	معاف کردن
ہلا کرنے	ہلا کرنے	ہلہ کردن
رد کرنے	رد کرنے	رد کردن
جما ہونے	جما ہونے	جمع شدن
بازو دھونے	بازو گھینے	بازو گرفتن

دوستی ڈےوڻے	دوستی ٹھیو نے	دوستی داشتن
توہمت ڈےوڻے	توہمت گھینے	تہمت زدن
سوہبت ڈےوڻے	سوہبت ٹھیو نے	صحبت داشتن
کلی دینے	کلی دینے	کلید دادن
آڑی مارے	آڑی مارے	پشتک زدن
منہ کرنے	منہ کرنے	منع کردن
جیر کرنے	جیر کرنے	زیر کردن
میدانانت آاڻے	میدانات آنے	بمیدان آوردن
کمر بانڈے	کمر باندھنے	کمر بستن
ناخن کاڈے	ناکھیں کاڑھنے	ناخن گرفتن
جاہیر کرنے	جاہیر کرنے	ظاهر کردن
جبر ہونے	جبر ہونے	زبر شدن
ہات دےوڻے	ہات دینے	دست دادن
دم ڈےوڻے	دم گھینے	دم درکشیدن
دم مارے	دم مارے	دم زدن
تالیم دےوڻے	تالیم دینے	تعلیم دادن
دغا دےوڻے	دغا دینے	دغا نمودن
دغا خاڻے	دغا کھانے	دغا خوردن
درخواست کرنے	درخواست کرنے	درخواست کردن
دہشت خاڻے	دہشت کھانے	دہشت خوردن
داد ڈےوڻے	داد گھینے	داد گرفتن
دوا دےوڻے	دوا دینے	دعا دادن
دورست کرنے	دورست کرنے	درست کردن
نکل کرنے	نکل کرنے	نقل کردن
نجر بند کرنے	نجر بند کرنے	نظر بند کردن
نجر لاڳے	نجر لاگنے	
نمود کرنے	نمود کرنے	نمود کردن
نسیب سیکندر اسے	نسیب سکندر اسے	سکندر نصیب بودن
نکاشا کاڈے	نکاشا کاڑھنے	نقشہ کشدن

انصاف خواستن	انسابھہ ماگنے نیاے	ہنسا ف ماگنے، نیا ف ماگنے
نیست و نابود کردن (لکھنا)	نیست نا بود کرنے	نست نا بود کرنے
سراغ رسانیدن	پتالا ونے	پتا لا ونے
پائمال کردن	پاے ملی کرنے	پاے ملی کرنے
سیاہی بر سفیدی کردن	پانڈھر یا ور کال کرنے	پانڈھیا ور کا لے بارنے
(لکھنا)		
فرق افتادن	پہرک پڑنے	فرک پڑنے
فکر کردن	پہکر کرنے	فکیر کرنے
آبر و داشتن	ابوراکھنے	ا بھ را خنے
اندازہ کردن	انداجا کرنے	اندا جا کرنے
امانت داشتن	امانت ہونے	امانت ہونے
امید کردن	امید کرنے	امید کرنے
قرض گرفتن	کرج گھینے	کرج گھینے
کسر بر آوردن	کسر کاڑھنے	کسر کاڑھنے
در قابو آوردن	کابوت آننے	کا بوت آننے
قلعہ سر کردن	کلاسر کرے	کلا سر کرے
خراب کردن	کھراب کرنے	کھرا ب کرنے
خرید کردن	کھریدی کرنے	کھری دی کرنے
چاکری کردن	چاکری کرنے	چا کری کرنے
زمین دوز کردن	جمین دوست کرنے	جمین دوست کرنے
زمین و آسمان یک کردن	جمین آسمان ایک کرنے	جمین آسمان ایک کرنے
جادو کردن	جادو کرنے	جا دو کرنے
زور کردن	جود کرنے	جو د کرنے
زور کردن	جور لاوے	جو ر لاوے
تقاضا کردن	تگادا کرنے	تگا دا کرنے
شمشیر راندن	تلوار چالوے	تلا وار چالوے
تعاقب کردن	تاکب کرنے	تا کب کرنے
تازہ کردن	تاجے کرنے	تا جے کرنے

तलाश करणें	तलाश करने	तलाश کردن
तालीम करणें	तालिम करने	تعليم کردن
फिकीर लागणें	पेकर लाग्ने	فكر شدن
फितूर करणें	पेतूर करने	فتور کردن
माहित करणें	माहित करने	ماهیت (ظاهر) کردن
मुलामा देणें	मलामा दिन्ने	ملمع کردن
लाचार होणें	लाचार होने	لاچار شدن
शाबूत (साबूत) असणें	साबूत असने	ثابت شدن
शिफारस करणें	शिफारस करने	سفارش کردن
हक लावणें	हक लावने	حق رسانیدن
हकूम करणें	हकूम करने	حکم کردن

In order to express modern ideas or in the formation of legal terms, the Mahrathi language has fallen back upon Persian and Arabic by either bodily incorporating Persian terms or devising fresh ones with an admixture of the Persian element.

नैसर्गिक हक	ने सरगक हक	ने सरगक حق
कबूली, कबूली जबाब	कबूली जबाब	قبولی یا قبولی جواب
मक्ता	मक्ता	مقطعه
शिरजोर	शरजोर	سرزور
सभा बंदीचा कायदा	सभा बंदीचा कांदा	سبها بندی چا قاعده
हत्याराचा कायदा	हत्याराचा कांदा	هتھیار اچا قاعده
सनदशीर	संदशीर	سند شیر
कायदेशीर	कांदेशीर	قاعده شیر
अमल बजावणी	अमल बजावणी	عمل بجاونی
अमल बजावणी खाते	अमल बजावणी क्हाते	عمل بجاونی کھاتے
आप मतलबी	आप मतली	آپ مطلبی
इनाम पत्र, इनाम खत	अनाम पत्र, अनाम क्हत	انعام پتر، انعام خط
एकतर्फी फैसला व एक तर्फी निकाल	एक तर्फी फैसला व एक तर्फी निकाल	یک طرفی فیصله و یک طرفی نکال
वहमी पुढारी	वहमी पुढारी	وہمی پڈھاری

قبولیت	قبولایت	کبولاایت
قاعدے پنڈت	کائندے پنڈت	کایدے پنڈت
قائدے باز	کائندے باج	کایدے باج
ضامن	جامن	جامین
چہرے بٹی	چہرے بٹی	چہرے پٹتی
جمع بندی	جما بندی	جمابندی
ظاہرات	جاہرات	جاہرات
ضامن کتبہ	جامن کتبہ	جامین کتبہ
ضلع	جلہا	جیلہا
ٹیک دار	ٹیک دار	ٹیکدار
نظر قید	نجر قید	نजर قید
سمت مزدوری	سکت مزدوری	سکت مزدوری
سچی شکشا	سچی شکشا	سکت مزدوری
نقد سررشتہ	نگدی سرستا	نگدی سرستا
فریاد دعوی	پہریاد داوا	فریاد داوا
فریاد دعوی لاوے	پہریاد داوا لاوے	فریاد داوا لاوے
پہیر بدل ، پہیر بدلی	پہیر بدل ، پہیر بدلی	پہیر بدل ، پہیر بدلی
پہیر مبادلہ	پہیر مبادلہ	پہیر مبادلہ
راج کارستان	راج کارستان	راج کارستان
لگت مذکور	لگت محکور	لگت محکور
مدعا	مدا	مدا
ظلمی	جلمی	جلمی
ناحق	ناہک	ناہک
مردانی بنا	مردانی بنا	مردانی بنا
خصی کرنے	کھچی کرنے	کھچی کرنے
کمان	کمان	کمان
بے کمان بنا	بے کمان بنا	بے کمان بنا
خاطر پروا	کھا تر پروا	کھا تر پروا
کارخانہ	کار کھانا	کار کھانا

प्रांतिक सरकार	پراتنک سرکار	پراتنک سرکار
हिंदुस्थान सरकार	هندوستان سرکار	هندوستان سرکار
सरकार	सरकार	सरकार
बेजवाबदार	بے جواب دار	بے جواب دار
जुलूम, जुलमी पद्धतीचे राज्य	जلم, जلمی بدھتی جے राजیے	ظلم, ظلمی بدھتی چی राजیے
दंडपशाही	दंडप शाही	दंडप शाही
सफेदी	سپیدی	سفیدی
जुलमी	जلمی	ظلمی
जुलमी अधिकारी वर्ग	जلمी ادھیकारी ورक	ظلمی ادھیकारी ورक
रद्द करणे	रद करने	रद करने
गुलामगिरी	गलाम गिरी	غلام گیری
दुवा देणे	दुवादिने	دعاदिने
इशारत	اشارت	اشارت
जाहिर नामा	जाहर नामा	ظاھر نامہ
राजकीय हक	राजकी हक	राजकी حق
जबाबदारी	जबाब दारी	جواب داری
सक्ती	सक्ती	سختی
फायदा घेणे	फांन्दे गेहिने	فائده گهینے
हक	हक	حق
जुलमी सत्ता	जलमी सत्ता	ظلمی सत्ता
मुत्सद्दी	मुत्सदी	متمسدى
खुशमस्करे, खुशामती	केशमस्कर - केशमती	खुश मुस्करे, खुशामदी
सरकारी कायदा	सरकारी कांन्दे	सरकारी قاعده
जबानी	जबानी	زبانی
जबाब	(जवाब) जबाब	جواب
बादशाही अंमल	बादशाही अमल	بادشاही عمل
राज्य कारभार	राजिह कारभार	राजिह कारभार

آپ مطلبی پنا	آپ مطلبی پنا	آپ مطلبی پنا
لشکری ستا	لشکری ستا	لشکری ستا
دهشت بسونیا	دهشت بسونیا	دهشت بسونیا
کر تیان کیلیے	کر تیان کیلیے	کر تیان کیلیے
کایده	کائده	قاعده
وہمی	وہمی	وہمی
سلامی	سلامی	سلامی
شرکت واٹنی	شرکت واٹنی	شرکت واٹنی
نفع توٹا	نپھا توٹا	نفع توٹا
فوجداری	پہوج داری	فوجداری
دیوانی	دیوانی	دیوانی
ملکی کھاتے	ملکی کھاتے	ملکی کھاتے
فہسلا	پہسلا	فیصلہ
وکیل پتر	وکیل پتر	وکیل پتر
سلطانی عمل	سلطانی عمل	سلطانی عمل
حد پار	حد پار	حد پار
زھری پھل	جھری پھڑیں	زھری پھل
متصدی گری	متصدی گری	متصدی گری
رعیت واری بدھت	رعیت واری بدھت	رعیت واری بدھت
زمین داری بدھت	زمین داری بدھت	زمین داری بدھت
قائم دھار پاجی بدھت	قائم دھار پاجی بدھت	قائم دھار پاجی بدھت
عملدار	امل دار	عملدار
حق شیر	هك شیر	حق شیر
غیر سندی	گیر سندی	غیر سندی
سنور کشک زکواة	سنور کشک جکات	سنور کشک زکواة
سہولتی چی زکواة	سولتی چی جکات	سہولتی چی زکواة
شہر صفائی کھاتے	شہر سپھائی کھاتے	شہر صفائی کھاتے
ورگنی دار	ورگنی دار	ورگنی دار
سرکار جم	سرکار جم	سرکار جم

नामदार	نام دار	نام دار
नकनामदार	نيك نام دار	نيك نام دار
कायदे काउन्सिल	काँदے कौन्सल	قاعدے کونسل
बेदरकार	بے درکار	بے درکار
जादा पोलिस	जादा پولیس	زیادہ پولیس

27. Several words from the Persian and Arabic languages are used in the Mahrathi language but they carry a different sense from that of the original.

Original	Translation in Persian script	Persian	Sense in which used in Mahrathi
अगर	اگر	اگر	یا
अदल	ادل	عدل	عبرت، سبق، سزا، خفیف
अमदानी	امدانی	آمدنی	زمانه، عهد، دور دورہ
इतराजी	اتراजी	اعتراضی (اعتراض)	ناخوشی
इभ्रत	अभ्रत	عبرت	اثر، اعتبار
इभ्रतदार	अभ्रत दार	عبرت दार	صاحب اثر
इमला	املا	عملہ	عملہ یعنی عمارت
इरसाल	ارسال	ارسال	تحفہ، بہتر بن شے
उमेदवार	امیدوار	آمیدوار	نوجوان
कतबा	کتبا	کتبہ	دस्ताویز
कजाग	کجاگ	قزاق	سرکش
काबीज	کابج	قابض	مقبوض، مقبوضہ
कारस्थान	کارستان	کارستان	منصوبہ
किफायत	کفایت	کفایت	فائدہ، تجارتی نفع
खलबत	کھलبت	خلوت	گفتگو، راز
खास	کھاس	خاص	بلاشبہ، یقیناً
खासी	کھاسی	خاصی (خاص)	خوب، شادباش
खुलासा	کھलासा	خلاصہ	تشریح و توضیح

Original	Translation in Persian script	Persian	Sense in which used in Mahrathi
खुशाली	केशाली	خوش حالی	خوش حالی ، خیریت
गिल्ला	गला	گله	سخت شکایت
चमन	चमन	چمن	راحت و عیش
छान	جهان	شان	خوبصورت دلکش ،
जहांबाज	جهان बाज	جاں باز	سرکش ، سرزور
जालीम	जालम	ظالم	تیز ، گوسوز (عموماً براے ادویہ)
जिकीर	जकर	ذکر	بے زاری
जिंदगी, जिनगी, जिंदगानी, जिनगानी	جندگی, جنگی, جندگانی, جنگانی	زندگی, زندگانی	معاش, جائداد
तजवीज	तजवीज	تجویز	تدبیر , انتظام , مداوا
तमाशा	तमाशा	تماشا	رقص مردک
तुफान	तुपान	طوفان	فرہ
दर्दी	दर्दी	دردی	ماهر , ماهر فن
दसखत, दस्तकत	दसखत, दस्तकत	دستخط	پروانہ , پروانہ راہداری
दाखल	दाकल	داخل	بمعنی فرض کردن
दाखला	दाकला	داخلہ	مثال , توضیح , شاہدہ
दानत	दानत	دیانت	اخلاقی خوبی
दावन	दाउन	دامن	در قطار بستن مویشیان را
पन्हा	पन्हा	پہنا	عرض پارچہ وغیرہ
परागंदा	परागंदा	پراگندہ	تارکان وطن
पसंत	पसंत	پسند	عمدہ , خوب
पोक्त्	पोक्त्	پخت (پختہ)	عمر رسیدہ (رائے) آزمودہ باوزن
फंद	पेहंद	فن	قضیہ
फरमास	पेहमास	فرمائش	عمدہ , نفیس (شے)

Original	Translation in Persian script	Persian	Sense in which used in Mahrathi
फाजील	پہا جیل	فاضل	فضول
फेरिस्ता	پہیر ستا	فرشته	مسافر، سیاح
नामदार	नामदार	نامدار	آنریبل (ممبر قونسل)
नामोहरम	नामोहरम	نا (محروم)	کشتہ جنگ
नालस्ती	नालस्ती	نالشی (نالش)	بد نامی
निखालस	निखालस	نخالص	خالص
नेकनामदार	نيك نامدار	نيك نامدار	رائٹ آنریبل
मख्खी	मख्खी	مخفی	سخن خاص
मजलीस	مجلس	مجلس	جمع رقص و تماشا
मतलब	متلب	مطلب	غرض
मतलबी	متابی	مطلابی	خود غرض
मातबर	मातबर	معتبر	دولت مند
मातबरी	मातبری	معتبری	اهمیت
मामलत	मामलत	معاملات	حيثیت، اهمیت
मायना	मायना	معائنہ	عنوان
मिस्कीन	मिस्कीन	مسکین	بد معاش
मुकादम	मुकादम	مقدم	سردار جماعت مزدوران
मुबलक	مبلک	مبلغ	کثیر، فراوان
मुभा	مبها	مباح	اجازت
मोहरा	मोहरा	مہرا	سردارہراول، سردار مقدمتہ الجیش
मीज	मोज	موج	لطف، مزہ، تماشا
यंदा	यंदा	آئینده	امسال، سال روان
यादी	यादी	یاد	فہرست، یاد داشت
रद बदली	रद بدلی	ردو بدل	شفاعت، سفارش، سعی
रग	रक	رک	تکبر، تبختر

Original	Translation in Persian script	Persian	Sense in which used in Mahrathi
वस्ताद	वस्ताद	اوستاد	होशियार, کامل, اوستاد فن
वासलात	वासलात	واصلات	تصفیه اخیر
शर्यत	शरित	شرط	دوا دوش, مسابقت
शिकस्त	शकस्त	شکست	انہائی
शिकका	शका	سکه	نقش یا چاپ مهر وغیرہ
समई	समै	شمع	فتیلہ سوز (برنجی)
सुमार	सुमार	شمار	تخمینہ
सैल	सैल	سهل	कشاده
हमी	हमी	حامی	ذمه داری
हलाख, हलाखी	हलाक, हलाक़ी	هلاک	تکلیف جسمانی या روحانی
हिकमत	हक़त	حکمت	ترکیب
हिमायत	हिमायत	حمایت	قوت
हैवान	हैवान	حيوان	कम زोर
हौस	हौस	هوس	خواहش, شوق (पहावै दम)

The following examples will illustrate to what a great extent the Maharathi language has been indebted to Persian in the formation of its idioms:—

ज्याला नाही अक्कल, त्याची घरोघरी नक्कल	جیالاناہیں اکل (عقل) تیاچی گھرو گھری نکل (نقل)
आधी जाते अक्कल, मग जाते भांडवल	آدھیں जाते अक्ल (عقل) मग जाते बहानंदोल
खुदा रंजिस, मशीद रंजिस	کهدا (خدا) رنجس (رنجیده) مشید (مسجد) رنجس (رنجیده)
माणसाची हिमत, खुदाची मदत	مانساچی همت کهدا (خدا) پی مدت (مدد)
जशी नियत, तशी बरकत	جشی نیت, تشی برکت

मिया बीबी राजी, काय करील काजी

मियां बीबी राजी (राजी) काँई करील काजी
(قاضی)

मिया मूठभर, दाढी हातभर

मियां मुठे भर, दाडू ही हात भर

चोर तो चोर आणि शिरजोर

चोर तो चोर आनी शरजोर (सरजोर)

धन्याला धतूरा, चाकराला मलिदा

दहनिया लदहेतुरा, चाकरालमिदा (मालिदे)

धन्याचें नांव गण्या, चाकराचें नांव रुद्राजी
बुवा

दहनियाचिं नांव गनिया, चाकराचिं नांव
रुद्राजी बुवा

जुलूमाचा रामराम

जलुमा (जलम) चाराम राम

तेली जमवी धारोधार, खुदा ने तो एकचवार

तेली जमवी (जम) धारो धारो (खुदा) ने तो एकचवार
(नितो) किच वार (वार)

गरजवंताला अक्कल नांहीं

गरज वन्ता (गर्ज) मन्दा (ला) कल (एकल) नाहीं

कसायाला गाय धाजिण

कसाया (कसा) ला गाय (धा) जिण

हलवायाचे घरावर तुलसीपत्र

हलवाया (हलवा) चे घरावर तुलसी पत्र

साधली तंर शिकार नांहीं तर भिकार

साधली तर शिकार नाहीं तर भिकार

घोडा मैदान जवळ आहे

गहोडा मैदान जोडा आहे

चुकला फकीर मशीदींत

चकला पकिर (फकीर) मशिदींत (दर) مسجد

ताज्या घोड्यावरच्या गोमाशा

ताज्या (ता) रे गहोडा योर चिया गो माशा

आजा मेला नातू झाला, जमाखर्च बरोबर

आजा मिला नातो जहाला जमा कहरिज (जम) खर्ज
बरोबर (बरोबर)

आदा पाहून खर्च करावा

आदा (आ) पाहून कहरिज (खर्ज) करावा

एक नूर आदमी दस नूर कपडा

एक नूर आदमी दस नूर कपडा

कर्ज फार त्याला लाज नाही, उवा फार
त्याला खाज नाही

करिज (कर) त्याला लाज नाहीं, ओवा फार
त्याला खाज नाहीं

कर्णी कसाबाची बोलणी मान भावाची

कर्णी कसाबा (कसाबा) ची, बोली मान भावाची

हाता पायाची काहिली, तोंडात काय जाईल

हाता पायाची काहिली, तोंडात काँई जाईल

काणा कैफती, आंधळा हिकमती

काना कैफती (कैफती) आंधळा हिकती (हिकती)

पायीची वहाण पायीच छान

पायीची वहाण पायीच छान (छान)

गहाण्याचें व्हाचें चाकर, पण मुखाचें होऊं
नये धनी

गहानियाचिं वहाचें चाकर, पण मुखाचिं होऊं
नये धनी

आपला दाम खोटा, दुसऱ्याशी कां झगडा ?	آپلا دام کھوٹا ، دسریا شی کاں جگڑا
तोंड पाहून मुशारा, घोडा पाहून खरारा	تونڈ پاؤں مشارا (مشاہرہ) کھوڑا پاؤں کھرا دا
उपरसे खूब बनें, अंदरका राम जानें	اوپر سے کھوپ (خوب) بنے اندر کا رام جانے
चाकराला चुकर, चुकराला येसकर	چا کر الاچکر , چکر الا ایس کر
दाम करी काम	دام کری کام
हाजर तो वजीर	هاجر (حاضر) تو وجیر (وزیر)
कोल्हा काकडीला राजी	کولھا کا کڑی لاراحی (راحی)

The style of titles granted by the Maharatha rulers is mostly copied from the Persian. Raja Ram (1689-1700), the son of Shivaji conferred upon his Brahmin Minister, Ram Chander Panth Amatia the title of “हुक्मत पनाह” (حکومت پناه). His descendants enjoy this title even to-day in the State of Kolhapur. The same Maharaja granted to one Adaji Chuhan the titles of “हिमत बहादर” (همت بہادر) and “ममलीकत मदार” (مملکت مدار). Santaji Ghorpade received the title of “जपतुल मुल्क” (ضبط الملک), and Santaji Pandre, the title of “शरफुल मुल्क” (شرف الملک). The other titles in the time of Raja Ram were as follows:—

“शमसेर बहादर” (شمسیر بہادر), “सर लष्कर” (سر لشکر),
“सेना खास खेल” (سینا خاص خیل).

This practice was in accordance with that followed by Shivaji who used some of these titles for honouring his officers.

“सर लष्कर” (سر لشکر), “पेशवा” (پیشوا), “सेनापती” (سینا پتی), and others. Maharaja Shahu was also inclined towards granting titles in the Persian form:—

I. To the Gaikwar of Baroda he granted the titles of “सेना खास खेल” (सिनाखास खिल), and later on “शमसेर बहादर” (شمسیر بہادر) titles which the Gaikwars cherish and retain up to this day.

2. The founder of the Bonsla family of Nagpur held the title of “ सेना साहेब सुबा ” (سینا صاحب صوبہ).

3. The Mahratha admiral of Angre who was also the governor of the coast of Konkan held the title of “ सरखेल ” (وزارت ماب) and “ वजारत माआब ” (سرخیل).

4. Vithal Shiv Dev who was a Brahmin sirdar had the title of “ राजा बहादर ” (راجہ بہادر).

5. One Babu Rao Dhibhade was called “ सेना खास खेल ” (سینا خاص خیل).

6. The titles of “ हिंदुराव ” (ہندوراو) and “ सर लखर ” (سر لشکر) were conferred on one Devji.

7. Esvanth Rao had the title of “ खास खेल ” (خاص خیل).

Titles of the same type were granted to many people during the Muslim rule. It is interesting to note here that although the Muslim rulers very often conferred upon their Hindu noblemen purely Persian titles they at times devised titles in the Sanskrit language according to the particular caste to which the grantee belonged; but it must be noticed that they were all modelled on the Persian form—some of them being an admixture of Sanskrit and Persian, and others merely literal translations of Persian titles. A few instances may be cited here.

1. In the year 1640 A.D. Ibrahim Adil Shah of Bijapur conferred the title of *Nayak* on Madhoji Nimbalkar, the father-in-law of Shivaji.

2. The same king rewarded the loyal military services of Sidhoji with the title of *Baji*; and his Brahmin secretary Narsun with that of Vishvas Rao.

3. Aurangzeb granted to one Nagoji Manay the title of *Rajah*. And the title of *Rajah Raye Rayan* in 1685 to Raghunath Khatri, and to Tilok Chand, a merchant the titles of *Rajah* and *Raye Rayan* for loyal services. At present the same title of *Raja Raye Rayan* is held by the senior member of a Hindu nobleman's family in Hyderabad-Deccan.

Several other titles of the same category that were conferred by the successors of Aurangzeb on the Mahratha noblemen and officers were “ विक्रमाजीत ” (وکرماجیت) “ दयानतराव ”

(چندر راؤ) "چندر راؤ"; (اعتبار راے) "آتبار راء"; (دیانز راؤ); "وکیل مطلق" (وکیل مطلق); Of special interest are "آلیجاہ بھادر" (عالی جاہ بھادر); and "فرداںجند" (فرداںجند); (Titles conferred on Madhau Rao Scindia by the Emperor Shah Alam); "راجہ راوڑیہا" (conferred on a member of Jadhau family who had sought refuge at the court of Nizamul-Mulk 'Asaf Jah the First, and which is still enjoyed by his descendants at the court of the Nizams of Hyderabad); and "وزارت ماب" (وزارت ماب) and "مدارالمہام" (مدارالمہام) conferred on Nana Farnavis the Peshwa and Haripant Phadke, the Peshwa's general respectively by Nizam Ali Khan Bahadur of Hyderabad). In like manner the Nizams of Hyderabad have conferred upon their Hindu officers similar Sanskritised titles, "دھرموت" (دھرموت) and "آصف نوازوت" (آصف نوازوت). I give below some of the designations of certain high posts of administration during the reign of Shivaji. Before he crowned himself king in 1674 A.D. the designations were all Persian in form, but after they were replaced by terms indigenous in origin.

<i>Before Coronation</i>	<i>After Coronation</i>	<i>English equivalent</i>
(پیشوا) (پیشوا):	پنت प्रधान	Prime Minister
(موزمدار) (موزمدار):	پنت امانت	Revenue and Finance Secretary.
(سرینس) (سرینس):	پنت سچو	Chief Record Keeper
(والکنس) (والکنس):	منتری	Private Secretary
(سرنوبت) (سرنوبت):	سناپتی	Commander-in-Chief
(دیر) (دیر):	سومت	Foreign Minister

It is thus apparent that before the accession of Shivaji to his throne, the high officers all bore Persian designations.

The Persian language has influenced the determination of the proper names of important personages in the history of the Mahratha aristocracy; for instance:—

1. "شیخ جی راو" (شیخ جی راو). He was the ruler of Angre in Konkan.

2. “हैबतराव” (हेबत राव). This is the name of a general of Shivaji who bore the title of “सरलष्कर” (سر لشکر).

3. “सरफोजीराव” (سرفوجی راو). Sarfoji is not Mahrathi name. It may be a contortion of (شریف جی) (Sharfoji). Two of the rulers of Tanjore who belong to a branch of the family of Shaji have had this name. The English historians have spelt the name as “Sarboji.”

4. “शाहाजी” (شاہ جی). This was the name of the father of Shivaji. The present heir-apparent of Kolhapur who is descended from Shivaji bears the name of Shahji.

5. “फत्तेसिंगराव” (فتح سنگہ راؤ). The first son of the Maharaja Gaikwar, who is now dead, was given this name.

6. “सयाजीराव” (سیاجی راؤ). ‘Saya’ is not a Mahrathi word. Many of the rulers of Baroda had this name. Probably the name is a contraction of “سیاح” (Saiyah). ‘Saiyah’ is a religious itinerary.

7. “दोलतराव” (دولت راؤ). This was the name of the ex-Maharajah Scindia.

Similar names occur in the history of the Mahratha people, such as, e.g., “मुलतानराव” (سلطان راؤ); “दयानतराव” (دیانت راؤ); “हिंदूराव” (ہندو راؤ); “जामराव” (جام راؤ); “दर्याजीराव” (دریاجی راؤ); “खासेराव” (خاصیہ راؤ); “नशीबराव” (نصیب راؤ); “हस्तमराव” (ہستم راؤ); “पीरजीराव” (پیرجی راؤ).

A very interesting name is “अबदुल प्रताबराव” (عبدالہر تاب راؤ). who belonged to the line of Shivaji and reigned at Tanjore (1763-1787 A.D.)

Even to this day the family names of Persian origin adopted during the Mahratha rule are current among the Brahmin and the Mahratha society of the Deccan.

पेशवा (پیشوا), वाकनीस (واقعہ نویس), फडनीस (فرزند نویس), सरनीस (सरनویس), कारखानीस (کارخانہ نویس), चिटनीस (چٹ نویس), कोटनीस (کوٹ نویس), फर्जद (فرزند), दफ्तरदार (دفتردار), हवलदार (حوالدार), खासगीवाला (خاصگی والا), मुराफ (مصرف), दिवाण (دیوان), खासगीवाला (خاصگی والا), मुराफ (مصرف), दिवाण (دیوان).

सुभादार (सुबोहदार), सरदार (सरदार), सर देसाई (सरदेसाई), सर देसमुख (सरदेसमुख), किल्लादार (किल्लादार).

The mode of address and subscription of correspondence in the Mahrathi language has been greatly influenced by the Persian usage.

It is not possible for us to say with any certainty what particular usage was followed before the Muslims came to the South, for no records are available, even of the time of the Tadhads. But during the time of Shivaji and his successors, the Persian mode of address came to be fully used. There is a letter written in 1656 by Diyanat Rao, a Brahmin record-keeper of the kingdom of Bijapur to Nalo Sondev Muzamdar, the Minister of Shivaji in which the following terms of address are used:—

(1) अखंडित लक्ष्मी प्रसन्न, परोपकार मूर्ती

(2) सेवकें दियानतराव

In the first line, the two expressions used, viz: “अखंडित लक्ष्मी प्रसन्न” and “परोपकार मूर्ती” are literal translations of the Persian terms (‘دام دولته’) and ‘مشفق مهربان’ respectively. The translations of the remaining three terms are “राजमान्य” (‘مقبول دولات’), “राजश्री” (‘صاحب گنج شاهانه’) and “गोसावी” (‘قادر بر نفس خود’). The second line (‘सेवकें दियानतराव’) may be translated into (‘کورنش والتجای بنده دیانت راو’). The word “सेवक” is a translation of the word ‘بنده’. Since there is no word in Sanskrit conveying the sense of “सेवक” (‘بنده’), it must have been borrowed from the Persian. The subscription is given in the following words:—

“बहुत काय लिहिणे, नलगे” the literal translation of which is (‘زیاده چه نویسم؟ حاجت نیست’), common mode of conclusion in Persian correspondence.

In a letter written by Shivaji in 1663 to his peshkar, Morotirmal he addresses him as मसरूल हजरती which probably is ‘مشهور الحضرت’ and the date is given in pure Arabic style “४ रमजान सलास सितीन” (‘۴ رمضان ثلاث ستین’). The same address ‘مشهور الحضرت’ has been used in two more letters written by Shivaji, one in 1671 to Tukaram, governor of Parbhavli,

the other in 1675 to Jivaji Vinayak, governor of the same place.

In fact, the House of Shivaji followed the usage of the Moghuls. There is a letter of 1677 A.D. addressed to Nagoji Bhonsle by Shivaji which runs as follows:—

स्वस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शक ४ पिगल नाम संवत्सरे श्रावण शुद्ध एकादशी, इंदू वासरे क्षत्रीय कुलावतंस श्री राजा शिव छत्रपती याणी नागोजी भोसले कोट उदलूर यासी आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे:—

(Translation into Persian.)

سنه جلوس ۱۱۰۴ تاریخ ماه شراون روز دوشنبه فخر قوم چتریان
شری راجاشیو چترپتی بنام ناگوجی بھوسلے (قلعہ دار آلور) حکم صادر فرمود:—

The form of the Farmans or royal orders used by Shivaji, Raja Ram and his successors who ruled at Satara and Kolhapur was an imitation of that of the Moghul emperors. And although Shivaji tried to substitute Sanskrit words for the Persian he could not escape entirely from the influence of Persian. Wherever he could not find a proper Sanskrit word to express his idea he used the translation of the Persian. For instance “यासी आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे” is a literal translation of ‘आवराह्म फरमोदक’.

There is a letter written by Raja Ram to his minister, Naro Pandit which is as follows:—

स्वस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शके २५ प्रमोदिनाम संवत्सरे वैशाख शुद्ध चतुर्दशी भौमवासरे क्षत्रीय कुलावतंस श्री राजाराम छत्रपती याणी समस्त राजकार्य धुरंधर विश्वासनिधी राजमान्य राजश्री नारो पंडित यांस आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे

(Translation.)

سال جلوس ۲۵۰ تاریخ ۱۴ بدر ماه وشاک روز دوشنبه، زینت قوم چتریان
راجہ رام چترپتی بہنارو پنڈت کہ مدار مہبات سلطنت و مخزن اعتماد کلی
است، حکمی فرماید:—

The conclusion is as follows:—

बहुत काय लिहिणे तरी मुज्ज असा

(Translation.)

زیادہ چہ نویسم ؟ شما عاقل ہستید۔

A letter addressed by Maharaja Shahu to Pandit Bhagvant Rao Amataya Hukûmat Panâh runs thus:—

स्वस्ति श्री राज्याभिषेक शके ७१ रक्ताशीनाम संवत्सरे माघ शु ॥ ५ मंदवासरे
क्षत्रीय कुलावतंस श्री राजा शाहू छत्रपती स्वामी याणीं समस्त राजकार्य धुरंधर विश्वास
निधी राजमान्य राजश्री भगवंतराव पंडित अमात्य हुकूमत पन्हा यांसी आज्ञा केली ऐसीजे

(Translation.)

سال جاوس ۱۷ رکتا کشی ۵ ماه ماگه ، روز پنجشنبه زینت قوم چھتریان
سری راجہ شاہو چھتر پتی چنن حکم فرماید بہ مدار مہبات سلطنت و مخزن
اعتماد و مقبول دربار شاہی بہگونہ راؤ پناہت اما تیا حکومت پناہ ۔

It will be apparent now that after the coronation of Shivaji, his family in spite of nationalistic bias had to adopt the modes of address followed by the Muslim rulers.

We quote below certain letters that passed between officers of probably the same rank during the Mahratha rule.

(1) राजश्री पंत अमात्य स्वामीचे सेवेशी—सकळ गुणालंकरण अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत
राजमान्य राजश्री स्नेहांकित संताजी घोरपडे सेनापती जप्तउल्मुलूक दंडवत

(Translation.)

بخدمت جناب پنت امانیا - آراستہ بہ تمام صفات عمدہ و دولت جاوید
مقبول حکومت ، صاحب گنجینہ شاہانہ ، سنتاجی گھور پڑے ضبط الملک و
سپہ سالار ۔

(2) राजश्री कोनेरराम मुजूमदार गोसावी यासी :—

मशरूलअनाम अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य सेना रघोजी भोसले सेना
साहेब सुभा दंडवत विनंती उपरि.

(Translation.)

بخدمت کونیرام موز مدار مشهور الا نام آراستہ بہ دولت جاوید و
مقبول دربار شاہی بندہ دولت صاحب گنجینہ شاہانہ مہربان رگھو جی
بہو سلے سینا صاحب صوبہ را سلام می رساند والتجائی کند ۔

(3) सकल गुणालंकरण अखंडित लक्ष्मी आलंकृत राजमान्य राजश्री भगवंतराव पंडित
स्वामी गोसावी यांसी—पोष्य बाजीराव बल्लाळ कृतानेक नमस्कार विनंती उपरि
येथील कुशल जाणून स्वकीय कुशल लिहित असलें पाहिजे. विशेष

(Translation.)

خدمت آراسته بہمہ صفات و دوات جاوید مقبول بارگاہ شاہی صاحب
کنجینہ شاہانہ 'بہگونہ' راوپندت قادر بر نفس خود متجانب بابی راوبالاجی
بعد از سلام و کورنش بے شمار عرض مدعا این است کہ اینجاخیر و عافیت است
و خیر عافیت شما مطلوب —

The above illustrations from Firmans and correspondence show the profound influence that the Persian language has exercised on the Mahrathi mind.

The seals of the family of Shivaji were in the Persian style. Some of them are available to us. For instance the seal of the mother of Shivaji bears this inscription in Persian:—

ججا بائی والدہ راجہ شیواجی

The seal of Dinayat Rao, the Daftadar of Ali Adil Shah contains along with his name the following:—

دیانت راؤ بندہ علی عادل شاہ

The seal of Shivaji contains:—

प्रति पञ्चन्द्रे लेखेव वधिष्णुर्विश्वं वंदिता
शाहसूनोः शिवस्यैषा मुद्रा भद्राय राजते.

(Translation.)

این مہر شیواجی ابن شاہ جی خوشماہچوہلال یک شبہ کہ ہر روز
فزاید و مقبول ہمہ عالم است

The seal of Balaji Rao is as follows:—

श्री राजा शाहू छत्रपति हर्ष निधान । बाळाजी बाजीराव मुख्य प्रधान

(Translation.)

راجہ ساہو چہتر پنی منبع ہمہ بہجت و مسرت بالاجی بابی راو وزیر اعظم

The seal of Jotiaji Kaisenkar, who lived in prison in the company of Maharaja Sahu, contains:—

राजा शाहू चरणी तत्पर । कृष्णाजीसुत जोत्याजीसुत कैसरकर

(Translation.)

خاکبائے قدوم راجہ ساہو، جوتیا کسیر کر ابن کر شہابی

The seal of Parashram Tarambak Partendhi, minister of Raja Ram contains:—

श्री आई आदि पुरुष

श्री राजा शिव छत्रपति स्वामी कृपानिधी । तस्य परशुराम त्रिबक प्रतिनिधी

(Translation.)

شری راجہ شیواجی چھتری پتی منبع مسرت و بہجت، وزیر آو پرشورام
پر مہک

The seal of Bhira Moraishwar Peshwa Maharaja Sahu contains:—

श्री राजाशाह नरपति हर्ष निधान । मोरेश्वरसुत भैरव मुख्यप्रधान

(Translation.)

شری راجہ شاہو، صاحب عالمیان، منبع مسرت و بہجت، بیرو ابن
موریشور وزیر اعظم آو

The seals of several Mahratha sardars are also in the same form.

Even the script in which the Mahrathi words are written has been influenced by that of the Persian.

The Modi Script: The Persian script is of two kinds. One is called the Nastaliq (نستعلیق), the name given to a clear form of handwriting. The other is called Shikasta (شکستہ) which is of a later growth than the Nastaliq and was probably invented for the sake of quick transcription. The 'Shikasta' is a sort of shorthand writing with the main features of each letter retained.

When the Muslims came to the Deccan the Mahrathi language knew only one style of handwriting, called the 'Balbodh.' It is a slow form of writing and very clear, and may be said to correspond to the Persian 'Nastaliq.' As the Muslim influence gradually permeated Mahrathi literary society, the desire was felt to invent a form of handwriting similar to the 'Shikasta' for the speedy despatch of work. The new invention is called 'Modi' in the Mahrathi language. As the specimens available to us show, the attempts of the earlier times of the Muslim influence (e.g., the 14th and the

15th centuries), are more akin to the 'Balbodh' than to the later development of the 'Modi' which has all the characteristics of the perfect Persian 'Shikasta.' This style of handwriting caught the imagination of the literate Mahrathas; so much so, that with the rise of the Mahratha empire, it came to be employed in Mahrathi official documents and private writings, some of which have been brought to light at Rameshwaram, a great centre of pilgrimage for the Hindus, where they must have been left behind by some Mahratha pilgrims. Their discovery at this place has given rise to the theory that the Modi style of handwriting was borrowed from Ceylon, as Remeshwaram is very close to it. Those who advance this view probably never took the trouble to find out that Sinhali, the language of Ceylon, is written in only one style of handwriting which never corresponds to either the 'Modi' or the Persian 'Shikasta.' Its form is as clear as the Mahrathi 'Balbodh' or the Persian 'Nastaliq.' Besides, neither the Sanskrit language nor any of the various prakrits except Mahrathi ever developed any such form of handwriting. The word 'Modi' itself is the literal translation of the Persian 'Shikasta,' which means 'broken.' It is thus clear that the 'Modi' style had its birth entirely during the Muslim rule in the Deccan and directly under the influence of the Persian 'Shikasta' style of transcription. The influence of Persian has, therefore, fallen not merely on the Mahrathi language and literature but on the mode of its transcription as well.

So far, an endeavour has been made to show in what particular respects the Mahrathi language has come under the energizing influence of Persian. This treatise, as the reader must have noticed, is only introductory in character, and is primarily intended to stimulate the minds of those who may have larger opportunities than the present writer has enjoyed to enter upon an investigation of the subject in fuller detail. As stated at the very outset, this is a study of the impact of the Muslim upon the Mahrathi culture in just one of its important bearings, namely, the language of the Mahrathas. It would be deeply interesting, however, if scholars should devote themselves to the other aspects of the wider problem in order to indicate the character and extent of the influence which the Islamic civilization has exercised on the Mahrathi-speaking people during the course of history. This would be a stupendous task for any single individual. But one thing is certainly within the possibility of his reach, and that is, to trace the influence of Persian literature right through the

Mahrathi literature produced since the coming of the Muslims to the Deccan. But it is an aspect which should not be lost sight of, for the writer has perceived, in the course of his readings, a powerful strain of mysticism akin to the Persian in a large number of Mahratha poets which needs to be carefully examined.

As for the nature of the growth and development of poetic literature in Mahrathi, it may be briefly pointed out that the initial attempts at poetic expression were made by a class of religious persons called 'Manbhaus' who kept their productions a secret. But their works now come to light and seem to be of but poor quality.

After them there came successive generations of poets during the days of the Muslim rule who gave an impetus to the growth of a higher form of poetry in their language. They were mostly ascetics devoted to "Bhakti" in one or other of its aspects. In all their writings there is no erotic touch, as there is in Persian or Hindi; no sensuousness whatsoever. It is all the love of God. Their characteristic attitude, as expressed by Tukaram is as follows:—

"I need neither food nor children"

Only let Narayan live within us."

Tukaram lived in the time of Shivaji. The Maharaja used to send him various present, but Tukaram never used them himself; he distributed them among the poor. Shivaji invited him to his court, but his reply was :—

"Why should I come to you? The journey will cause inconvenience. I need no food from you. I depend upon my God for my daily sustenance. As for clothes, I have plenty of rags besides me. A slab of stone is my bed and the sky is my covering. Do you think that people who visit courts enjoy any peace of mind? There, only the noblemen get respect. None else has any access to a kingly court. Whenever I see anyone in gaudy colours, the shadow of death flashes across my eyes. I trust that you will not be displeased with my reply. I am not destitute, for I have given myself up to God, who alone is my protector and sustainer. What purpose will it serve if I come to you? I have suppressed all my desire to the vanishing-point."

Similar quotations from these ascetic poets might easily be given to illustrate their utter disregard of any sort of worldliness.

Attempts have been made in modern days by the late Justice Ranade and several of his followers to foist on these ascetic poets ideas to which they were not born, and which they had no inclination to imbibe or propagate. The spirit of nationalism, as we understand it, which Justice Ranade attributes to Ram Das, the religious preceptor of Shivaji in the heyday of his political glory, is a thing of modern days, excited through western influences; it never was the keynote of their poetic utterance. Their mind was devoted to the love of the Supreme Being; and the search for the Beyond was all the quest of poets such as Ram Das, Tukaram, Namdev, Morupanth, Eknath, Sridhar, Mukand Raj, Jinardhan, Vaman, Raghunath Pandit, Krishna Diyarnou, Madhov Maneshwar.

A study of those poets and their followers in the field of poetry with a view to ascertaining the strains from the Islamic-Persian literature that may have influenced their minds and art would form a fitting supplement to the subject of this essay.

ABDUL HAQ.

CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE MODERN PERSIAN-
ENGLISH VOCABULARY

(Continued)

(م)

مرآجه (murāja'a), مرآجت (murāja'at).

“To make return, to bring back.” (with را) مرآجت دادن (1917, No. 59, p. 3).

“To apply” (to). (with به) مرآجت نمودن (1922, No. 216, p. 4, at foot of col. 2 and 3).

صاحبان خانه می توانند با درس ذیل مرآجه نمایند

House-owners may apply to the following address.

“Communication” (with). (with با) مرآده (murāvada; with) (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 3).

Communication with spirits. مرآدهٔ با ارواح

“Sound, trustworthy,” (as source of information): (with مربوط) (marbūt) (1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 2).

در محافل مربوطه زمزمه تصمیم دولت یونان بحمله باسلامبول و تصرف آن شهر تکذیب میشود

In trustworthy circles the (truth of the) report that the Greek Government has decided to attack Constantinople and occupy that city is denied.

—————مقامات مربوطه See

“Regularly.” (مشر) (murattaban) مرتباً (1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2). See under اجاره (ijāra) پرداختن مال الاجاره

مرتبه

مرتبه (yak-martaba) : "All at once." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 2).

بدین جهت در مقابل فشار ناراضیها رژیم پوسیده سلطنت قاجاریه تاب مقاومت را نیاورده یکرته سرنگون میشود

The decayed régime of the Kājār Kings collapses all at once under the pressure of the malcontents.

مرتجع (murtaji) : "Reactionary." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 4, col. 2).

در این صورت زمام امور مملکت آلمان یا بدست مرتجعین و یا کمونیست ها خواهد افتاد

In this case the reins of affairs in Germany will fall into the hands either of reactionaries or of communists.

مرتفع

مرتفع داشتن (murtafi dāshtan) : "To relieve." (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 4).

قرارداد مزبور نگرانی که ایرانیها در باب ترانزیت داشتند مرتفع داشته

The before-mentioned agreement relieved the anxiety felt by Persians as to the transit (of goods).

مرجوع (marjū) : "Assigned" (to one, as duties) (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

بمشارالیهم ابلاغ شد که هر چه زودتر شروع بوظائف مرجوعه نمایند

The above-named have been instructed to begin their assigned duties as early as possible.

مرکز (markaz) : "The Capital" (of a country). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

مبلغ (۱۰) هزار تومان اعتباری * * * قرار شد بمصرف تعمیرات مریض خانه های مرکز برسد

The sum of 15,000 tūmāns, assigned by Parliament, has been appointed to be expended on repairing the hospitals of the Capital (Teheran).

مرکزی (markazī) : A “ dweller in the Capital.”

مرکزی (markazī) : “ Of the Capital;” i.e., generally, of Teheran. (Lit., “ central”). (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 4).

مرکزیت (markazīyat) : “ Being of the Capital, living in the Capital.” See, under سلب (salb), سلب نمودن.

مزیت (mazīyat) : “ Distinction, superiority, privilege.” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

فرهنگ مقتدر * * * دارای این مزیت است که مخصوصاً برای احتیاج محصلین * * * تالیف شده

The “ Farhang-e Muḳtadir ” (Dictionary) possesses this distinction that it has been composed especially for the needs of students.

ایران جوان (musābāka) : “ Competitive racing.” (1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 3).

رنو Renault * * * در بسیاری از مسابقه ها اول شده است.

(This automobile) has been first in many races.

ایران جوان (—) “ Competition,” (as in examinations). (1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

جزد کتر های در حقوق * * * هیچ کس نمی تواند * * * حتی خیال دا و طای
شرکت در مسابقه را بمخیله خود بیاورد

Except Doctors of Law no one can even think of entering into competition.

مسبق

مسبق بودن خاطر (masbūḳ būdan-e khāṭir) : For one “ to know a thing already, to be aware of a thing already.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 3).

بطوری که خاطر آقایان نمایندگان محترم مسبوق است

As the honourable representatives in Parliament already know,

مستاجر (musta'jar) : A "farm." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2). See, under اجاره (ijāra), مال الاجاره پرداختن

مستحضر (mustahẓir; with از) : "Cognizant" (of), "Acquainted" (with). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 1).

در موقع اجرا نیز از وجود آن حرکت مستحضر باشد

At the time of performance also he is cognizant of the existence of the action.

طوفان (musta'mar; pl. مستعمرات) : A "colony." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2). See, under تهیه (tahīya), تهیه دیدن, also ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 4).

مستقل (mustaqill) : Separate, distinct, particular, independent, (as revenue collected by a particular locality and devoted to its maintenance). (See, under ماه (māh), ماهی.

مستقیم

غیر مستقیم (ghair mustaqīm) : "Indirect," (as taxes). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 3, col. 2).

اداره مالیة ارومی که در تحت نظارت اکراد اداره میشود عبارت از مالیاتهای غیر مستقیم است که از عموم گرفته میشود

The financial administration of Urumiya which is conducted under the superintendence of the Kurds is on the lines of indirect taxation imposed on all the people.

محشر (mustamarri) : "Fixed pay or pension." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3). See, under محل اعتبار (maḥall-e i'tibār), محل اعتبار مستمریات

مستمسك

مستمسك شدن (mustamsak shudan) : "To serve as a hold or support." (Cf. دست آویز dast-āvīz, and ذریعه zarī'a). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 5).

این بود اصل قضیه مستمسك روز نامه شهاب و مخالفین دولت شده

This was the reality of the matter which served as a support to the "Shihāb" journal and the opponents of the Government.

مستملکات (mustamlakāt) : “Colonies.”

“Leaning” (upon) مستند.

مستند کردن (mustanid kardan; with به) : “To attribute” (to). (1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 3). See, سیاله

مسرت بخشى (masarrat-bakhshī) : “Cheering, encouraging” (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 2).

قطع روابط با یک از معظمترین دول عالم نمی تواند واقعۀ مسرت بخشی باشد

The breaking off of relations with one of the greatest States in the world cannot be (taken as) an encouraging procedure.

تجدید (musallahāna) : “Armed,” (as a rising). مسلحانہ (1924, No. 10, p. 4, col. 3).

بلکه قیام مسلحانہ بعضی ایلات * * فقط برای نقط و بتحریرك علاقہ مندان باین مسئلہ است

Nay more, the armed rising of some tribes has been only on account of the petrol, and at the instigation of those interested in this question.

توپ مسلسل (musalsal) : a “quick-firing gun;” (for تپ مسلسل tūp-e musalsal. (Phillott; and 1924, No. 27, p. 3, sub-col. 3).

عراہہ ہائے کہ ما ابتیاع کردہ ایم موصوم بہ عراہۃ سبک است کہ مسلح بہ یک مسلسل و یک توپ ۳۷ میلیمتری می باشد

The tanks we have bought are called light tanks, and are armed with one quick-firing gun and one gun of 37 millimètres.

مسلك (maslak) : “A habitual way of thinking or acting.” (Redhouse, and 1924, No. 148, p. 1, col. 1).

این عدہ معلوم الحال مجهول المسلك * بادیدہ انخاف * برائے مشاہدہ خدمات مهمہ خادم فعال ایران کور است

This set, whose condition is known but whose way of thinking and acting is unknown, with their eyes of depreciation

are blind to the important services of the most energetic servant of Persia; (i.e., the General Commanding-in-Chief, who is now Shāh of Persia).

مشترك (mushtarik; with به of thing): "Sympathising, sharing" (in). (فکر آزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 2).

دوات ایران بشادی و آزادی مات روسیه مشترك * * بودند

The Persian Government has shared in the joy and freedom of the Russian people.

مشترك المنافع (mushtariku 'l-manāfi'): "Having interests in common." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

هر حکومت خیر خواه خلق هم وظیفه داراست سر آنها و * * اجنبیها ئی
را که با ایشان مشترك المنافع هستند بگوید

Every Government which is a friend to the people is bound in duty to reprobate them and the foreigners who have interests in common.

مشترك (mushtarik): A "subscriber." (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 4).

مشترکین سابق و اشخاصی که میل باشتراك این جریده ملی را دارند باین
اداره مراجعه * * فرمایند

Former subscribers and persons wishing to subscribe to this national journal should apply to this office.

مشروطه (hukūmat-e mashrūta) حکومت مشروطه [mashrūta, for mashrūta]: "Constitutional Government, the Constitution." (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 1, col. 1).

اگر مملکت مشروطه بود می گفتیم که * * * مصایب و تحمیلات
بر این ملت و رعایا آنها را مشرف بموت نموده

If the country were a Constitutional Government, we should say that the calamities and impositions laid upon the nation and peasants have brought them to the verge of death.

مشمعی (musha'sha'ī): "Brilliant." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 2).

See, under خطا به اراد نمودن, Irād, اراد

—————“Delusive, plausible.” (1917, No. 40, p. 1).

ایران (mushavviḡ; with gen.): “Inciting” (to). (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1). See, under ادبی (adabī), علوم ادبیه.

مشى (mashy): “Procedure.” (1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 4).

می نوشتیم که مملکتی که مشی سیاسی آن غیر معلوم و سیاست خارجی او روشن نیست وزارت خارجه او فقط اسم بی فایده است

We should write that a country whose political procedure is unknown and whose foreign policy is obscure is one whose Foreign Ministry is only a profitless name.

مصاحبه (muṣāḥaba): A “conversation,” “an interview.” (1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 4).

در نتیجه مصاحبه که با نایب اول سفارت ترکیه نمودیم معلوم شد که اختلافات جرئی * * بوده

After an interview with the First Secretary of the Turkish Embassy we made sure that the differences were (only) slight.

مصدر pl. of مصادر

محشر (maṣādir-e umūr): “The authorities.” (1927, No. 55, p. 1, sub-col. 5).

بیت المال مسلمین دستخوش اغراض مصادر امور

The Public Treasury, subject to the selfish objects of the authorities.

مصرف

مصرف کردن (maṣraf kardan): “To use,” (by consuming). (1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 2).

يك دفعه آنرا مصرف کرده و صحت این ادعا بخود شما ثابت خواهد شد

When once you have used (the benzine) you will be assured of the truth of this claim.

بمصرف رسانیدن (ba-maṣraf rasānīdan): “To put to some use, to use as.” (1921, Apr. 10, p. 4).

مصرف

بمصرف رسیدن (ba-mašraf rasīdan; with gen. مصرف
"To be for the use" (of), "to be expended" (on). (میهن
1924, No. 27, p. 1, col. 1).

بقیه آن بمصرف مؤسسات می رسید

The remainder of it was expended on buildings.

—————"To have or find a market." (Phillott). Cf.
مصرف داشتن (mašraf dāshtan). (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 3,
col. 5).

چون مصرف نداشت تخم نوغانی که جعبه یک قران گمرک داده بودند
جعبه یک شاهی صد دینار می فروختند

Since they had no market, a box of silk-worm eggs on
which a duty of one *ķirān* had been paid was sold for one *shāhī*
and a hundred *dīnārs*.

مصنوعی (mašnū'ī): "Artificially supplied," (as water)
(میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 1, sub-col. 3). See under مجبور

مصبوب (mušavvab; with gen.): "Approved of" (by).
(پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 2, col. 2).

مواد قانونی حکومت نظامی مصوبه مجلس شورای ملی

Legal articles of the Martial Government approved of by
the National Assembly.

مصونیت (mašūnīyat): "Safety." (1924, No. 7,
p. 2, sub-col. 4). See, under تضمین

مضمون

بمضمون ذیل (ba-maẓmūn-e zail): "As follows." (اتحاد
1922, No. 215, p. 21, col. 1).

تقریباً بر کلیه مواد احتیاجات اولی معیشت مالیاتهای غیر مستقیم وضع کرده
اند اخیراً تصنیف جدیدی بمضمون ذیل ساخته اند

They have imposed indirect taxes on nearly all articles of
consumption of primary necessity. A new classification, as
follows, has lately been made.

مضيقه (mazīka) : “Difficulties, straits.” (1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

در نتیجه خرابی حاصل متجاوز از ۷ میلیون نفوس، چار مضيقه هستند

In consequence of the bad conditions prevailing more than 7 million persons are reduced to straits.

آزادی مطبوعات (āzādī-ye maṭbū‘āt) : “The Press.” (1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 3).
 آزادی مطبوعات (maṭbū‘āt) : “Freedom of the Press.” (1924, No. 7, p. 2, col. 3).

ما بنام آزادی مطبوعات شرح فوق را درج کردیم

We, using the freedom of the Press, have inserted the above exposition.

مطرح

مطرح شدن (muṭarraḥ shudan) : “To be entered upon, raised, brought or laid before; (as a discussion, project, or bill).” (1927, No. 191, p. 2, col. 3). See, under دفاع کردن (difā‘),

مطمح نظر (muṭmaḥ) ; a noun of place in (muṭmaḥ-e naẓar), “the aim or object of desire.” (ستاره ایران) (1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 4). See, under سیاست (siyāsāt), سیاست مدار

ایران جوان (mazanna) : “The rate of exchange.” (1927, No. 24, p. 11, sub-col. 4). See, under برات (barāt), برات کردن

معاینه (mu‘āyana) : “Examination.” (Redhouse, and 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 2).

بدون معاینه طبیبی امر بدفن او بنمایند

(It was not right that) he should order his burial without a medical examination.

معذرت

معذرت خواستن (ma‘zarat khvāstan; with ز) : “To apologise” (for). (1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 5).

از طول مقاله معذرت میخواهم

Apologising for the length of the article.

معرض

(dar ma'raz-e chīzī karār dādan) :
"To subject or expose to something," (e.g., criticism, public opinion, thought). (تقری 1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 3). See, under مورد (maurid), مور دببینی واقع گردیدن

(dar ma'raz-e chīzī nihādan). (فکر آزاد).
1924, No. 148, p. 4, col. 4). Sense as above.

چه طور خبث طینت مدیران و نویسنده خود (ملك الشعرا) را در معرض افکار عموم می نهند

How they expose the malignancy of nature of the Editors and the writer himself (the Poet Laureate) to public opinion.

معرفی

(mu'arrifi kardan) : "To make appear"
(as). (محشر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4). See, under خودی

(mu'aṭṭal; with gen.) : "Short" (of), "without."
1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 1).

عمر عزیز خود را با ترس گزرانیده از اینکه يك روز معطل خرج یومیه شدیم
* * * و هزاران خیال بد که ابدًا بوقوع نخواهند رسید * * * خودمان ر
* * * بتحلیل می دهیم

We pass our precious lives in fear; and, thinking we may become short of (money for our) daily expenditure, or (from) a thousand unfortunate fancies, which will never be realized we ruin our health.

معلوم

(ma'lūm dāshtan) : "To make evident, to be convincing proof." (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 3, col. 3).

قتل ایلمبری و حمله بدون علّی که بعیال وی شده است معلوم میدارد که
لازم است * * * حراست کا ملتری از امریکائیان بشود

The assassination of X (the American Consul), and the causeless attack on his family are convincing proof that more efficient guarding of Americans is necessary.

معمول

معمول داشتن (ma'mūl dāshtan): "To cultivate," (as plants). (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2).

یک کارخانه قندسازی در کهریزک تاسیس کرد و چغندر را هم در اطراف
کارخانه معمول داشته

He founded a sugar factory in Kahrīzak, and also cultivated beet root round about it.

معوق

معوق معوقه (ḥuḳūḳ-e mu'avvaḳa): "Claims or dues in arrears." (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 3).

مغرب زمینی (maghrib-zamīnī): "European." (پیک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 4).

خوش بختانه در مغز و مغرب زمینی کاشف الکتریسته خرافات و موهومات
آشیانه نکرده بود

Fortunately in the European brain of the discoverer of electricity idle stories and superstitions had not lodged.

مفاد (mufād; with gen. or از): "What is gathered or learnt" (from), "the purports" (of). (میهن 1924, No. 27, p. 2, col. 1).

از مفاد جواب آقای حائری زاده این طور استنباط شد

From the purport of the answer of Āḳā Hā'irī-zāda this has been deduced.

مقابل (muḳābil): An "equivalent, an off-set." (Red-house). در مقابل (darmuḳābil; with gen.): "As an equivalent, an off-set" (to, for). (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 3).
See, under جنسی

مقابل

در مقابل (dar muḳābil; with gen.): "In respect" (of), "as regards." (اتحاد 1922, No. 217, p. 2).

مقام (maḳām; with gen.): "Addressed" (to). [Lit., (to) "the place" (of). (محرر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 4).]

کبیہ مقام منبع ریاست و زرای عظام

A copy addressed to the Prime Minister.

(مقامات pl. of مقامات)

مقامات مربوطه (maḳamat-e marbūṭa): "The authorities concerned." (Lit., "the places attached"). (1927, طوفان No. 191, p. 2, col. 1).

از طرف مقامات مربوطه بایشهاد مذکور اظهار موافقت شده است

The above-mentioned proposal has been agreed to by the authorities concerned.

مقایسه

مقایسه کردن (muḳāyasa kardan; with را and با): "To compare" (something with another). (1924, No. 148, فکر آزاد p. 1, col. 2).

اگر نمی توانند *** حالت تباه سه سال قبل ایران را با امروز مقایسه کرده

(الخ)

If they cannot compare the ruined condition of Persia of three years ago with its state at the present time, (I.C.)

مقدماتی (muḳaddamātī): "Preliminary." (1927, طوفان No. 191, p. 1, col. 5).

فعلا مشغول تهیه وسایل مقدماتی آن هستند

• They are at present engaged in preparing preliminary means.

مقدمه (muḳddama'ī; adj. as adv., or possibly with the "yē" of unity): "In the first place." (1927, ایران جوان No. 24, p. 3, col. 2).

چون تحصیلات عالیہ دو شعبہ مهم (علمی و ادبی) دارد مقدمه آن هم

باید بردو شعبہ باشد

Since the studies in the High Schools embrace two important branches, Science and Arts, those also (of the Middle

Schools) must in the first place be also in two branches. See too under, ابتکار

مقرر (muḳarrar): A "fixed allowance." (اتحاد 1922, No. 215, p. 3, col. 3).

See, under پرداخت

مقرر (muḳarrar): A "decision." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 1).

حسب المقرر (ḥasba 'l-muḳarrar): "According to the decision."

مقصد (maḳṣad): "The objective," (e.g., in a military sense). (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 2, sub-col. 4). See, under دست بقیه, دست

مقناطیسیدن (miḳnāṭīsidan): "To magnetize, to mesmerise." (مبین 1924, No. 27, p. 4, col. 2).

ستاره ایران (mulāffa): A "sheet or covering." (1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 4).

قدغن نمایند که هر یک از در شبکه هادارای یک ملاقه پارچه ئی بوده و همه هفته آنها را جوشانیده و شستشو نمایند

They should give orders that every (hired) carriage should have a cloth covering which every week should be boiled and washed.

ملاقات (mulākāt): An "interview." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 2).

رئیس الوزرا در طی ملاقاتی چنین اظهار داشت که دولت یونان نمی تواند بیش از این تامل نماید و برای حل قطعی قضیه شروع با اقدامات سیاسی خواهد نمود

The (Greek) Premier in the course of an interview stated that the Government could not further deliberate, and that it would proceed to adopt diplomatic measures towards a categorical solution of the question.

[Given simply as an illustration of a meaning offered in Steingass.]

ملا نما (mullā-namā): A "false mullā." (یک 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

ما از چندی قبل يك سلسله حقایق غیر قابل انکار را راجع به ملائما هاو
ذاکرین مزدور * * * نوشته بودیم

For some time past we have been writing a series of undeniable truths about the false Mullas and mercenary Reciters of the praise of God.

ملزم

(mulzam namūdan; with را followed by که) :
“To require” [one to (do)]. (ستاره ایران) 1924, No. 9, p. 2, col. 2). See under ملزومات

ملزومات See ملزومات کل

ملغی

ایران جوان (mulghá namūdan) : “To cancel.” (ایران جوان) 1927, No. 24, p. 2, sub-col. 2).

دوات ایران میتواند پس از پرداخت سه ماهه حقوق و خرج مراجعت
کثرات هر يك از مستخدمین فوق را ملغی نماید

The Persian Government is free to cancel the contract of any one of the above employees on payment of three months salary and the cost of his return journey.

ملوك

ملوك الطوائف (mulūku't-tavā'if). Used of the princes and 'nobles in the sense of “petty potentates.” (پيك) 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 1).

ملوك الطوائف ها و حامیان روحانی نمای آنها حق دارند در راه ترقی
خلق ایجاد مانع کنند

Have the petty potentates and their pseudo-spiritual supporters the right to create hindrances in the way of the people's progress?

ملوك الطوائفی (mulūku 't-tavā'ifi; adj.) : “Of petty potentates.” (پيك) 1924, No. 18, p. 1, col. 2).

باید دید کدام يك از اینها حق دارند نصرت الدوله و مدرس که یکی از
نمایندة ملوك الطوائفی و دیگری مجسم کنندة تیپ ملائما و مزدور اولی است (الخ)

We must see which of these parties is in the right,—Nusratu'd-Daula and Mudarris, one of whom is a representative of the petty potentates, the other an incarnation of the type of false Mulla and the former's mercenary, (etc.).

1924, فکرآزاد) : “Petty despotism.” (noun): ملوک الطوائفی (No. 148, p. 1, col. 3).

اصول فودالیتہ و ملوک الطوائفی در ہر قسمت مملکت رائج

A system of feudalism and petty despotism, prevalent in every part of the country.

طوفان (milliyyūn; pl. of milli): “Nationalists.” (ملیون 1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 2). See, under آشکار (āshkār), آشکار کردن

1924, پیک (Metaphorical in mamarr): “Channel.” (No. 18, p. 3, col. 4).

در صورت رفتن از این جا پناہ بکہ برم از چہ مری زندگی کم

Should I leave this place with whom should I take refuge and from what channel get my living?

من (mann): a “maund.”

منی (mannī): “a-maund.” (1924, فکرآزاد, No. 148, p. 3, col. 4).

طبقہ اول کہ اگر یخ منی دو تومان ہم باشد و در شہر پیدا نشود ممکن است از یخدان تحصیل کردہ و بخرند

If ice be even two tūmāns a-maund, and not procurable in the town, it is possible for the upper classes to buy it from ice-houses.

منافع (manāfi; pl. of manfa‘at): “Interests.” (Cf. 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 4). (مصالح)

از اینکہ وی حاضر شدہ است حفظ منافع اتباع شوروی را کہ در انگلستان میناند عہدہ دار شود اظہار تشکر نمودہ است

(The Soviet Chargé d' affaires) has expressed his thanks (to the German Representative in England) for his consent to safeguard the interests of Russian subjects resident in England.

مناکسه (munākasa): "Dutch anetion." (Redhouse). Sometimes conveniently rendered "competition, competitive;" i.e., as to lowness of price in tenders of goods to a customer. (پیشنها د 1927, No. 55, p. 4, col. 2). See, under د an "offer," a "tender."

منتقل (muntakal; with به): "Convinced, persuaded" (of). (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 3).

عظمت و اهمیت این امر بدرجۀ بود که حتی اشخاص که از نکات و دقائق امور سیاسی بی خبر (اند) * * * بخامن آن منتقل و بالاتفاق بامسرت این قضیه را تلقی کردند -

The greatness and importance of this matter are such that those even who are unacquainted with the fine and subtle points of political affairs have been convinced of the advantages of it, and have unanimously received the proposition with joy.

منحصر

منحصر بفرد (munhasir ba-fard): "Sole," (as heir). (ایران 1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

بوزارت مالیه اجازه داده میشود که * * * ماهی بیست و پنج تومان برای خرج تحصیل غلام حسین خان وارث منحصر بفرد مرحوم سید هادی خان پرداخته -

The Financial Ministry is authorized to pay 25 tūmāns a-month for the expenses of the education of Ghulām Husain Khān, the sole heir of the late Saiyid Hādī Khān.

منزله: A "degree or rank."

بمنزلۀ (ba-manzala-ye): "As." (ترقی 1924, No. 7, p. 2, sub-col. 4). See, under صلح جویانه (sulḥ), صلح

منتظم (munazzam): "Regular." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 4).

ورود منتظم سفاین شوروی به بنادر انگلیسی موقوف شده

The regular service of Russian vessels to English ports has been suspended.

منعقد (mun'aqid).

منعقد داشتن (muna'qid dāshtan): "To conclude" (an agreement). (فکرآزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 2, col. 2).

ملت روسیه از صمیم قلب این قرارداد را منعقد داشت

The Russian nation has concluded this agreement in all sincerity.

منفجر

منفجر شدن (munfajir shudan): "To break out, burst forth." (کوشش 1927, No. 77, p. 2, col. 5).

در دریای خزر * * از وسط دریایک ولکان تحت البحر می منفجر و مشتعل

شده

From the midst of the Caspian Sea a volcano burst forth flaming.

منفصل (munfaṣil): "Retired, removed" (from office). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 2, col. 2).

و نیز چهار نفر از مستخدمین کنتراتی وزارت مالیه * * از کار منفصل

شدند -

Also four of those employed under contract in the Financial Ministry have been removed from office.

منفی (manfi): "Negative." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 1, col. 5). See, مثبت (muṣbit): "Affirmative."

منگنه

منگنه نمودن (mangana namūdan): "To manipulate, contrive, scheme." (فکرآزاد 1924, No. 148, p. 3, col. 3).

بقرار مسموع مشارالیه را برای موضوع تسعیر جنسی که در زمان

پیشکاری منگنه نموده و کاملاً بر ضرر دولت بوده است می خواهند در

اداره مالیه محاکمه نمایند

By what we hear, the above-named is to be tried in the Court of Financial Ministry on the subject of the pricing of commodities manipulated by him, totally to the detriment of the State, in the time of his superintendence.

وارد (mavārid, pl. of مود maurid) : "Occasion, passes."
(ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

در این گونه موارد البته دلائلی هم بر خوبی اقدامات اقامه میشود.

In such passes even proofs are offered in favour of the measures (proposed).

موافق (muāfiq) : A "supporter." See حال

وجود (maujūd) : An "entity." (ایران جوان 1924, No. 27, p. 3, col. 4).

روح موجود مستقل است که خارج از بدن در زندگی مداومت میکند

The soul is a separate and independent entity which continues living apart from the body.

موجودی (maujūdī) : "The contents." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 4, col. 3).

موجودی خزانه صرف، سا فر تهای فرنگ و غیره گردید.

The contents of the Treasury, expended upon the European journeys, etc., (of the Shāh Nāsiru 'd-Dīn).

مودی (mu'addī) : "(Tax)-payer." (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1). See, under عایدی

مورد (maurid) : A "place of arrival." With genitive, is used to form adjectives; as, مورد احتیاج (maurid-e ihtiyāj) : "Requisite." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

برای تحصیل يك زبان قبل از هر چیز کتاب لغت مورد احتیاج است.

For the acquirement of a language, a dictionary before anything else is requisite.

مورد استعمال (maurid-e isti'māl) : "In use." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 4, col. 3).

حتی المقدور از ذکر لغاتی که مورد استعمال نیست اجتناب شده است

As far as possible, the recording of words not in use has been avoided.

مورد

مورد بدبینی (maurid-e bad-bīnī) : "Regarded with mistrust."

مورد بدبینی واقع گردیدن (maurid-e bad-bīnī vāki' gardīdan; with از طرف az ṭaraf-e): "To be regarded with mistrust" (by) (1924, No. 7, p. 1, col. 3).

شرح مزبور از طرف عده از متفکرین مورد بدبینی واقع گردیده و بخیال اینکه ما توهین باد با وفلاسفۀ ایران نموده ایم ما را در معرض انتقاد قرار داده اند.

The above statements have been regarded with mistrust by a number of thinkers, who, fancying that we have been treating the cultured and philosophical of Persia with contempt, have subjected us to criticism.

مورد تعقیب (maurid-e ta'qīb): "Liable prosecution." (1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 1). See, under تعقب

مورد توجه (maurid-e tavajjuh): A "subject of attention." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 1).

ولی موادی را که باید در آنجا تدریس شود مورد توجه قرار ندادند

But the matters which should be taught in that (branch) they have not made a subject of attention.

مورد تهاجم (maurid-e tahājum): "Subject to, affected by an attack in numbers." (1927, No. 191, p. 1, col. 5). See under اصول

مورد شور (maurid-e Shūr): "Decided by acclamation." (1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

و آنها آزاد باشند مسائل مهمۀ مملکتی را مورد شور قرار دهند

And they should be at liberty to have the important questions of the country decided by acclamation.

مورد

مورد داشتن (maurid dāshtan): "To serve a purpose." (1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2). See, under مامور "Agent."

بی مورد: See, under letter ب

مؤسسات (mu'assasāt; pl. of مؤسس): "Establishments." 1924, No. 18, p. 4, col. 1).

علاقه‌مندان بمعارف در تشریف فرمائی که کمکی بمؤسسات معارف محسوب است خود داری نخواهند فرمود

Those interested in the arts will not fail to pay a visit, to be reckoned a support to art establishments.

—————" (Business) firms." (طوفان 1927, No. 191, p. 3, col. 3).

تمام قرارداد هائی که ارکس و ادارات شوروی بامؤسسات انگلیس بسته اند با تمام از طرف تشکیلات شوروی مجری خواهد شد

All the agreements which the "orcus" and the Soviet administrations have made with English business firms will be entirely carried out by the Soviet constituted bodies.

مؤسسات

مؤسسات رهنی (mu'assasāt-e rahnī). "Monts de piélé." (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 2).

نظامنامه مؤسسات رهنی که در تحت ۴۲ ماده از طرف وزارت فوائد عامه تدوین و تهیه گردیده به مجلس شورای ملی تقدیم گردیده است

The regulations of the *Monts de piélé* which have been drawn up is forty-two articles by the Ministry of Public Utility have been put before the National Assembly.

موضوع (mauzū').

موضوع گشتن "To be allocated." (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 1, col. 4).

و به عده که بحوزه وضعفا هستند * * * مبلغی بعنوان مدد معاش موقتاً پرداخت شود که بعد از وصول وجوه اعانه موضوع گردد

And to those who are in firm and weak a certain sum, to be allocated when the subscriptions have been received, should be paid provisionally to defray the expenses of living.

موظف (mu'azzaf).

“To be charged with the duty, to have the duty.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 216, p. 4, col. 4). Here followed by (که). See (under حیث) از حیث

موفق

موفق شدن (muvaffak shudan; with به): “To be able” (to do something), “To be successful” (in). (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 1, sub-col. 2). See, under تعرفه

موفقیت (muvaffakīyat): “Success.” (ستاره ایران 1924, No. 9, p. 1, col. 1).

اگر در زمان ریاست وزرائی دیگران بود این موفقیت بدست نمی آمد

If it had been in the time of the Premiership of others this success would not have been obtained.

موقع: “The proper place.”

در موقعی که — بوده (darmaukā'ī ki-būda): “Happening to have been,” or simply, “being.” (اتحاد 1922, No. 219, p. 2, col. 3).

اخیرا در موقعی که شاهزاده محمدحسین میرزا مامور نظامی که برای تهیه آذوقه قشونی در مرز نه بقریه موجقان بوده با شرار خبر میدهند ما موزین نظامی بگرفتاری شما میائید

At last Prince Muhammad Husain being at the village of Mūchḡān in Marand as an Army Commissioner to attend to the commissariat gave notice to the criminals that the troops were coming to seize them.

موقع

بموقع (ba-mauka'): “Opportune.” (ایران جوان 1927, No. 24, p. 5, col. 1).

بموقع است که از جنبه عمومی وبامراعات اصول منطقی انواع واقسام عایدات را در نظر گرفته

It will be opportune to consider all the different kinds of income from a general and logical point of view.

ایران جوان) (manka'iyat): An "opportunity."
1927, No. 24, p. 3, col. 3).

ولی (باید) مانع شد از اینکه آنها موقعیتی پیدا کنند و بر علیه دیکتاتور کارگران
اعمال نفوذ نمایند

But they must be prevented from finding an opportunity
to exert influence against the Labour Dictator (Stalin).

1924, ستاره ایران) (mauka'iyat): A "position."
No. 9, p. 3, col. 2).

مذاکرات را صرفاً راجع بموقعیتی که اتخاذ نموده اند در تمام این هفته ادامه
خواهد داشت (خواهند داشت ؟)

The bankers will continue for all the week (to maintain)
the position they have taken up towards the Conference.

ایران جوان) (maukūl; with به): "Relegated" (to).
1927, No. 24, p. 11, col. 1).

بقیه آن موکول بمجلسه بعد گردید

The rest (of the article) was relegated to the next sitting.

1922, اتحاد) (Committed, entrusted" (to).
No. 219, p. 1, col. 1 and 2). (Used herewith برای)

مجبوریم اطلاعات خود را در قضیه نفت بار دیگر بعرض قارئین برسانیم تا
محکمه افکار عمومی همان محکمه که حل و فصل امور موکول برای او است
قضات نماید

We feel obliged to put before our readers again the in-
formation we possess as to the petroleum concession, in order
that the court of public thought—that court to which the
solving and deciding of affairs is committed—may judge.

ایران جوان) (muhandisī; adj.): "Engineering."
1927, No. 24, p. 10, col. 4).

تعلیمات مهندسی: Engineering teaching

میزان "Balance, scales."

بمیزان حالیه (ba-mizān-e hāliya): "At the present rate of
exchange." (1921, Apr. 10, p. 6).

میزان

میزان دادن (mīzān dādan): "To pay a proportion or measure," (e.g., as taxes). (مخبر 1927, No. 55, p. 3, col. 2).

که بدانیم از محصول خود که همه چیز آن بدست ما تمییه میشود چه میزان
بخوانین بدهیم

That we may know what proportion we should give to the Bakhtiyārī Khāns of our harvests, every part of which is the work of our hands.

C. E. WILSON.

(To be continued)

DEVIL'S DELUSION OF IBN AL-ḤAUẒI

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the Sufis in the matter of purification

WE have mentioned his delusion of the devotees in the matter of purification, only in the case of the Sufis he goes beyond all bounds. To such an extent has he strengthened their hallucination concerning the use of a great quantity of water that I have been told how when Ibn 'Aqil¹ entered a monastery he was ridiculed for the small amount of water which he used. They did not know that one *ratl* of water constitutes an adequate ablution. We have also been told that Abu Hamid al-Shirazi asked a *faqir* whence he got the water for ablution. He said: "From the river. I have a hallucination on the subject of purification."—Abu Hamid said: I remember the time when the Sufis mocked Satan; now Satan mocks them.

Some of them walk in sandals on the matting; there is no harm in this, only a beginner looking for a model might suppose this to be a rule, whereas the best men of old did not do it. Well may one wonder at a man who goes to such a length in precaution and describes himself as a cleanser of his outside, when his inside is crammed with filth and foulness! God is our guide!

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes them in prayer

We have mentioned how he deludes the devotees in prayer, and he practises the same delusions on the Sufis, only to a greater extent. Muhammad b. Tahir al-Maqdisi states that among the practices in which they stand alone, and from which they take their name,² is a prayer of two inclinations said after donning the patched cloak and repenting. The ground alleged for this is a Tradition of Thumamah b. Uthal

(1) Abu'l-Wafa 'Ali, author of a work in 400 volumes. Died 513.

(2) Probably with reference to the derivation of the name Sufi from a verb signifying "to be pure."

that when he became a Muslim he was ordered by the Prophet to wash.¹

I would observe that when an ignorant person meddles with what is not his concern he is very reprehensible. Thumamah was an Unbeliever, and when an Unbeliever becomes a Muslim it is incumbent on him to wash, according to a number of jurists, among them Ahmad b. Hanbal. But no man of learning has enjoined a prayer of two inclinations on one who becomes a Muslim, neither is there any mention of a prayer in the Tradition of Thumamah which could furnish an analogy. Is this then anything in fact but an innovation which they term "a practice." Further his assertion that the Sufis have practices wherein they stand alone is most reprehensible. For if these practices are to be referred to the Code, then all Muslims are alike in respect of them, and the jurists know best about them; how then do the Sufis stand alone in observing them? If on the other hand the practices are according to their own ideas, then they are alone in observing them because they invented them.

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the Sufis in the matter of dwellings

As for the building of hermitages it is true that some of the earlier devotees took to them in order to practise devotion in isolation. The Sufis, however, if their purpose be sincere, are in error from six points of view.

- (1) They have invented this sort of building, whereas the Islamic building is the mosque.
- (2) They have produced a rival to the Mosque, reducing the size of the congregation.
- (3) They fail to see that they transfer the error to the mosques.²
- (4) They imitate the Christians by isolating themselves in monasteries.
- (5) They practise celibacy though they are young, and most of them are in need of matrimony.
- (6) They make a sign which proclaims that they are ascetics, which causes them to be visited and is supposed to give good luck.

(1) According to Ibn Hisham, ed. Wüstenfeld, p. 997, he did so of his own initiative.

(2) i.e., if it is right to build hermitages, it is wrong to build mosques.

If however their purpose be insincere, then what they build are gaming-houses, abodes of idleness, and modes of parading asceticism. We have seen a number of the modern Sufis reposing in their hermitages from the labour of earning their living, and occupied with eating, drinking, music and dancing. They seek this world's goods from every rogue and have no scruple in accepting the gift of the tax-gatherer. Most of their hermitages have been built by tyrants, who have endowed them with ill-gotten gains. The devil has deluded them with the suggestion "What comes to you is your provision, so do not worry about temperance." Their concern is the proper working of the kitchen, food and iced water. Where is the hunger of Bishr, the abstinence of Sari, the industry of Junaid? These people spend most of their time with amusing conversation or visiting the great ones of the earth. If one of them is in luck, he sticks his head into his tunic and becomes melancholy, and says: "My heart tells me from my Lord." I have been told that a man who read the Qur'ân in a hermitage was forbidden to do so, and that some people who read Tradition in one were told that it was no place for that.

Account of the way wherein the devil deludes the Sufis in the matter of giving up their property

The devil used to delude the early Sufis, who were genuine ascetics, showing them the evil of wealth and warning them of its mischief; in consequence they used to give up their property, and sit on the carpet of poverty. Their aims in this matter were saintly, though their actions were erroneous owing to inadequate knowledge. At the present day the devil is spared such trouble, for if one of them has any money he squanders and wastes it. There is a Tradition going back to Muhammad b. al-Husain al-Salimi according to which he said: I heard Abu Nasr al-Tusi' say that he had heard a number of the shaikhs of Rayy state that Abu 'Abdallah al-Muqri² had inherited from his father 50,000 dinars besides estates and houses; he gave the whole up and expended it on the poor.

Similar stories are told of a great number; I should not blame the person who acted in this way provided he kept a hoard sufficient for his wants or was master of some craft which would render him independent, or if the wealth came

(1) Died 344. He is highly praised by Sam'ani, p. 373.

(2) Died 366. His name was Muhammad b. Ahmad b. Muhammad.

from a suspected source, so that he gave it away in charity. The case which is reprehensible and to be forbidden is that of a man giving away the whole of his legal property, and then being in need of other people's possessions, and impoverishing his family; making himself an object of the charity or alms of his friends or taking from persons guilty of robbery or suspected thereof. I am not indeed surprised at ignorant devotees doing this; the wonder is that men of intelligence and learning should have recommended and even enjoined this course, which conflicts with both reason and the code.

Al-Harith al-Muhasibi has a long discourse on this subject, which is confirmed and supported by Abu Hamid al-Ghazali. To my mind al-Harith is more excusable than Abu Hamid, for the latter was the more skilled in jurisprudence; only his adoption of Sufism led him to support his adopted system.

The following is a specimen of al-Harith al-Muhasibi's discourses.* "O thou that art deceived, if thou holdest that the amassing of lawful wealth is nobler and more honourable than the discarding of it, thou art contemning the blessed Muhammad and the Apostles, and dost hold that the blessed Muhammad gave bad advice to his nation when he forbade them to amass it, well-knowing that amassing it was for their good. And thou dost hold that God was inconsiderate of His servants when He forbade them to amass wealth, well knowing that amassing it was for their good; it will not profit thee to allege the wealth of the Companions. Ibn 'Auf will wish on the Day of Resurrection that he had been given no more than enough to sustain him in this world. And indeed (he proceeds) I have been told that when 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf died, some of the Prophet's Companions said they were afraid about 'Abd al-Rahman on account of the estate which he had left. Ka'b, however, said: Good heavens! why need you fear for 'Abd al-Rahman, who acquired virtuously and spent virtuously?—The news reached Abu Dharr who came out in anger, and wanted Ka'b; passing by the jaw of a camel he took it into his hand and went off in search of Ka'b. Ka'b was told that Abu Dharr was looking for him. So he fled and came to 'Uthman to implore his protection. He told 'Uthman the story; Abu Dharr followed the trail of Ka'b till he tracked him to 'Uthman's dwelling. When he entered Ka'b rose up and seated himself behind 'Uthman out of fear of Abu Dharr. The latter said to him: Away with you, son of a

*The passage is given by Ghazali, *Ihya' 'ulum al-din*, iii. 199.

Jewess! You hold that there is no harm in the estate left by 'Abd al-Rahman b. Auf! The Prophet one day came out and said: On the Day of Resurrection the most shall be the least save one who says thus and thus;* then he said: O Abu Dharr, thou art desirous of the most, whereas I am desirous of the least.—Of that then the Prophet was desirous, whereas thou, O son of the Jewess, dost say There is no harm in the estate which was left by 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf! Thou liest and whosoever says the same lies.—Ka'b did not utter a word in reply till he had gone.

Al-Harith proceeds: So this 'Abd al-Rahman notwithstanding his eminence is to be detained in the Resurrection-court because of the wealth which he acquired honourably and in order to live temperately and do good works; he is to be prevented from running into Paradise with the poor Refugees, and instead will have to creep after them. The Companions rejoiced when they were destitute, and you hoard wealth and amass it in fear of poverty. This is to hold a bad opinion of God and to have no confidence in His guarantee, which is of itself sufficiently criminal. Perhaps too thou amassest the wealth for the comforts, vanities, and pleasures of this world, whereas we have been told that the Prophet said: Whoso laments over worldly fortune which he has missed comes a whole year's journey nearer Hell. And you grieve over what you have missed, not troubling about your proximity to God's punishment! Consider, canst thou find in thy lifetime lawful wealth to the amount which the Companions found? Where is the lawful wealth which thou canst amass? I give thee good counsel I would have thee contended with a minimum, and not amassing wealth for charitable purposes. A certain man of learning was asked concerning one who amasses wealth for charitable purposes and replied that it is yet more charitable to abstain therefrom. We have also been told that one of the best of the Epigoni being asked concerning two men, one of whom sought fortune by honourable means, won it, helped his relations and benefitted himself, and another who disregarded fortune, neither sought it nor gave it away—which of the two was the better? He replied that there was a vast difference between them; the one who disregarded fortune was the better by a distance as great as that between East and West.

This is the language of al-Harith al-Muhasibi, quoted by Abu Hamid, who confirms it and supports it by the Tradition

.. *Apparently explained in what follows.

of Tha 'Iabah, who was given wealth and declined to give alms.¹ Abu Hamid goes on to say: Whoso² observes the circumstances of the prophets and saints and their sayings will not doubt that the absence of wealth is better than its presence, even if it be employed on good objects; the least of its evils is that its possessors are diverted by care of it from the thought of God. The neophyte should give up his wealth, only reserving what is absolutely necessary. So long as a dirhem remains to him, to occupy his mind, he will be screened from God Almighty.

Now all this, I observe, is country to the code and to reason and is misunderstanding the meaning of wealth.

Refutation of the above view

To begin with the nobility of wealth, God Almighty has magnified it and commanded its conservation, inasmuch as He has made it the support of man, and that which has been constituted the support of the noble creature man is itself noble. He says (iv. 4) *Give not unto the fools your goods which He has made a support for you*, forbidding the surrender of property to one who is not of discretion. And again (iv. 5) *And if ye have ascertained that they have discretion, then hand over to them their goods*. Further it is certain that the Prophet forbade the waste of money. He said to Sa'd: It is better that thou shouldst leave thy heirs wealthy than that thou shouldst leave them poor to beg of people.—And again: No money ever helped me like that of Abu Bakr.—There is a Tradition going back by a sound chain to 'Amr b. al-'As according to which he said: The Prophet sent to me, saying: Put on thy garments and thy armour and come to me.—So I came to him, and he said: I wish to send thee in command of an army, and may God keep thee safe and give thee spoil. I would fain have thee acquire wealth.—I said: O Prophet of God, I did not accept Islam for the sake of wealth, but for its own sake.—He said: O 'Amr, a good fortune is a fine thing for a good man!—There is also a Tradition going back to Anas b. Malik according to which the Prophet invoked various blessings upon him, saying at the end of his petition: O God, multiply his wealth and his offspring and bless him!—There is also a Tradition going back to 'Abd al-Rahman b. Ka'b b. Malik according to which 'Ubaidallah b. Ka'b b. Malik said:

(1) He urged the Prophet to pay that he might be enriched and when his wealth increased, neglected his religious duties.

(2) *Ihya' 'Ulum al-din*, iii. 205.

I heard Ka'b b. Malik telling the story of his repentance, in which he said: I said: O Prophet of God, part of my repentance is my denuding myself of my wealth as an offspring to God and His Apostle.—He said: It will be better that thou retain part of it.

These Traditions, I would observe, are produced in the collections of sound Tradition, and they are opposed to the belief of the Sufis that the increase of wealth is a screen and earns punishment, and that the saving of it is inconsistent with reliance on God. It is not to be denied that it is a dangerous temptation and that many people have kept clear of it for fear of that; that it is difficult to amass it in the right way, and that it is rare that a heart is safe from its temptation: and rare too that the heart of its possessor is occupied with the thought of the next world. Hence its temptation is feared. As for the acquisition of wealth, he who restricts himself to the acquisition of a minimum from lawful sources is only doing what he is obliged to do. Where a man purposes to amass it in quantities, we must consider his object. If that be merely ostentation and vainglory, it is a bad object; but if it be to preserve the honour of himself and his family, to lay by against accidents which may befall himself or them, to deal generously with friends, enrich the poor, and do good works, he will be rewarded for his endeavour, and his amassing with this intent will be better than many an act of piety. The intentions of many of the Companions (God's favour be with them all!) in the amassing of wealth were sound, owing to the good objects which they had in view: hence they were anxious for it and asked for increase. There is a Tradition going back to Ibn 'Umar according to which the Prophet offered al-Zubair in fief as much land as his horse could gallop over in a region called Tharthar. Al-Zubair made his horse gallop till it stopped, when he threw his whip, and the Prophet said: Give him as far as the whip reaches.—Sa'd b. 'Ubaidah used to say in a prayer: O God, give me plenteously.

What is even more striking than these is that Jacob (on whom be favour and peace!) agreed to his sons' proposition when they said (xii. 65) *We shall have the extra measure of a camel-load*, and sent his son Benjamin with them, and that Shu'aib wanted an addition to what he was to get and said xxviii. 27) *And if thou wilt make it up to ten, it will be of thine own accord*;* and that when Job (on whom be peace!) was healed, there was sprinkled on him a swarm of

* i.e., if Moses would work ten years instead of only eight.

golden locusts, and he began to gather them in quantities into his garment. He was asked: Art thou not satisfied? He replied: O Lord, who can be satisfied with thy bounty.¹—This is a matter implanted in men's nature, and is absolutely good when what is intended by it is good.

The language of al-Muhasibi displayed ignorance of what he ought to have known and his assertions that God forbade His servants to amass wealth and that the Prophet laid the same prohibition on his community are absurd. The Tradition of Ka'b and Abu Dharr which he narrates is an absurd fabrication by some ignorant persons into whose category al-Muhasibi is brought through his failure to perceive the fact about it.

Something of this sort is indeed narrated, though the line of Tradition is uncertain. There is a Tradition going back to Malik b. 'Abdallah al-Ziyadi to the effect that Abu Dharr asked to be admitted to the presence of 'Uthman, and was admitted, having a staff in his hand, 'Uthman said: O Ka'b. 'Abd al-Rahman is dead and has left a fortune, what thinkest thou thereof?—Ka'b replied: There is no harm, if he have been paying therein the dues of God.—Abu Dharr lifted up his staff and smote Ka'b, saying: I heard the Prophet say: I should not like to have this mountain all gold to spend and to be accepted of me. Throw behind me six ounces!—I adjure thee by God, 'Uthman, didst thou hear this?—three times?—He said Yes.

I would observe that this Tradition cannot stand; Ibn Lahi'ah (the reporter) is of damaged reputation; Yahya² says that his Traditions cannot be used as evidence. The historical fact is that Abu Dharr died in the year 25 whereas 'Abd al-Rahman died in the year 32, surviving Abu Dharr by seven years! Further the expressions employed in their narrative show that it is a fabrication. Besides how could the Companions say We fear for 'Abd al-Rahman? Is there not a consensus of opinion that the amassing of wealth from lawful sources is permitted? What then have they to fear when there is this permission? Can the Code give licence for a proceeding and then punish it? This is want of intelligence and of legal knowledge. Then can Abu Dharr have censured 'Abd al-Rahman, who was immeasurably his superior? Further his laying hold of 'Abd al-Rahman only is evidence

(1) The story is told in al-Kisai's *Tales of the Prophets*, ed. Isenberg, i. 189.

(2) Yahya b. Sa'id quoted by Bukhari. Ibn Lahi'ah's name was 'Abdallah.

that he had not studied the lives of the Companions; for Talhah left 300 *buhar* each of them equal to 3 *qintar*.¹ A *buhar* means a load. The fortune of al-Zubair was 50,200,000 dirhems. Ibn Mas'ud left 90,000. Most of the Companions acquired and left fortunes, and none of them found fault with another.

His assertion that 'Abd al-Rahman will creep on Resurrection-day shows that he does not know the Tradition. Or was this a dream, the man not being awake? God forbid that 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf should creep on Resurrection-day! Who then will go in front if 'Abd al-Rahman has to crawl, when he was one of the Ten assured of Paradise, one of the fighters at Badr to whom pardon was promised, one of the Committee!² Besides, the Tradition is narrated by 'Umarah b. Zadhan, of whom Bukhari asserts that his Traditions are often confused, Ahmad that he told on the authority of Anas stories which are to be rejected, Abu Hatim al-Razi that he must not be used as evidence, Daraqutni that he is weak. We have been told by Ibn al-Hasin by a sound chain which goes back to 'Umarah b. Thabit after Anas that the last said: One day when 'A'ishah was in her house she heard a noise in Medinah and asked what it was. She was told that it was a train of camels belonging to 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf coming from Syria laden with all sorts of goods, and consisting of 700 beasts. Medinah shook with the noise. 'A'ishah said: I heard the Prophet say that he had seen 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf entering Paradise crawling.—The story came to the ears of 'Abd al-Rahman b. 'Auf, who said: If I can, I shall enter it erect. So he devoted the camels with their saddles and their loads to the service of God.

With regard to his assertion that the abandonment of wealth lawfully acquired is better than amassing it, that is not so. If the object be a sound one, amassing it is on the contrary better according to the learned. The Tradition which he quotes as a saying of the Prophet Whoso laments over worldly fortune that he has missed, etc., is absurd: the Prophet never said this. With regard to his question: Canst thou find in thy lifetime lawful wealth, etc., he may be asked: What is the matter with wealth lawfully acquired? The Prophet says: The lawful is clear and the unlawful is clear.—Do you suppose he means by the lawful a grain which from the time when it was extracted from the mine has been handled in no

(1) A large sum, variously explained.

(2) The committee appointed by 'Umar to choose a successor.

doubtful transaction? That is unlikely, and is not demanded of us. Nay, if a Muslim sells a Jew, the price which he obtains is lawful without a doubt. Such is the doctrine of the jurists, and I am astonished at the silence of Abu Hamid and still more at his corroborating what he quotes. How too can he assert that absence of wealth is better than its presence, even if it be employed in good objects? It would be correct to claim consensus of opinion to the contrary of this. However his adoption of Sufism altered his judgment. There is a Tradition that al-Marwazi¹ said: I heard a man say to Abu 'Abdullah I have a competence. Abu 'Abdallah said: Stick to the market, you will help your relations and visit the sick.

With regard to his statement that the neophyte ought to give up his fortune, we have already explained that if that fortune be unlawfully acquired, or be suspected of being so or if the man can be satisfied with a little or earn his maintenance, he may give it up; otherwise there is no justification for the act. As for Tha'labah, his fortune did him no harm, only his unwillingness to pay his dues.

As for the Prophets: Abraham had fields and goods; likewise Shu'aib and others. Sa'id b. al-Musayyib used to say: There is no good in a man who does not make money, where-with he can pay his debts, protect his honour, help his relatives, and when he dies make bequest to his successors. Ibn al-Musayyib left 400 dinars. We have recorded the sums left by the Companions. Sufyan al-Thauri left 200. He used to say: Money in our age is a weapon. The men of old were always eulogizing wealth, amassing it against an evil day, and to help the poor. If certain of them abstained from doing so it was only because they preferred to occupy themselves with devotion and to be free from distraction. If our author had said that it was better to do it sparingly, it would have been near the truth. As he states it, he comes near incurring guilt.

You should know that poverty is a disease, and one who is patient under it will be rewarded for his patience. And this is why the poor will enter Paradise five hundred years before the rich; it is the reward for their endurance of misfortune with patience. Wealth is a boon, for which gratitude is due. The rich man, though he toils and risks, is like the Mufti (one who delivers legal opinions) and the fighter in the holy war, whereas the poor man is like the anchorite. Abu 'Abd al-Rahman al-Sulami¹ in his book *Practices of the Sufis* has a

(1) Mentioned in the *Luma'*.

section *Disapproval of a poor man leaving anything* in which he cites a Tradition that one of the People of the Bench when he died left two dinars, and the Prophet said "Two burnings!"

I would observe that this is the reasoning of one who does not understand the circumstances. The poor man of the anecdote jostled other poor men to receive alms, while retaining his own property; for this reason the Prophet said: Two burnings. Had the objection been to the simple act of leaving property, the Prophet would not have said to Sa'd: it is better that you should leave your heirs wealthy than that you should leave them poor begging alms of people. Neither would any of the Companions have left property. 'Umar b. al-Khattab said: The Prophet exhorted to almsgiving and I brought half my fortune. The Prophet said: And what have you saved for your family?—I replied: The same amount.—The Prophet made no objection. Ibn Jarir al-Tabari² says: This Tradition shows the fallacy of the assertion of ignorant Sufis that a man may not hoard anything today for the morrow, and that whoso does this has a bad opinion of his Lord, neither places full reliance on Him. Likewise (he goes on to say) the saying of the Prophet "Take to yourselves sheep for they are a blessing" proves the falseness of the assertion of certain Sufis that no man's reliance on his Lord is sincere unless he is to be found morning and evening without either coin or other goods. Remember that the Prophet hoarded a year's provision for his wives.

Some persons have given away their lawful possessions and come to picking up filth and begging; this is because a man's wants do not stop. A wise man prepares for the future. These people who give away their possessions at the commencement of their Sufism are like one who provides himself with water for the journey to Meccah and then pours it away. There is a Tradition going back to Jabir b. 'Abdallah according to which he said: Abu Husain al-Sulami brought some gold from their mine,² paid a debt and had a surplus about the size of a hen's egg. He took it to the Prophet and said: O Prophet of God, place this where God shows thee, or where thou thinkest fit.—He approached the Prophet from his right, and the Prophet turned away: then from his left and again he turned away: then from the front, and the Prophet lowered his head. As the man insisted, the Prophet took it from his hand and flung it at him; had it hit, it would have wounded him. Then

(1) The historian and commentator.

(2) i.e., that of the Banu Sulaim,

the Prophet turned to him and said: One of you people takes his money, gives it away in charity, and then sits down and begs of the people. Charity should come out of wealth, so begin with those whom you have to support.—This story is told by Abu Dawud in his *Sunan* as a Tradition of Mahmud b. Labid after Jabir b. 'Abdallah. He said: We were with the Prophet when there arrived a man with a thing like an egg of gold. He said: O Prophet of God, I got this out of a mine; take it, it is for charity, and I possess nothing else.—The Prophet turned away from him; the man then approached him from his right side and said the same: the Prophet again turned away. Then the man approached him from his left side, and again the Prophet turned away. Then he approached the Prophet from behind. This time the Prophet took it and flung it at him: had it hit, it would have killed or wounded him. The Prophet then said: One of you people brings his property and says this is for charity, and then sits down and begs of people. The best charity is that which comes out of wealth.—According to another account the Prophet said: Take your property back, we have no need of it.—Abu Dawud also records a Tradition according to which Abu Sa'id al-Khudari said: A man entered the Mosque and the Prophet ordered clothes to be put out which was done; and he ordered two garments to be given to the man. He then exhorted to almsgiving, and the man came and laid down one of the two garments. The Prophet cried out: Take your garment!

I copied the following from the manuscript of Abu'l-Wafa b. 'Aqil.¹ He says: Ibn Shadhan reports that a number of Sufis came to visit Shibli, who sent to a rich man asking him for money to spend upon them. The man sent the messenger back with the reply: You, Abu Bakr, know the Truth (the Deity); have you asked Him?—Shibli said to the messenger; Go back to him and say: Worldly goods are base, so I seek them of the base like you; I ask for Truth of the Truth.—Ibn 'Aqil observes: If the man sent him a hundred dinars to ransom himself from foul language of this kind, then Shibli himself fed from a foul source and entertained his guests with the same.

Some of them having marketable goods expended them,² saying "I would not have my confidence in anything but God." This is want of intelligence, these people supposing that

(1) See above. Accounts of him in *Shajarat al-dhahab*, iv. 35, and *Hisan al-Nizam*.

(2) Apparently this means realized them and gave away the proceeds,

"reliance" means doing away with means and giving wealth away. We were informed by al-Qazzaz after al-Khatib after Abu Nu'aim the Hafiz that Ja'far al-Khuldi stated in his book that he had heard Junaid say: I with a number of our comrades knocked at the door of Abu Ya'qub al-Zayyat: He said: Had you no business with God which would distract you from coming to me?—I replied: If our coming to you be part of our business with Him, why should we abstain from it?—I then asked him a question about Reliance. He threw away a dirhem which he had, and then gave me an answer which did full justice to Reliance. Then he said: I was ashamed before God to answer you while I had anything in my possession.

I would observe that if these people understood the sense of Reliance, that it means confidence of the heart in God, not giving up different forms of wealth, they would not have used this language. Only they do not understand. Now the leaders of the Companions and the Epigoni used to trade and amass wealth, none of them saying this. It has been told us that when Abu Bakr al-Siddiq was told that he must give up earning owing to his being occupied with the Caliphate, he said: Then whence shall I support my family?—This language is disapproved by the Sufis, who declare that one who utters it is not Reliant. Similarly they disapprove of anyone saying: This food will harm me. On this subject they narrate a story of Abu Talib al-Razi. I was present, he said, in a certain place with our comrades, who produced some *leben*:¹ I will not eat it, I said, for it does me harm. Forty years later I was praying one day behind the *Maqam*² and said in my orison: O God thou knowest that I have associated none with Thee even for the twinkling of an eye.—I heard a mysterious voice saying: Not even on the day of the *leben*?

God, I would observe, knows best about the accuracy of this story. You should know, however, that the man who says: "This will harm me" does not mean that the thing will work the mischief of itself: his meaning is merely that it is a cause of mischief, as when Abraham said (xiv. 39) *O Lord, verily they have misled many of the people*. It is ascertained that the Prophet said: No wealth has helped me like Abu Bakr's. His phrase *has not helped me* corresponds with that of one who says *has not harmed me*. It is also ascertained that he said: My meal at Khaibar has not ceased revisiting

(1) Probably curds.

• (2) Stone which retains the impress of Abraham's foot.

me till now till it has severed my aorta.¹ It is certain that there is no rank higher than that of prophet, and he ascribed help to wealth and harm to food. To feel scruples about following his path is to attack the Code. No attention should be paid to the chatter of this person on such a subject.

We have explained how the original Sufis gave up their property out of indifference to it, and have stated that they did this with a good intention only they were mistaken in so doing, as we have said, as they went against the Code and reason. The later Sufis favour worldly prosperity and the amassing of wealth from any source whatever, being anxious for comfort and gratification of their desires. Some of them, though able to earn, decline to work, sit down in a hermitage or a mosque and rely on people's charity, constantly listening for a knock at the door. Now it is well known that charity is unlawful for the rich or able-bodied. They care not who sends to them; the sender may be an oppressor or a tax-gatherer, but they do not refuse him. They have invented a vocabulary of their own for this matter, designating the procedure as "opening," or "our maintenance must of necessity come to us," or "it is from God, so we shall neither send it back nor thank for it." All this is contrary to the Code, and ignorance of it, and the reverse of what the pious of old time used to practise. For the Prophet said: The licit is manifest and the illicit is manifest; between the two are doubtful matters which many men do not know; whoso is on his guard against doubts secures his religion and his honour. Abu Bakr al-Siddiq vomited when he had eaten something that was doubtful. The pious would not accept the gift of an oppressor or of one the source of whose wealth was doubtful. Many of the men of old would not accept presents from friends out of conscientiousness and scrupulousness. It is recorded of Abu Bakr al-Marwazi that he said: I mentioned a certain Traditionalist to Abu 'Abdallah and he said: What a man he would be but for a certain quality! He paused, and then proceeded: A man cannot be perfect in every quality.—I said to him: Was he not an expert in the Sunnah?—He replied: Assuredly; I have taken down Traditions from him, but he had one quality: He did not care from whom he accepted.

We have been informed how a certain Sufi visited a tyrannical prince, and preached to him; the prince then gave him something, which he accepted. The prince said: We are all hunters, the only difference is in the nets.²—Where then do

(1) Ibn Hisham, ed Wüstenfeld, p. 765.

(2) Table-talk of a Mesopotamian Judge, i. 281.

these come in respect of their supposed repugnance to worldliness? For the Prophet said: The upper hand is better than the lower (the upper meaning that which gives, as the learned interpret it, which is correct, whereas some suppose the upper hand to be that which takes. Ibn Qutaibah observes that in his opinion this must be the view of persons who approve of mendicity).

The original Sufis used to examine the source of wealth, and scrutinize their food. Ahmad b. Hanbal was asked about al-Sari al-Saqati and replied: The Shaikh who is celebrated for the excellence of his food.—Al-Sari said: I accompanied a raiding party; we hired a house and I set up an oven therein. My companions, however, had scruples about eating the bread baked in that oven.*

Now one who sees how the newer type of Sufis in our time care not whence they take may well be amazed. I myself entered a hermitage and asked for its shaikh; I was told that he had gone off to congratulate a prince on the robe of honour which had been conferred on him. This prince was a notorious oppressor. I said: Alas, you are not satisfied with opening a shop, but must needs hawk your wares on your heads! Though you could earn your living you decline to do so and depend on alms and gifts but that is not enough, so you take from anyone; whoever he may be. And even that is not enough, but you must needs go the round of the oppressors, soliciting presents, and congratulating them on raiment which they have no right to wear, and magistracies wherein no justice will be administered. Assuredly you do more injury to Islam than anyone else.

Some of their shaikhs combine to collect money from doubtful sources and then divide it between them. Some make profession of asceticism while owning much money and amassing it with avidity, their profession being in conflict with the facts. Some while amassing wealth make a show of poverty; these make things harder for the real poor by taking the alms, which they have no right to do. Abu'l-Hasan al-Bistami; shaikh of the hermitage of Ibn al-Majyan (?), used to wear wool in both summer and winter, and receive visits from people who supposed that this would bring them luck. When he died, he left 4,000 dinars.

This, I would observe, is more than disgraceful. It is ascertained that when one of the People of the Bench dying left two dinars, the Prophet said: Two burnings!

NAJIB-UD-DAULAH, RUHELA CHIEF

A Unique Persian Manuscript

IN *Islamic Culture* for 1933 was published my translation of the Persian life of Najib-ud-daulah written by Sayyid Nuruddin Husain Khan, of which there is only one copy in the world, viz., the British Museum MS. This Nuruddin Husain was formerly an officer in the household of Ghaziuddin Imad-ul-mulk, wazir of Delhi from 1754 to 1760 and grandson of the first Nizam-ul-mulk Asaf Jah. He latterly became the munshi and most trusted diplomatic agent of Sir Charles Malet, Baronet, the British Resident at Poona. Since then I have discovered another contemporary life of Najib-ud-daulah, written in Persian by Bihari Lal Munshi, a nephew of Mansukh Rai, the confidential wakil of Zabita Khan (the son and successor of Najib-ud-daulah). This second work was written in 1787 in Camp Fathgarh (Farrukhabad, U.P.) for "Captain Ustar,"—which I read, not as *Worcester* but as a copyist's error for *Istur=Stuart*, meaning that Col. Stuart who was kidnapped by the Sikhs when hunting near Anupshahar and afterwards released for a ransom through the mediation of Begam Samru in 1788. Bihari Lal was the munshi of Col. Bastin (Sebastian?), and his biography of his master, though it falls far short of Nuruddin Husain's work in literary power, fulness of detail, and the historical importance of its contents, is still of value as giving certain facts about Najib and his son known only to a hereditary servant of the family, whereas Nuruddin was an outsider to them and lived at a distance from these Ruhela chiefs' dominions, Bihari Lal's work, existing in a unique manuscript, covers 30 foolscap folio pages and falls into three parts, namely the life of Najib, the career of Zabita Khan, and accounts of Ali Muhammad Khan, Hafiz Rahmat, Dundi Khan and other Ruhelas. The first of these sections is here presented to the reader.

Translation

[1] At the beginning he came to India from *vilayer*, (i.e., the country beyond our north-western frontier). His

paternal uncle was Basharat Khan, who served Ali Muhammad Khan (Ruhela) at Aonla with three or four hundred soldiers and had given his daughter in marriage to Ali Muhammad. When Najib Khan came to Aonla, Basharat Khan at first gave him ten or twelve foot-soldiers and entered him in the service of Ali Muhammad Khan and by requesting Ali Muhammad caused the daughter of Dundi Khan to be married to Najib Khan. After some time a hundred men, horse and foot, were appointed under Najib. After two years he attained to rank and honour. When Ali Muhammad Khan was living in the Sarhind district (as its faujdar, 1746-1747), Najib was instrumental in fixing the tribute to be paid by Jodha Singh, the zamindar of Kot Kapura. When Ali Muhammad Khan came away from Sarhind (1748), Dundi Khan appointed Najib as his agent in administering Chandpur and other parganahs, situated near the Ganges towards Daranagar, with Daranagar itself. Najib Khan used often to raid the further bank of the Ganges and bring away plundered cattle from Shakar-dawa Jawalapur and other places in the Saharanpur parganah. Dundi Khan, in consequence of their kinship, appointed about 400 horse and foot under Najib.

When (in 1753) hostilities broke out in Delhi between Ahmad Shah Padishah and Ghaziuddin Khan, who was then wazir (on the one hand) and Nawab Safdar Jang (on the other), Safdar Jang summoned Hafiz Rahmat Khan, [2] who was friendly to him, to his side. Hafiz started with troops of his own and those of Dundi Khan for aiding Safdar Jang. When all (this) Afghan force reached Hapur, Rajah Devidatt, a confidant of the (late) Emperor Muhammad Shah, the father of Ahmad Shah, and (the eunuch) Khwajah Basant arrived from Ahmad Shah and won Najib Khan over to the side of the Emperor and Ghaziuddin Khan by the lure of high office. Najib Khan marched towards Delhi, after making all these troops—those of Hafiz and of Dundi Khan alike, with Rajah Bansidhar, the Paymaster of Dundi Khan—join him by means of tact, management and holding forth hopes. Arriving there in three or four days, he interviewed the Emperor and Ghaziuddin Khan Sher Jang. Ghaziuddin posted him on the side of the Blue Bastion (Nili-burj) of Delhi, and the latter fought well, having about 15,000 horse and foot under him. Hafiz, being baffled in his design, returned to Bareilly from the place where Najib had left him for Delhi. He became displeased with Najib at his having wilfully gone away to the opposite side, while he (Hafiz) was

intending to join Safdar Jang. Najib there assembled troops, was honoured with the title of Najib-ud-daulah, gained the victory in every battle that he fought, received a slight bullet wound in his shoulder, and attained to the rank of a noble.

After these victories at Delhi, he took leave of the Emperor Ahmad Shah and Ghaziuddin and came to Aonla. From the bank of the Ganges he wrote to Sadullah Khan, the son of Ali Muhammad Khan, "Although I am your servant, yet I am now followed by a large force. I shall retain as many men as you did me and come to you." Sadullah Khan [3] wrote back to him engaging (for himself) 7000 horse and foot. Najib came to the village of Gularia,¹ a dependency of parganah Satasi, which had been given by Ali Muhammad Khan to Dundi Khan as his jagir, —interviewed his father-in-law Dundi Khan there, and then went off to Sadullah Khan. He presented to Sadullah Khan about 30 or 40 thousand rupees in cash and jewellery and told him, "Hafiz is enjoying your realm without paying you anything; you and I are brothers (*hamzulf*), we having married two daughters of Dundi Khan, and this country was an acquisition of your father. It is better that you should assert your own control over this country." Sadullah Khan, feeling exalted in consequence of the coming of Najib, resolved to take possession of the *raj* with full power. Hafiz Rahmat Khan came with Faizullah Khan to the bank of the Ram-Ganga, which is 4 or 5 *kos* from Aonla, crossed it, and encamped with his troops and artillery, Dundi Khan, marching out of Bisauli, halted outside Manauna,² of Bakhshi Sardar Khan and Fath Khan, Khan-i-saman (of Ali Muhammad), also got ready with their forces. Every day consultations were held for war. Old *sardars* like Bakhshi Sardar Khan and the Khan-i-saman took counsel among themselves, saying, "One party is sure to perish (if it comes to war). It is therefore better that Sadullah Khan and Najib Khan should come to Bisauli and we all (the Afghan chiefs) should hold a conference on this question."

When Sadullah Khan went to the harem of Dundi Khan, his mother-in-law, namely the wife of Dundi Khan told him, "Hafiz, we and others are your servants. But now a different idea (i.e., independent command) has entered the head of Najib Khan. Don't follow his advice, but leave your

(1) 2½ miles north of Bisauli (Budaun District).

(2) *Manauna*, 1 mile west of Aonla and 13 miles east of Bisauli (Budaun District).

territory in charge of Hafiz and Dundi Khan, to each his allotted portion, as before." When the question about the kingdom next arose at his Court, [4] Sadullah said, "I had been egged on by Najib Khan to this disagreement with Hafiz. But I cannot consent to hostility with him."

Najib saw that Sadullah was a light-headed chief, so he sent his servant named Sadiq to the Emperor Ahmad Shah, through his mother Udham Bai, asking to go anywhere that he might be posted. The Emperor ordered him to go to the Saharanpur district. Najib with all his troops marched, and crossed the river at Daranagar-ghat. The collector of the place fled away in terror of Najib's martial troops. Najib established his possession and administration over the Saharanpur district, appointed well-versed men of the place to the jurisdiction of the mahals of Baoli Saharanpur, and then returned during the rainy season to Jalalabad, close to Najibabad which he had founded. After the rains he went back to Saharanpur. He was in concert with Ghaziuddin Khan. When the troops of Raghunath Rao and Malhar Rao came (August 1757) and laid siege to Delhi, Najib with his own (small) force fought these Marathas,—about 60,000 horsemen,—from within Delhi for 27 days: At the end the Marathas made peace and settled the dispute through the mediation of Malhar Rao, and Najib went away to the Saharanpur district.

After some time Datta Patil,* the sardar (*sic*) of Madhav Rao Sindhia, sent word to Najib through his envoys, asking him to cede Hardwar and Jawalapur which were places of Hindu worship. Najib refused. Gradually it developed into a rupture between the Marathas and Najib Khan, Najib, withdrawing himself from (that) country, took post at Shakartal, where there were many ravines of the Ganges, entrenched with 10 or 12 thousand horse and foot, and engaged in fighting. He wrote to Sadullah Khan, Dundi Khan, Hafiz and Sardar Khan Bakhshi: "If you wish to retain your territories, come to me. Otherwise, when the Marathas have expelled me, they will not spare you." In the same terms he wrote to Shuja-ud-daulah, [5] who was very friendly to his (i.e., Najib's) tribe. Through the entire rainy season (1759) he kept fighting the Marathas, who

*At this time the head of the Sindhia family was Jankoji, the minor son of Jayapa Sindhia, while his affairs were managed and his contingent of troops was led by Dattaji Sindhia, a younger brother of Jayapa. The celebrated Mahadji Sindhia was an illegitimate brother of Jayapa and a subordinate officer in this army.

numbered 70,000 troopers. Hafiz and others remained sitting down in Chandpur and other districts, not one of them joined Najib, but merely wrote that they were coming. At last the Marathas reached (the Ruhela country) from the ghat of Sabalgarh, where Bakhshi Sardar Khan was encamped, and looted all the mahals on the (left) bank of the Ganges; then, leaving Hafiz and the other chiefs on one side (unattacked), they burnt Jalalabad.

Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah, who greatly loved Najib Khan, having made forced marches to his aid, now arrived near Moradabad. The Maratha troops, in fear of the large army coming under the Wazir, retreated a little. Before the arrival of Shuja-ud-daulah, Hafiz and other Afghans had also reached the bank of the Ganges. In the army of Shuja, Umrao-gir Gosain and others advanced to the bank of the Ganges to the place where the Marathas had first crossed, but the Marathas re-crossed the river further behind (i.e., upstream), after plundering various places.

From the time when Najib Khan was first invested he had been writing to Ahmad Shah, the king of *vilayet*, "The Deccani Marathas have besieged me. If you like to save your fellow-clansmen, come." The Shah, on reading his letters, which were very urgent, set out and reached Kunjpura. When the news of the coming of Ahmad Shah spread, many people began to say that Najib Khan had instructed the Afghans of Kunjpura to make (and put on) scarlet broad cloth caps (like the Persian *Qizzilbash*) in order to start the rumour of the coming of the Shah. But when the letters of the Shah addressed to the Indian sardars arrived, the truth was demonstrated. Nawab Shuja-ud-daulah in alarm told Najib, "I have much work to do in my own dominions; so I am going away, now that the king of *vilayet* has come to your aid." [6] Therefore, he left for his own country. The Marathas, at the coming of the *vilayeti* troops, fell back and lost heart. The Abdali Shah went by way of the *ghat* of Kunjpura towards Saharanpur and Najib Khan, Hafiz, Dundi Khan and other chiefs also joined him at his call. There was a battle between Najib and Datta Patil, in which Datta was defeated by Najib and slain. Murtaza Khan Barech, an inhabitant of Samana, who was then an associate of Najib, cut off his head and brought it away, (6 Jan. 1760.)

Thereafter the Bhau, Shamsher Bahadur and other Maratha sardars, with one lakh of infantry and troopers, advanced against Najib Khan; in the environs of Panipat

the Marathas made their entrenchment (*sangar*) and fought the troops of Ahmad Shah, Najib Khan, Shuja-ud-daulah and all the Afghans of Katehr.¹ After 7 or 8 days (*sic*) the Maratha army was pressed very hard. In whatever direction Maratha troops came to aid (the besieged), the Durrani accompanying the Shah of *vilayet* who had come for helping Najib Khan, slew them. Govind Bundelee had come from the Gwalior side with 30,000 horse and foot for reinforcing his countrymen; but when the Shah heard of it, he detached Haji Atai Khan and Sarfaraz Khan, two of his generals, against him. From Sambhalka the Shahi troops hastened against Govind. Govind was forty *kos* distant from that place; in the course of one night the Shahi force arrived there, and in the morning when the Marathas were lying in negligence, engaged in *puja* or sleep, these 5000 Durrani put the 30,000 men to the sword, and threw their heads into the river Hindan, like bubbles appearing on the water. Having defeated Bundelee in the [7] twinkle of an eye, they returned to their post. Najib Khan called up provisions from his territories to the Shahi camp. During the first few days and on some occasions (after) there was scarcity of food in both the armies; but the condition of the Marathas passed from strength to death. At last one day Najib Khan attacked them bravely and was about to enter their entrenchments; but evening came on and his paternal uncle, named Ibrahim Khalil Khan was slain. Many of Najib's soldiers who had penetrated into the Maratha camp, returned on account of nightfall. Nearly 700 of his followers were slain in this battle, and many of the Marathas. Najib returned to his own tent.

When the Marathas made their entrenchments at Panipat, they drew up their cannon (nearly 700 pieces) around them; and then *zarabha* and *chadarha-e-jangi*² and Gardi infantry, numbering nearly 30,000;—in their army and among these sardars were 70 to 80 thousand soldiers. The Durrani having blockaded them so hard, the Marathas received no grain; in every battle that was fought the Afghans and Durrani triumphed. (At last) the Marathas from lack of food came out of their camp; Najib, who was on terms of friendship with Malhar Rao, sent him a message to flee away from the Maratha army, promising not to hinder him. The troops of the Durrani and Dundi Khan—who

(1) Old name of Rohilkhand.

(2) *Zarab*, any kind of artillery, probably *mortar* here. *Chadar*, a sort of mantlet used as a field protection to gunners. (Irvine, 131).

were unique in bravery, engaged the Maratha army. The Marathas were defeated. Nearly 50,000 men and animals, owing to famine, perished in the battle (*sic*). The Maratha soldiers took to flight in every direction; wherever they arrived, everyone who liked robbed them. The Durrani army, giving chase, slew many at Sonapat and near it, and at other places. Many of the followers of Dundi Khan were slain.

The Ruhela and Durrani troops took booty consisting of precious articles and *krores* of rupees. A captured horse sold for a rupee, but it had no strength for galloping, as no grass was obtainable.

After the victory, the Shah went to Delhi and [8] halted there for two months. Shuja, Dundi Khan and Hafiz, with his leave, went back to their respective countries. The Shah marched back to *vilayet*, on account of the coming of the hot weather, as the Durranis could not bear the hot wind.

Zinat Mahal, the mother of Emperor Shah Alam, and Shahzada Jawan Bakht came to Delhi. Najib took possession of the entire kingdom and was exalted with the title of *Amir-ul-umara* (i.e., Mir Bakhshi) by the Emperors of *vilayet* and Hindustan. Everytime the Shah of *vilayet* came to India, Najib waited on him.

Suraj Mal Jat, whose kingdom was (afterwards) conquered by (Mirza) Najaf Khan, repeatedly attempted hostility against Najib Khan. Najib Khan was unwell and residing in Najibabad; he traversed 70 *kos* in a day and a half and reached Delhi. To Suraj Mal, who had plenty of money and armed strength, he sent a message, saying that it did not become him to fight with Najib Khan, and proposing to do whatever was necessary for maintaining friendly relations. Suraj Mal had been expecting a message from Najib and replied that he would not let him off. Suraj Mal had 30,000 horse under him. Najib Khan was lying ill in Safdar Jang's mansion in Delhi; summoning his troops he said that next morning he would go out for fighting Suraj Mal. He wrote to Dundi Khan "You are lying on the (other) bank of the Ganges. This man captured Farrukhnagar while I was at Najibabad, and imprisoned the Baluches of Farrukhnagar, such as Musa Khan and others, and gave them assurances of safety sworn to on the Ganges water; he had also vowed friendship to me, but is now deviating from his written engagement and quarrelling with me."

After these events, Najib Khan marched with a light force and encountered him in the environs of Ghaziabad. The fight lasted for six hours; Suraj Mal attacked on all four sides. Najib Khan who was very skilful in war, was not at all perturbed or confused. He harangued his infantry to show their valour as the (enemy's) horse had arrived against them in large numbers. The fighting ceased at sunset, but it was not known by whom—whether a Sayyid, a Baluch or a man of any other clan—Suraj Mal, who had attached the rear, was slain. All the army remained standing to their arms throughout the night. Najib reported his condition and the events to Dundi Khan, who had written to Najib Khan of his having crossed the river. Next morning the arm of Suraj Mal was (cut off and) brought away from the field, but as for his head it could not be traced whither it had gone during the struggle between the two armies. [9] Though people said that Suraj Mal had been slain, the report was not credited. At last a man brought (to Najib) the dark bay horse which Suraj Mal used to ride and which had been captured during the loot, as well as his attendant. The scouts sent out by Gulab Singh Gujar, Tara Singh the Rajah of Anupshahar, and other Hindustani and Ruhela forces, brought the news that no man of the enemy's army could be seen. Najib Khan crossing the river Hindan, encamped at Bhangel. Rajah Nagar Mal, one of the ministers of the Emperor, then living with Suraj Mal at Dig (and) Kumbher, wrote to say that what was destined to happen had happened. On hearing of this event, Jawahir Singh marched in one night from Farrukhnagar, newly conquered from the Baluches by Suraj Mal, to Dig and Kumbher, and in fear of Najib Khan's army lost heart, in spite of the Jats having a vastly superior force. Najib Khan, in 27 days, arrived at Noh [22 miles north of Mathura, but on the left bank of the Jamuna], a possession of Suraj Mal situated 30 *kos* from the Khan's territories.

At this time Zain Khan, the faujdar of Sarhind, was slain by the Sikhs. He was an agent of the Shah of *vilayet*. Sarhind is separated from the Saharanpur district by the river Jamuna only. Najib marched from that place (Noh) to encounter the Sikhs. Dundi Khan's son and Sardar Khan, who had gone away to seize the lands newly conquered by Suraj Mal, came back with their contingents to Miranpur, where Najib Khan had arrived by bold and rapid marches with a view to encountering the Sikhs. At Miranpur Bakhshi Sardar Khan slipped away, as he was unable to bear the

hardships and strain of campaigning along with Najib Khan. Reports spread of the coming of the Shah of *vilayet* to Man-
kot, which is 40 *kos* from Lahor, and Najib Khan could not venture to go (to the Shah) so long as the Sikh hordes did not go back to their own country.

After this Malhar Rao turned from the Jaipur side towards Delhi. So long as he was at a distance he wrote friendly letters to Najib Khan. Jawahir Singh, who cherished vindictive feelings on account of the death of Suraj Mal, sent Rupram Kothari to Malhar Rao offering him money (for help in avenging) [10] his father. Malhar Rao, having settled a certain amount as tribute from Maharajah Madho Singh of Jaipur and made peace with him, started for Delhi. When Najib Khan learnt that Malhar Rao had allied himself with Jawahir Singh, he became like a horse-shoe thrown into the fire, thinking that Jawahir Singh was at the head of nearly 60,000 soldiers, old and newly engaged, and if Malhar joined him it would be difficult to cope with him when he made his intended war on Najib. He sent proposals of friendship through mediators. The aforesaid (Malhar) preferred the acceptance of money; 30 lakhs of rupees subsidy had been agreed to between Jawahir and Malhar.

Jawahir Singh with all his artillery and troops girt up his loins for a war with Najib; wherever he made a halt, he used to arrange his artillery round his trenches. At last the two formed a junction. The war continued for four months and twenty days, and in every encounter the troops of Najib were victorious. Then Jawahir Singh called up 30,000 Sikh horsemen, and made Umrao-gir and Himmat-gir Gosains assemble 10 or 12 thousand Naga faqirs, besides the contingents of these two men, . . . Nawab Ghaziuddin Khan was already in Jawahir Singh's camp with a reinforcing corps of 4000 men. During this (long) period of fighting, (provisions) were not available in the army of Najib Khan, because the roads were closed by the Sikh and Maratha armies on all sides. Many men advised Najib to take (forced) loans from the people of Delhi, but he replied, "Beware! I am not keen on anything except goodness and badness of conduct. What is destined will take place. This is the Emperor's seat." Scarcity of provisions reached its extreme in Najib Khan's camp; the people of Delhi used to slip out of the city at night and go to the camp of Ghaziuddin Khan. Some men told Najib, "Your prestige is being ruined by the departure of these city people and their divulging to

the enemy your lack of food-stuffs." He replied, "My prestige depends on my swordsmanship and not on forcing high and low to perish through famine, and bringing down upon myself the sin and punishment for it." When Jawahir could not gain the victory by any means whatever, the two sides made peace through Malhar Rao, and Najib Khan met [11] Jawahir Singh outside Shahdara, near Delhi, through the mediation of Malhar Rao, and all the armies moved away from around Delhi.

Such was the noble nature of Nawab Najib Khan that during the period of this war and confusion in the city, his infantry on certain occasions seized and brought to him the money and goods of the people of the city—nay more, once about ten lakhs of rupees in cash and jewels despatched by traders. When he asked whose property these were, none would admit his ownership out of regard for his honour. After investigation he returned the property to the owners and gained composure of mind. The traders wanted to distribute some money in charity by showering it on his head; he declined. But when the traders urged him greatly, he agreed to this that Shahzada Jawan Bakht should mount on an elephant, with Zabita Khan seated on its back seat, and ride out, while the traders would scatter over his head flowers of gold and silver for distribution to the poor afterwards. People rejoiced at his goodness of heart.

After the peace had been made, Malhar Rao demanded from Zabita Khan, the son of Najib Khan, payment of the amount which Zabita Khan had secretly promised to Malhar without Najib Khan's knowledge. Najib Khan had been writing to the Shah of *vilayet* of what was happening to him, and now reports arose of the Shah's coming and of his having crossed the river of Attock and arrived on this side of Lahor. The Maratha soldiers were afraid of the Durrani army. On the arrival of the Shah's letters to Najib Khan, Malhar without openly making any wrangle about the money promised to him, marched away, (Feb. 1765).

Thereafter, there was frequent fighting between Najib Khan and the Sikhs. Whenever the Sikhs came to this side (of the Jamuna) Najib went to encounter them and fought battles. The Sikhs went away after devastating Najib Khan's territory, and taking away some money, (as black-mail). They never ventured to advance against Najib Khan himself, who was an expert in war and a capital swordsman. But Najib Khan was greatly distracted by (the movements of) the Sikhs.

Tuko Holkar and Madhav Rao Sindhia wrote that they were coming to that side; and *wakils* (envoys) came from Tuko Holkar [12] and demonstrated the old friendship that had subsisted between Malhar Rao and Najib Khan. The Khan replied that he would join them on horseback; and the *wakils* reported the fact (to Tukoji). Najib Khan's *wakil* had made several journeys to the Deccan in the lifetime of Malhar Rao, to Ahalya Bai (the wife of Khande Rao, the son of Malhar) and Tuko Holkar (the *biradar* of Rajah Malhar)* and established relations by correspondence. The Maratha chiefs gave up fear, marched to Hindustan and defeated Nawal Singh Jat (April, 1770). Najib Khan going to the Aligarh district with 30,000 horse and foot, united with the Deccani sardars, who were Ramchandra Ganesh, Tuko Holkar, and Madhav Rao Sindhia, at the head of 60,000 horse. But the Khan was now at death's door from illness; he remained nearly one month in their camp. All the Maratha chiefs regarded his adhesion as a great boon.

On one occasion two mule-loads of grain belonging to some merchants in Najib Khan's camp were carried off from the way by Maratha troopers. At this Najib Khan summoned Bhagwant Rao, the son of Jagannath, who was Tuko Holkar's *wakil* (with him), at midnight and told him, "My alliance with the Marathas is conditional upon their friendly conduct. If you wish to retain this friendship, restore to the merchants of my camp the two ass-loads of grain. Otherwise, in a twinkling of the eye I shall do more than what was done to you at Panipat." Tuko Holkar, searching during that very night, recovered the two ass-loads of grain from the Pindiaris who lived in his camp as retainers solely for the purpose of plundering, and produced them.

Najib Khan fell seriously ill. Summoning his son Zabita Khan, he left him with the Marathas at the head of 5000 horse and foot to serve as their ally. Then, Najib started from Koil [Aligarh], carrying away with him all his [other] troops and guns. In a day and night he reached Hapur, from which place he had gone to the Emperor of Hindustan (in 1753)—and there yielded up his soul to his Maker (3 October 1770.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

*Tukoji, was "a chief of the same tribe, but no way related to Malhar Rao Holkar. On his seal he was styled *Tukaji, the son of Malhar Rao Holkar*." (Malcolm, i. 134-136).

BOOKS AND AUTHORS

THE PERFECT POLITY*

PROBABLY no man living has done longer or more valuable service for the cause of Islamic revival than Maulâna Muḥammad 'Alī of Lahore. His literary works, with those of the late Khwâja Kamâl-ud-dīn, have given fame and distinction to the Ahmadiyyah movement. In our opinion the present volume is his finest work because it is free from the sectarian comments which made at least one of his books unpalatable for the majority of Muslims and because it is—we know not how—in perfect English, which was not the case with any of his previous works which we have read. It is a description of Al-Islâm by one well versed in the Qur'ân and the Sunnah who has on his mind the shame of the Muslim decadence of the past five centuries and in his heart the hope of the revival of which signs can now be seen on every side. Without moving a hair's breadth from the Traditional position with regard to worship and religious duties, the author shows a wide field in which changes are lawful and may be desirable because here the rules and practices are not based on an ordinance of the Qur'ân or an edict of the Prophet, and should be altered when they cease to meet the needs of the community. Such a book is greatly needed at the present day when in many Muslim countries we see persons eager for the reformation and revival of Islam making mistakes through lack of just this knowledge.

The author undertook to write the present work with the idea of refuting the false views about Al-Islâm put forth by a non-Muslim. As he tells us in his Preface:

“ ‘The Religion of Islam’ is the name of a book written by the Rev. F. A. Klein and published in 1906. It was through the courtesy of a friend that this book fell into my

**The Religion of Islâm.* A comprehensive discussion of the Sources, Principles and Practices of Islâm. By Maulâna Muhammad 'Alī, M.A., LL.B., Lahore, Ahmadiyyah Anjuman Ishâ'at Islâm, 1936.

hands in the year 1928. He had read it with pain, he said, on account of the distorted picture of Islâm which it contained, and he suggested that I should write a comprehensive work containing a true picture of Islâm and dealing in detail with its teachings. The multifarious duties which I had to perform as President of the Ahmadiyya Anjuman Ishâ'at Islâm were a great hindrance, but the call of duty overcame these difficulties and I set to work immediately after going through Klein's book, and the work is now being published under the same name."

In point of fact—and this is largely true of all Muslim 'missionary' publications—the book will appeal to Muslims more than to non-Muslims. Though the author is at loggerheads with a large portion of *fiqh*, he is himself a faqîh (though a very large-minded one); his arguments are the arguments of *fiqh* and his style is the style of *fiqh*. It is a style quite different from that of Christian polemics and can only be appreciated in the West by the few who have already made some study of Islâm. To Muslims, on the other hand, the style is familiar and will seem appropriate, while the subject-matter is of overwhelming interest.

We do not always agree with Maulâna Muḥammad 'Alî's conclusions upon minor points—sometimes they appear to us eccentric—but his premisses are always sound, we are always conscious of his deep sincerity; and his reverence for the holy Qur'ân is sufficient in itself to guarantee his work in all essentials. There are some, no doubt, who will disagree with his general findings, but they will not be those from whom Al-Islâm has anything to hope in the future.

He begins with a description of what he calls the "sources" of Islâm—the Qur'ân, Ḥadîth, Ijtihâd, Ijmâ'a. Here he is already at cross-purposes with the European critics who pretend to find "sources" of Islam in other religions or in ancient folklore. Then follow chapters on Faith, the Unity of God, His Attributes, Angels, Revealed Books, Prophets, Life after Death, Predestination, Prayer, Zakât, Fasting, Pilgrimage, Jihâd, Marriage, Property, Inheritance, and so forth; from which it will be seen that the book is indeed comprehensive. Each chapter is a complete treatise, showing learning and research. Those on Qadr, Angels and The Life after Death should be studied to observe the difference between the rational views of a devout traditionist and the views of so-called rationalists. We are tempted to quote from the chapter on

Ijtihâd (freedom of thought), which is the crux of the whole problem of revival:

“The great mujtahids not only applied their judgment to new circumstances, but they also differed in their principles of jurisprudence, which shows that no-one of them considered the others infallible. If they were not infallible then, how did they become infallible after so many centuries when the mere lapse of time necessitated new legislation to meet new requirements? That the Holy Prophet opened the door of Ijtihâd is only too clear, that he never ordered it to be closed after a certain time is admitted on all hands: but even the great Imâms never closed that door. Neither Imam Abû Hanîfa, nor Mâlik, nor Shâfi‘î nor yet Aḥmad ibn Hanbal ever said that no-one after him shall be permitted to exercise his own judgment, nor did any one of them claim to be infallible: neither does any book on the principles of jurisprudence (*uṣûl*) lay down that the exercise of a man’s own judgment for the making of new laws was forbidden to the Muslims after the four Imâms nor yet that their Ijtihâd has the same authority as the Holy Qur’ân and the Sunna. Ijtihâd was a great blessing to the Muslim people: it was the only way through which the needs of the succeeding generations and the requirements of the different races merging into Islâm could be met. Neither the Holy Prophet, nor any of his Companions nor any of the great mujtahids of Islâm, ever said that Muslims were forbidden to apply their own judgment to new circumstances and the everchanging needs of a growing community after a certain time; nor has any one of them said, what in fact no-one could say, that no new circumstances would arise after the second century. What happened was that the attention of the great intellects of the third century was directed towards the collection and criticism of Hadîth. On the other hand, the four Imâms rose so high above the ordinary jurists that the latter were dwarfed into insignificance, and the impression gained ground gradually that no-one could exercise his judgment independently of the four Imâms. This impression in its turn led to limitations upon Ijtihâd and the independence of thought to which Islâm had given an impetus. Being thus restrained by a false impression, the intellect of Islâm suffered a heavy loss and, the increasing demand of knowledge being brought to a standstill, stagnation and ignorance took its place.”

Maulâna Muḥammad ‘Alî personally believes—and there is nothing unorthodox in the belief—that the mercy of Allah

will eventually pardon all mankind. He bases his belief upon the saying of our Prophet which concludes with the words: "Then Allah will say, The angels have interceded and the prophets have interceded, and there remains the Most Merciful of all merciful ones; then he will take a handful out of the fire and will bring forth from it a people who have never done any good." Our author adds: "The handful of God cannot leave anything behind."

The work is well printed and handsomely got up, a credit to the Lahore publishers; and there are far fewer misprints than are usually to be found in English books printed in India. We recommend it as a stimulus to Islamic thought. To use an old-fashioned word, it is an edifying book.

M. P.

ALAMGIR THE GREAT*

No personality in history has aroused more controversy than that of Aurangzēyb; no man's reputation has been more furiously assailed and more loyally defended. In Mr. Faruki's admirable work we have a painstaking defence of the great Emperor, in which all the allegations made against him are refuted or put out of court. The book is not written in the form of a biography. It consists of chapters which are really sections devoted each to some subject of controversy; the War of Succession; Destruction of Temples; the Jizyah; Forced Conversions; the Emperor's relations with the Rajputs, the Sikhs, the Marathas and the Deccan Sultanates; the Administrative System; Economic and Social Conditions. This arrangement, well adapted as it is to the author's purpose, has from the reader's point of view the disadvantage that events do not appear in their chronological order. When reading the account of Aurangzēyb's dealings with the Marathas, for instance, one has to search in other chapters to ascertain whether the date of such an event was before or after Aurangzēyb's accession or the fall of Bijāpur. It is to be regretted that the author has omitted to add a chronological table of events, and still more regrettable that he has not supplied an index to a work which abounds in proper names of men and places and is certain to be used for reference.

**Aurangzeb and His Times*, by Zahiruddin Faruki B.A., (*Alig.*), Barrister-at-Law, Bombay, Taraporevala, 1935, pp. 582.

Mr. Faruki crosses swords repeatedly with our valued contributor Sir Jadunath Sarkar, the most eminent and most severe of contemporary Hindu critics of the Mughals—successfully, as it seems to us. The more research is made into the records of the period the clearer it becomes that Aurangzēyb was not the monster of hypocrisy and guile which Hindu writers, with some bright exceptions, have depicted; and that he was not animated by hatred of the Hindu community or a purpose to convert them wholesale to Islām. The fact is that Hindu historians have gone for information concerning Islam, its laws and polity to English authors of a bygone day who to an avowed anti-Muslim bias added a large measure of ignorance and misunderstanding.

When writing about the *jizyah*, Mr. Faruki forgets to point out that attempts to convert a non-Muslim from whom the *jizyah* had been accepted were punishable according to Islamic law by death. He has also forgotten to mention that the imposition of the *jizyah* implied the recognition of Hinduism as a religion having a Scripture, not mere idolatry, and the fact that an Emperor so well up in the Sacred Law as Aurangzēyb deliberately reimposed the tax on Hindus is a proof not of his intolerance for the religion of the majority of his subjects, but the reverse. Communities which paid the *jizyah* were tolerated and privileged communities.

That Aurangzēyb wished to regulate everything in accordance with Islamic law seems probable, but such a wish on his part would absolutely preclude harsh treatment of the law-abiding subjects.

To explain Aurangzēyb's destruction of some Hindu temples and patronage of others, Mr. Faruki takes the line that only temples newly built without permission were demolished. We have heard of a Hindu temple in the Deccan which claims Aurangzēyb as its founder! On the line of argument which he has chosen Mr. Faruki makes out a good case; but we cannot help fancying that the real explanation will be found, if sought for diligently, in Aurangzēyb's well-known concern for public decency. The temples that he destroyed were scenes of immorality, while those he patronised were connected with good works. That was certainly his policy towards Muslim institutions and, famous as he was for justice in his day, it is unlikely that he had a separate policy towards Hindu institutions in time of peace. In time of war it may well have been otherwise. Mr. Faruki writes:

"The trouble in Rajputana began with the Rajputs of Khandela who rebelled in 1769. It was during this rising that 'Darab Khan was sent with a strong army to punish the Rajputs of Khandela and demolish its great temple.' These remarks give us a clue to Aurangzēyb's iconoclastic tendencies."

Do they? We wonder. Mr. Faruki himself tells us that to destroy temples when punishing rebellion was the practice of Jahāngīr and of other Muslim rulers before him, even as destruction of mosques was the practice of the enemy. Therefore the iconoclasm cannot be made personal to Aurangzēyb. Those temples were, no doubt, regarded as "hotbeds of sedition." The contemporary sources of information, moreover, are not always trustworthy. "There are instances" says our author "in which contemporary historians have often turned a regulation applying to a particular locality or necessitated by particular circumstances into a general order and permanent law of the land. The *Holi* celebration, for instance, was not stopped as is asserted by Khafi Khan (II, 214). There being an apprehension of a breach of peace, some police orders were promulgated regulating the festival. Hamilton's description of *Holi* which he characterises as a 'mad feast' must dispel all doubts about the celebration of the important festival."

Mr. Faruki shows that Aurangzēyb had more Hindus in high position in his service than ever Akbar had. The man who wrote in an official letter here quoted: "What connection have earthly affairs with religion? And what right have administrative works to meddle with bigotry? 'For you is your religion and for me is mine'" is obviously one to judge men by their conduct not by their profession of a creed.

Mr. Faruki's account of the conquest of the Deccan Sultanates and of the Maratha War, of which he shows the conquest of the Shī'a Sultanates to have been an incident, is memorable. He clearly shows that the Maratha War could have been ended quickly but for the jealousies and intrigues among the leaders of the Mughal armies. One of the authorities he quotes for this opinion is a Hindu in the Imperial service. It seems possible that in his old age Aurangzēyb found his Hindu nobles more dependable than some of the Muslims. The Imperial Princes, thinking of the war of succession which would follow on the death of the old Emperor, saw in the present enemies possible future allies to be propi-

tiated; and the Muslim generals, with the same preoccupation, were jealous of each other's fame. Mr. Faruki writes:

"We have seen that in the course of one year in 1689 Aurangzeyb had succeeded in capturing many Maratha forts. Why was it that after a decade the Mughals found the task supremely difficult? For full five years they had to concentrate all their strength on reducing those very places which previously had yielded to slight pressure. The reason for failure is to be found in the degeneration of the Mughal nobles. Constant bickerings, incessant intrigues and extreme selfishness were the characteristic traits of the nobility. If any party succeeded in escalading any fort it was left unsupported with the result that it had to retreat with heavy casualties. Every attempt at daring initiative and individual effort was discounted by selfish rivals."

And he goes on to quote Manucci:

"In the early days of the war he (Aurangzeyb) left the command in the hands of the generals, while he looked after the administration of the empire. But finding that these officers did not act as he wished. he took the command of the army in person. It is, therefore, twenty-six years that this king has been in the field, and during that space of time has effected all the conquests of which I have spoken."

It must be added that, while in personal command of the army, Aurangzeyb never ceased to "look after the administration of the empire;" and to the day of his death at eighty-nine he still could impose awe upon his sons and upon the aforesaid selfish nobles. And the empire, on the whole, was prosperous and peaceful. Historians follow the excitement of the war which was being waged beyond its southern frontier. Within the empire, Mr. Faruki tells us—"necessities of life were very cheap, the internal price level was stable, manufactured goods were transported over long distances, indigenous industry was well patronised and the wealth of the country remained in the hands of the people."

The reign and acts of Aurangzeyb are set forth and explained by Mr. Faruki, but not the character of Aurangzeyb. This has so far eluded every historian. He was undemonstrative to a fault, but there is reason to believe he was a man of feeling and deep human sympathy under his reserve. His desire for a united India may have come from his perception of the danger threatening India from without if she remained divided. He was a man of action and adventure, a splendid

horseman even in extreme old age. It may be that he preferred to end his days campaigning in the Deccan to growing old amid the pomp and luxury of the capital. It may be that he really loved the Deccan, where he had spent his happiest years. His care for the welfare of his people, his love of justice and the pains he took with the administration are facts of history which no-one can dispute. We must agree with the old English writer who described him as "The greatest king that ever ruled in Industan."

Mr. Faruki's English, although fluent, is not always perfect. He has a tendency to coin new words, of which the meaning is quite clear to us, but which give the reader an unpleasant shock. For example: "If some of Aurangzēyb's actions are, however, *evincive* of a *declension* of spirit from his own precepts and resolutions the causes are to be sought in the *tumultive* reactions against the indiscretions of Akbar and Dara." (Our italics). But our chief demand is for an index and a chronological table of events. The work deserves them and they ought to be supplied in new editions.

M. P.

THE STORY OF INDIA*

To write a history of India from the earliest times to the present day without omitting any date or factor of importance is no small achievement. Sir George Dunbar has done this and by his way of doing it has made a book which can be read for pleasure. From the point of view of clear narrative the first eighty-five pages, which deal with Hindu India before the Muslim conquest, are the most successful, for the ancient Hindus had no care for history, and what is known of India in those days is one thin thread and not the tangle of the Muslim period, when India has a carefully recorded many-sided history, or the documentary maze of the period of British domination. The author's purpose, stated in the Preface, is "to give, without too great a loss of perspective, some idea of the story of India and to indicate the stages which have led to the political situation of 1935. Religion which, when all is said, dominates the country; the causes of the decline of empires into chaos; the form of these governments and how they affected the mass of the people; literature and art;

**A History of India from the earliest times to the present day*, by Sir George Dunbar Bt., London, Ivor Nicholson and Watson Ltd., 1936.

commerce and industry; the influence of sea-power upon India's destinies; the building-up of British paramountcy; the effect of Western ideas upon the politically-minded classes—these are the features upon which emphasis has been laid."

All this has been done effectively in the book before us, and the author, in many passages, shows sympathy for Indians. It is a pity that for his view of the character and reign of Aurangzêb he should have relied entirely on Sir Jadunath Sarkar, and thus adopted what may be called the Hindu thesis on a subject still in dispute, ignoring weighty evidence upon the other side. The citing of the *jizya* as part of a campaign of persecution shows the thesis to be wrong, for the *jizya* gives security and a regular Islamic status to those who pay it, and Aurangzêb was a stickler for Islamic law.

For Aurangzêb, Sir George accepts the Hindu thesis, and for India's recent troubles he accepts the British Government's thesis. He tells us nothing of the real causes of the unrest in the Punjab after the war and of the first non-co-operation movement. It is, of course, impossible for such a book to cover every cause and event, but the result of the omission mentioned is a loss of perspective which will strike the Indian reader of the book immediately. On the whole, however, this tremendous work of condensation is astonishingly well done.

There are many more misprints than one is accustomed to find in English books printed at home—so many that we turned to the title-page under the impression that the book must have been printed in India. On p. 127 we read of the founder of the Bahman Shâhî dynasty that "he claimed descent from the half-mythical hero Bahman son of Isfandîyar, from whom the dynasty which he founded is named." We had always understood that Bahman was a local form of Brahman, and that the founder of the dynasty had been slave to a Brahman who had been kind to him and had foretold his future greatness, for which reason he assumed the name. The spelling of Muslim names is often wrong—e.g., p. 191 "Akbar was given the title Iman-i-Adil (just leader)" for Imam-i-Adil; pp. 290, 291 "Azim-ush-Shah" and "Rafi-ush-Shah" for Azîm-ush-Shân and Rafî'-ush-Shân; p. 283, "Abd-ul-Wahlab" for 'Abdul Wahhâb; p. 277, "Abdul Hasan" for Abu'l-Hasan (Tâna Shâh).

On p. 136, we find the worst mistake of all when the author refers to "those words of the Koran which describe so much

of Indian history; 'The sword for him who can wield it and dominion for him who conquers.'" We know of no such words in the Koran. If they are found in some translation it must be a very bad one. But we suspect the original to signify "He who wields the sword shall perish by the sword and he who conquers shall be overcome," which looks like a verse from the Bible.

A very pleasing feature of the book consists in its illustration by 64 excellent photographs ranging from Mohenjo-Daro to New Delhi, and including reproductions of monuments, works of art, handicrafts and types of humanity.

In conclusion, as a glimpse of Sir George Dunbar's personal attitude we quote his remarks on p. 365 "It is confidence in the stability of order, the gift of Great Britain to India, after the series of cataclysms making up her earlier history, which has created among the educated classes of British India in recent years a strong nationalistic feeling best described as political self-respect."

The work is provided with 16 maps and an index. A chronology of events is appended to each section.

M. P.

MUSLIMS AND HINDUS

WE have received two publications which are particularly welcome as contributing to more cordial relations between Hindus and Muslims. One, by Mr. Nanalal C. Mehta of the Indian Civil Service, is a reprint of a series of articles which first appeared in "The Leader" of Allahabad extolling the Muslim contribution to India's civilization.* It is a frank and generous acknowledgment, and we are not surprised to learn from the Introduction that Mr. Mehta's Muslim friends were greatly pleased with it. Islam has indeed contributed to India's progress in a variety of ways, but Hindu recognition of the fact is usually grudging or withheld, while there are some who would deny it altogether. Mr. Mehta's tribute is, therefore, doubly useful; as instruction for his co-religionists will touch them all the more because it comes from a quarter whence they are unaccustomed to get compliments.

**Contribution of Islam to Indian Culture*, by Nanalal C. Mehta, I.C.S.

The second pamphlet before us is a more serious work, being a comparison of the Islamic conception of the Deity with that of Hinduism from the pen of Mr. Wahed Husain, an advocate in the High Court of Calcutta.* As an example of his work we quote the following:

“ In the whole range of the Islamic Scriptures there is no such thing as fictitious representation of God in any shape or form. The Qur’ân sets its face squarely against the worship of any emblematical representation of God or of His divine powers. ‘ Nothing can be likened unto Him,’ is the declaration of the Qur’ân. It further declares, “ His are the excellent qualities which human intellect can conceive,” but they are not regarded as separate or distinct from the Divine Essence. They are co-existent and co-eternal with God. Consequently none of the attributes of Allah or His divine powers are worshipped in any shape or form as a separate entity. Even there is no such idea latent or apparent, in the Qur’ân or Hadiths as that of the Christian Trinity or the Hindu Triad, consisting of the three aspects of God. The Islamic conception of Allah is *ahad*, i.e., one indivisible whole which admits of no parts; nor is there any doctrine which holds that His one part or aspect, as a distinct entity, does one thing; and His another part or aspect does a different thing. Whatever He does, He does as an entire intelligent Being according to His high purpose. A similar idea is also to be found in some passages of the Upanishads. Compare the following

- (a) ‘ God is without figure, epithet, definition or description. He is without defect, not liable to annihilation, change, pain, or birth; we can only say that he who is the eternal Being is God.’
- (b) ‘ The vulgar look for their gods in water; men of more extended knowledge in celestial gods; the ignorant in wood, bricks, and stones, but the learned men in the universal soul.’ ”

The work is scholarly in tone, and it is evident that Mr. Husain is deeply interested in this comparison to which he has devoted many hours of thoughtful study. His is the kind of work which Muslims would do well to study and which Hindus will appreciate in the same way that Muslims have

* *Conception of Divinity in Islam and the Upanishads*, by Wahed Husain, B.A., B.L., Calcutta, Bengal Journals Ltd., 1936 Price Rs. 1-8-0.

appreciated Mr. Mehta's little book, as a compliment from an unexpected quarter. We feel that in study and appreciation of each other's literature and allowance for each other's point of view lies the only path of friendship for the two communities. Would that there were more Mr. Mehtas and more Mr. Wahed Husains!

THE PROPHET OF ISLAM AND HIS TEACHINGS

"The more we study Islām the more are we convinced that this religion of which universalism is the most distinctive feature, all-round progress the main key-note and the unity of God and equality of man the chief message is intended for the whole of mankind. Another unique feature of Islam is that it is antagonistic to no true religion and acknowledges and reveres the prophets of all the great religions and invites all peoples to the path of purity and virtuous life. If there is any religion that can effectively withstand the atheism, agnosticism, and materialism that are gradually getting a hold over the entire civilized world, it is Islam, which has harmonized every progress made by philosophy and science."

These words of Maulvi Abdul Karim in his Preface sufficiently indicate the scope and purpose of this book. He goes on to say:

"In this work an endeavour has been made to refute the false imputations made against Hazrat Muhammad by prejudiced critics and to prove that he was a true Messenger of God and one of the greatest reformers and benefactors of mankind. Misrepresentation of facts and misinterpretation of motives by non-Muslims may not be unnatural; but what is very regrettable is that some of the present-day educated Muslims should have failed to form a correct estimate of the life and teachings of their own Prophet. This is perhaps the result of scepticism and materialistic ideas engendered by godless occidental education."

We should say that Western education would have no such deplorable effect if the students in their homes had been acquainted with Islam. It is precisely for these Muslim students who come from uninspiring homes that books like this of Maulvi Abdul Karim are valuable. It may be doubted whether any of the refutations published ever reach the hostile critics or, if they reach them, have a chastening effect. But

it is a fact that Muslim students eagerly devour such books especially when, as in the present case, they are written interestingly and come from the pen of one in high position.

We do not like the author's "Hazrat Muhammad," the title Hazrat seeming to us beneath our Prophet's dignity. His name, with "May God bless him!" would be preferable. And when he writes of "thousands of English men and women of all ranks and positions" having already become Muslims it is a little misleading. There may, perhaps, be two thousand who have done so. There are thousands of Muslims in England, it is true, but the great majority are sojourners from Muslim countries, not of English birth. In the same volume is a shorter treatise on "Islam's contribution to Science and Civilization," enumerating facts which have been often stated in these pages. It is a book which may do much good among the young men of Western education whom the author had in mind when he wrote it.

THE HOLY QURAN¹

WE have received a copy of a new edition of the Holy Quran published by the Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam, Lahore. With a view to ensure accuracy it has been printed from photo blocks of well-known authentic manuscripts. Subdivision of chapters, methods of pronunciation headings of surahs, indices and other useful information is given in the introduction.

The excellent printing and the get-up leave nothing to be desired. The volume is beautifully bound. As this is the first edition of the holy book that has been printed on a German offset machine of a very high order, we recommend that this edition with its special features, should be in the hands of every Muslim who is in search of an accurate copy.

A copy of the Pamphlet containing 16 specimen pages can be obtained from the Publishers on application.

SH. U.

SAHIH AL-BUKHARI²

WHILE already more than a dozen English versions of the Holy Quran exist and better interpretations are promised

(1) Aksi Quran-i-Majid, published by the *Anjuman-i-Himayat-i-Islam*, Brandreth Road, Lahore. Size 29"×40"/16, price Rs. 3 per copy.

(2) Sahih Al-Bukhari, translated from the Arabic, with explanatory notes, by Mohd. Asad (Leopold Weiss), vol. I, part I, price Rs. 2-8-0 (India and Ceylon) and 4 sh. (Foreign countries). The Arafat Publications, Srinagar (Kashmir).

every now and then, no serious attempt has been undertaken to make the vast literature of Hadith accessible to the English-reading public; although, as Mr. Leopold Weiss, now better known by his Muslim name Mohammad Asad—points out in his short preface to the book under review: “It is in the Hadith, the authentic reports of the sayings and doings of the Prophet Mohammad, that the spirit of Islam finds its most concrete expression. They show with unmistakable clearness the last Prophet’s attitude towards various aspects of religious and social life, and are thus the only means of avoiding misunderstanding and wilful misrepresentation of the Quranic teachings.”

Of these authentic Traditions the foremost collection is that of Mohammad-ibn-Isma'il Al-Bukhari, which apart from its canonical sanctity among the Mussalmans, is an unique monument of scrupulous and critical compilation that historiography has known. A French translation of this great work appeared some forty years ago but is out of print now. Scholarly critics do not find it satisfactory and some of the footnotes, the translators chose to add, are, to say the least, silly. Mr. Asad’s enterprise is therefore sure to be received with acclamation not only by the Orientalist but also by a growing English-reading public among the Muslim community in whose interest the able translator has primarily set himself to perform the task. The translation is throughout illuminated by explanatory notes which occupy more than half the volume. In these footnotes, besides elucidating meanings and solving difficulties of the text Mr. Asad has kept in view the doubts of the modern sceptic, succeeding, we hope, in dispelling them to a large extent.

According to Mr. Asad’s plan the whole book will be published in 40 parts followed by an index to complete it. The neat printing of the Arabic text side by side with the English version is likely to excite the jealousy of many a pressman who has to tackle with the perplexities of such bilingual publications. On the whole, we can sincerely congratulate Mr. Asad for such a hopeful beginning and trust his learning and labour will receive the recognition they so eminently deserve.

ANNOUNCEMENT

WITH the next January number the "Islamic Culture" will enter upon the second decade of its existence. Looking back at these past ten years, we are inclined to think that our work was not in vain. The aim of this journal was, and is, to contribute towards a deeper understanding of the Muslim culture in its various aspects and the appreciation which our endeavours received not only from the Muslim public, but also from the steadily growing circle of European orientalists. But from the next volume onwards, the intellectual scope of our journal will be widened, so as to make it still more representative of the cultural cause for which it stands. Our mainstay will remain, as before, the research into the intellectual and historical foundations of the Islamic past. But beyond this, we shall provide a line of investigation into the different ways of thought existing in the living world of Islam, and will endeavour to arrive at a philosophical valuation of the dynamic elements of the Islamic Culture and of the possibility they offer for future development. The programme, we know it well, is ambitious; but we feel confident that its realisation is possible with the help of the excellent band of our contributors, Muslims and non-Muslims, whose names are already familiar to our readers, as well as that of new personalities whose collaboration is anticipated in our future programme.

The outward appearance of our journal will be somewhat changed; its size will be enlarged, and particular care will be paid to typographical improvement. The subscription rate will be from now on reduced to Rs. 8 (Inland) and sh. 16 (Foreign) per annum; the price of a single copy will be Rs. 2-4-0 and 4 sh. 6 d., respectively.

We have the pleasure of announcing that from January, 1937, the "Islamic Culture" will be edited by Mr. Muhammad Asad (Leopold Weiss), already known to the public through his translation of "*Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī*" and other works on Islamic subjects.

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